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ÂNGELA BARRETO XAVIER
INES G. ŽUPANOV

CATHOLIC ORIENTALISM

PORTUGUESE EMPIRE,
INDIAN KNOWLEDGE
(16TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Catholic Orientalism

INSTITUTO DE CIENCIAS SOCIAIS
94(469)XAV,A* 47866
BIBLIOTECA

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*Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge
(16th–18th Centuries)*

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INES G. ŽUPANOV

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Published in India by
Oxford University Press
YMCA Library Building, 1 Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001, India

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First Edition published in 2015

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ISBN-13: 978-0-19-945267-5
ISBN-10: 0-19-945267-9

Typeset in Scala 10/13
by Tranistics Data Technologies, New Delhi 110 019
Printed in India by Rakmo Press, New Delhi 110 020

For
Ante, João, and Madalena

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	Academia das Ciências, Lisbon
ACPF	Archivio della Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Rome
AFCJ	Archives Françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves, Hauts-de-Seine (France)
ANTT	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
APO	J. H. da Cunha Rivara, <i>Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental</i> , Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862 (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992)
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome
BAL	Biblioteca da Ajuda, Lisbon
BNL	Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
BPB	Biblioteca Pública, Braga
DI	<i>Documenta Indica</i> , 18 vols, ed. J. Wicki (Roma: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1940–88)
<i>Documentação</i>	<i>Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia</i> , 12 vols, ed. António da Silva Rego (Lisbon: Ministério das Colónias, 1947–58)
DUP	<i>Documentação Ultramarina Portuguesa</i> , 3 vols, ed. António da Silva Rego (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960–3)
EX	<i>Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta</i> , 2 vols, eds, G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki (Rome, 1996)
HAG	Historical Archives of Goa, Panjim
PP	<i>Journal of the Directorate of Archives and Archeology of Goa, Purabiliekh-Puratatv</i>

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When we started planning this book on the steps of the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon, we had no idea that we were bracing for half a decade of research, travel, and working meetings in Lisbon and Paris. In the course of time we collected many debts to scholars and friends who were important at one stage or another of our evolving project. Some read different versions of the chapters or book proposals, suggested revisions, advised, or simply had faith when ours stumbled. We are in particular grateful to: Dana Agmon, Anand Amaladass, Paolo Aranha, David Armitage, Gauvin Bailey, Zoltán Biedermann, Fernando Bouza, Claudia Brosseder, Marcos Cardão, Daniel Carey, Kunal and Shubhra Chakrabarti, Ananya Chakravarti, Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile, Indrani Chatterjee, Dejanirah Couto, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, Antje Fluechter, Marie Fourcade, Gita Dharampal-Frick, Olga Grlić, Serge Gruzinski, Sumit Guha, Bernard Heyberger, Ronnie Po-chia Hsia, Mira Kamdar, Iris Kantor, Isabelle Landry-Deron, Corinne Lefevre, David Lorenzen, Keith Luria, Andrew McDowell, Neil MacWilliam, Giuseppe Marcocci, Nuno Martins, Zdravka Matišić, Subrata Mitra, Federico Palomo, István Perczel, Carla Alferes Pinto, Rochelle Pinto, Dhruv Raina, Sumathi Ramaswamy, Joan-Pau Rubiès, Gordana and Louis de la Roncière, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, Isabel Seara, Nuno Senos, Mary Sheriff, Bruna Soalheiro, Tulasi Srinivas, Alan Strathern, Margherita Trento, Ricardo Ventura, Inês Versos, Filipa Lowndes Vicente, and Denis Vidal.

We tested our ideas at dozens of conferences and seminars that we cannot possibly enumerate, among which are University of

Heidelberg, Trinity College in Dublin, Ruhr University in Bochum, Jawaharlal Nehru University, National University of Singapore, École française d'Extrême-Orient, Stanford University, Universidad Complutense in Madrid, Deutsches Historisches Museum, University of Goa, and many others. We thank all the organizers and participants. We also profited from Parisian seminars by Serge Gruzinski and Sanjay Subrahmanyam. Our special thanks go to Nadia Guerguadj for making the maps.

Three institutions should be thanked for their generous funding of our research: Instituto das Ciências Sociais and Centre d'Études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique/École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales), Paris, and Käte Hamburger Kolleg, Ruhr University in Bochum.

We are also grateful to those librarians and archivists who helped us in our research. In particular in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon (Reservados); Academia das Ciências de Lisboa; Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon; Bibliothèque National, Paris (Richelieu-Oriental Manuscripts); Archives françaises de la Compagnie de Jésus, Vanves, Hauts-de-Seine (Paris); Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', Manoscritti et rari. Unfortunately, we did not have (sufficient) access to all the archives we wanted to consult.

We thank Prasun Chatterjee for supporting our book project.

Steffen Hörnig and Christophe Z. Guilmoto patiently supported our epic intellectual saga and provided at every step of the way support, encouragement, and the necessary perspective. Salcete in Goa and the island of Šolta in Croatia were always before our eyes.

The book is dedicated to our children who were constant reminders of the passing of time and the need to finish the book. João's birth interrupted one of our working meetings in Lisbon, Madalena started school and learnt English, Ante finished his baccalauréat and is now a university student.

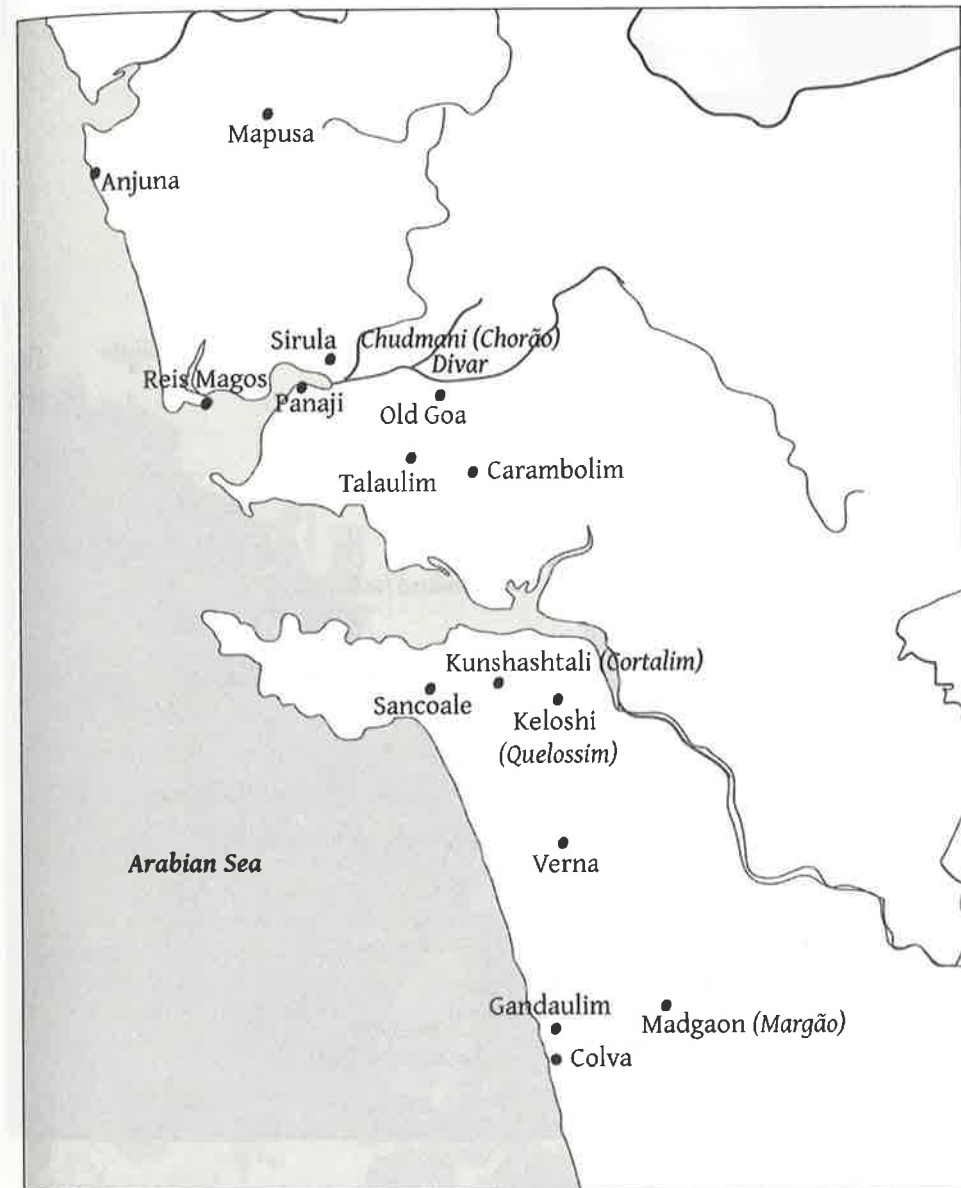
NOTE ON transliteration AND SPELLING OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

For Portuguese, Spanish, and Italian words, we have used both contemporary orthography and, when judged necessary, the orthography of the documentary sources. The titles of manuscripts and printed books in these languages appear in the original. They are followed by their English translation in brackets and without italics. When an English printed version is provided, the English title is italicized.

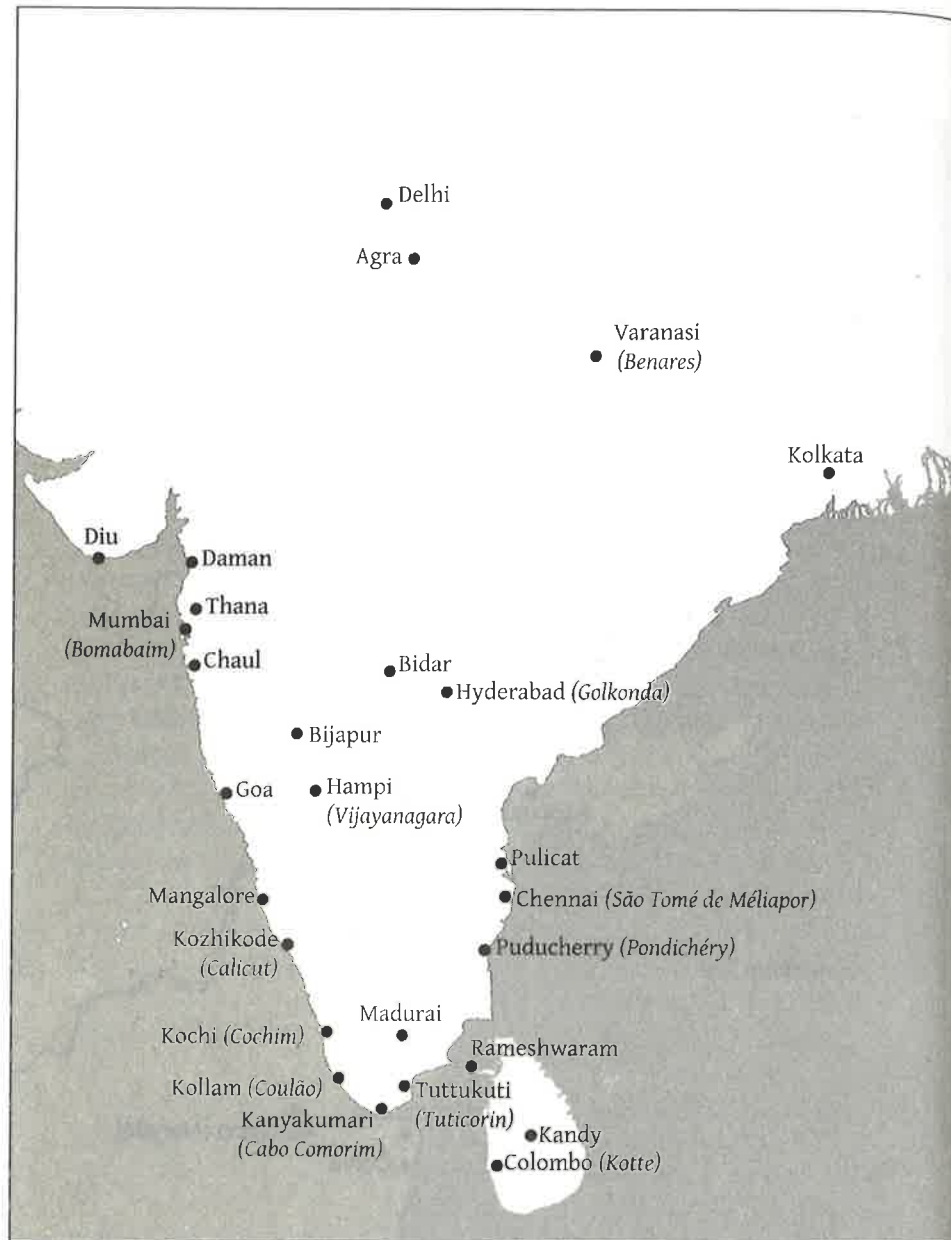
In principle, Tamil words are transliterated according to the system used in the *Madras University Tamil Lexicon*. The exceptions to this rule are commonly accepted forms in English usage and transcription into European languages found in the primary sources.

For all other languages—Sanskrit, Konkani, Persian, Malayalam, and Arabic—transcriptions mostly depend on the sources or on common usage.

MAPS



1. Map of Goa



2. Map of India



3. World Map

PROLOGUE

*I say that one gets to know more in one day now with the Portuguese
(in India) than what knowledge was gathered in one hundred years by
the Romans.*

—Garcia de Orta, *Colóquios* (Goa, 1563)

A history of an empire, of which only archives and monuments, ruined or standing, remain, has many endings folded into strings of competing or parallel chronologies. The long history of the Portuguese empire in India (1505–1961) is one such complex discursive field with multiple glorious beginnings and a series of disastrous endings.¹ Our aim is to follow the path of knowledge production about and in India in the context of this decidedly Catholic empire and to (re)draw the map of Catholic knowledge—its production sites and the way it operated in South Asia and on a global scale in the early modern period. Catholicism from before and after the Council of Trent (1563) was a social, cultural, and epistemological lubricant of the Portuguese imperial venture. A set of knowledge practices geared to perpetuate political and cultural fantasies of the early modern Catholic protagonists and their communities is what we call ‘Catholic Orientalism’ in this book. Briefly, Catholic Orientalism is an integral part of the Portuguese imperial ‘information order’ established in Asia, and it refers to both knowledge practices and the archives. More importantly, Catholic Orientalism nourished and merged into other and later Orientalisms and scholarly disciplines while itself disappearing under accusations such as a lack of scientificity and objectivity, and of being too close to the ‘native’ point of view.

¹ We take the foundation of the Estado da Índia in 1505 as a starting point of the Portuguese imperial presence in India.

In this book, we focus in particular on the Portuguese imperial experience by chronicling the rise, the branching out, the reappropriation, and the decline of this Catholic knowledge produced in and about South Asia (mainly India) and disseminated through the global networks of the Portuguese empire.² Bearing this in mind, we invite the reader to embark upon a journey to meet different knowledge communities, all of which were in one way or another linked and even opposed to Portuguese colonial and imperial designs in the early modern period.

Just as the Portuguese material possessions in their Indian (and Asian) empire—occupied territories and settlements, maritime networks, and the control of labour—progressively dissolved from the seventeenth century onwards, their hard-won knowledge migrated into other political formations, in the process expanding their colonial and imperial realms. Catholic Orientalism, therefore, is built into knowledge practices of the European colonial powers settled in India from the late seventeenth century onwards, all the way to the British Raj. Similar to the early modern Protestant Orientalism, which had already attracted important scholarship, Catholic Orientalism is linked to its successor—High Orientalism—which became a respectable ‘humanist’ discipline in the early nineteenth century. This is obviously a big subject, which we address through a set of case studies. A systematic approach would require a whole library of books.

The eighteenth-century Portuguese Royal Academy of History, albeit with intentions very different from ours, nurtured and expressed precociously and unrealistically a similar ambition of recovering different aspects of Portuguese history by systematizing documents in the archives and in the libraries, in order to publish volumes of historical books. What the academicians ardently desired was to give visibility to the glorious imperial past of the Portuguese and inscribe it into the ‘universal’ European history. Established in 1720 and about to last until 1776, this enlightened Portuguese institution wanted to put together—as defined by Francisco Xavier de Meneses (1673–1743), the fourth Count of Ericeira—the ecclesiastical, military, and civil history

2 In order to avoid a potted history of Catholic Orientalism, we do not take into account a wider geography of Portuguese presence in Asia in the early modern period, such as in Japan, China, and Indonesia.

of the Portuguese kingdom and empire, and to assess and understand its lasting impact on the present.

Brimming with optimism, Ericeira was certain that the echo of the Academy’s research and publications would reverberate beyond the borders of the kingdom because ‘all Europe ... is watching and waiting for our compositions’.³ The incredible amount of documents, objects, and tokens, in rich and bursting official and private collections, was evidence of almost two and a half centuries of Portuguese imperial grandeur. With a sense of urgency, Ericeira claimed that the moment was ripe for the academicians to start sifting through all of these treasures in order to tease out ‘true’ histories, no longer visible, because they were ‘hidden in the Archives’ or ‘usurped by the jealousy of other Nations’.⁴

When an earthquake of catastrophic magnitude struck Lisbon on the 1st of November 1755, the nations, more than anything else, were horrified. They were certainly not jealous! In one day, the natural disaster shattered the utopian dreams of the members of the Royal Academy of History. The knowledge and the memory of the Portuguese past were literally buried in rubble and burnt in fire, and were rendered even more hidden and invisible.

In the Lisbon earthquake several thousands of people perished, as did the archives of the Royal Academy of History, the House of India, the Royal Palace, and several administrative institutions. Many books that Diogo Barbosa Machado saw in the Royal Library and included in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana* were destroyed.⁵ One exemplary work he mentioned was the *Amphiteatro Oriental* (Oriental Amphitheatre), written by Amaro da Rocha. An official of the Portuguese crown

3 *Colleçam dos documentos, estatutos e memorias da Academia Real da Historia Portugueza: Que neste anno de 1721 se compuzerão, e se imprimirão por ordem dos seus censores*, vol. 1, ‘Conferência de 23 de Dezembro de 1723’ (Lisbon: Officina de Pascoal de Mello Sylva, 15 vols, 1721–35), n.p.

4 *Colleçam dos documentos*, vol. 4, ‘Conferência de 9 de Agosto de 1724’, n.p.

5 *Bibliotheca Lusitana* is a bio-bibliographical compilation of Portuguese authors and books. Published between 1741 and 1759, before the earthquake, it is a precious document containing Portuguese literary treasures that had completely disappeared. See Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana, Historica, Critica e Cronologica*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Officina de Antonio Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741); vols 2 and 3 (Lisbon: Officina de Ignacio Rodrigues, 1747 and 1752); vol. 4 (Lisbon: Officina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1759).

settled in Goa, the Secretary of Estado da Índia, Amaro da Rocha was, according to Barbosa Machado, 'very learned in political and military matters of that State, as well as a very eager investigator of nature and of the quality of plants'. His treatise comprised five books with descriptions and images of local flora and fauna and of Portuguese fortresses in Asia. There was in addition a 'kind of a map' with representations of different social types (determined by clothing, rites, and customs) and a compilation on natural philosophy. He collected all these documents while in service at the court of the viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque (1580–1647).⁶ Unfortunately, Barbosa's reference to Rocha's treatise is all that is left of it and of his contemporary Goan community of knowledge.

In a similar way, the rich libraries of the Portuguese nobility as well as that of the Opera House in which the 1755 season had been inaugurated with the famous opera *Alessandro nell'Indie* by Pietro Metastasio, celebrating precisely those deeds that the Portuguese wanted to remember, vanished in smoke and dust.

With the loss of historical archives, all future understanding of the Portuguese early modern period and its intellectual and cultural dynamics in the kingdom and in the empire has been compromised. However, in our book, we want to demonstrate that the ruins of Catholic Orientalism are not exclusively the result of natural disasters—be it an earthquake, shipwreck, fire, or termites. Our claim is that between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, these knowledge practices suffered from external and internal pressures beyond their control, contributing to their slow demise.

Geopolitical challenges and transformations are certainly some of the factors responsible for the decline. Between the beginning of the seventeenth and the end of the eighteenth century, tectonic shifts were occurring in Europe and in the Indian Ocean—two of the principal geographic spaces of Catholic Orientalism. At the same time, Portuguese settlements in India and in the Indian Ocean shrunk to irrelevance, and the Dutch and the British took over many of these territorial possessions.⁷ On the other hand, during the Habsburg

⁶ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 1, s.v. 'Amaro da Rocha', p. 128.

⁷ In our book, India is one of the nodal points of these various mostly maritime-based circuits and it corresponds to the territory referred to as South Asia or former British India.

dynasty's takeover of the Portuguese crown, between 1580 and 1640, Portuguese imperial interests started to turn to the Atlantic, moving even further away from the Indian Ocean.

These geopolitical shifts in imperial dominion and interest entailed significant changes in knowledge practices, especially when we consider the intersection between culture and politics, science and empire, or, in older Foucauldian terminology, between knowledge and power. Walter Mignolo studied extensively the nature of epistemological shifts that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century, namely the shift of the centres of knowledge, modes of knowing, and the referential encyclopaedia.⁸ However, we want to demonstrate that this Foucauldian (also Saidian) template is not sufficient to account for layers of practices, projects, imagination, and the dynamics of knowing that we see as an integral part of Catholic Orientalism. In fact, our approach is informed by two different theoretical positions. One affirms the interdependence of knowledge and political demands, the other emphasizes the agency of the actors pursuing their own interests and personal and collective desires (of knowing, among others). Catholic Orientalism, as probably all other Orientalisms that came after it, emerged historically as a result of structural tensions between these various motivations and desires. We tried to capture some of these by either one or the other analytical lens.

That is why we consider that the patterns of cultural mobility (of people, of ideas, of practices) in the early modern period constituted a major epistemological switchboard for the rise and decline of Catholic Orientalism. Stephen Greenblatt recalled the words of Goethe, writing in 1826, that 'there is no patriotic art and no patriotic science. Both belong, like everything good, to the whole world and can be promoted only through general, free interaction among all who live at the same time'.⁹ Seemingly, in the first decades of nineteenth-century Germany, Goethe was unaware that a 'general interaction'

⁸ Walter Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance: Literacy, Territoriality, and Colonization* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

⁹ Stephen Greenblatt, 'Cultural Mobility: An Introduction', in *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, eds Stephen Greenblatt, Ines G. Županov, Reinhard Meyer-Kalkus, Heike Paul, Pál Nyíri, and Friederike Pannewick (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 6.

(albeit not necessarily 'free') already characterized most of the movements of people, texts, and ideas in the previous period, and that it helped shape his century of 'patriotic science'. Between the early sixteenth century and the end of the eighteenth century, knowledge circulated relatively quickly, mostly in manuscripts and embodied in actors who also moved through the officially and unofficially established networks.

The Portuguese imperial network in South Asia coexisted with other networks such as a recently studied network of the Islamic world.¹⁰ The connections between the two still need to be properly studied. On the other hand, the competition that the Portuguese/Spanish networks, united under the same king (1580–1640), faced by the mid-seventeenth century from other Catholic powers such as Papacy and France, as well as from the Protestant and Northern Europeans proved to be fatal to the 'official' Estado da Índia network. However, by that time the informal Lusophone networks worked at a capillary level.

Lusophone people on the move within (and outside) the political geographies of the Portuguese empire, the texts they produced, their ideas, and practices also circulated through these multiple circuits that connected the four parts of the world. While circulating, frequently all of them changed shape (or identity), becoming something else, starting to belong to a different template. Mapping some of these movements is challenging, but it must be done. In fact, detailed and local accounts of these changes will allow us to contribute to a richer understanding of the processes of constitution of political and scientific cultures that today appear to be the logical result of stable societies. The case of Catholic Orientalism is, in that sense, just another case; but a good case to think with.

These two aspects—geopolitical challenges and changes, and cultural mobility in the context of the interactions between Europe and South Asia—position this book at the core of a major historiographical current: the historiography of the imperial experiences in South Asia, with its long-standing interest in understanding linkages between information and the shape of political power; the dissemination of knowledge and the communities for whom and within which

¹⁰ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion and Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).

it was produced; and the role of the colonized in this process.¹¹ In dialogue with the important contributions of this historiography, and frequently inspired by their research methodologies, this book wants to contribute new insights on these historical processes, based on lesser-known and, for the majority of historians, still-hidden archives.

But the fate of Catholic Orientalism cannot be fully grasped without considering the processes of secularization that characterized the transition from the early modern to the modern (and not only Western) world. Religion mattered to the imperial institutions we try to square in this book, and it also mattered in the choice of our methodology and of the notion of Catholic Orientalism. We adopted this term in order to direct attention to the empirical and historical framework of the *Respubblica Christiana* in which this imperial knowledge/discourse took form. In that sense, our approach is somewhat different from the one proposed in the introduction of *O Orientalismo em Portugal*.¹² However, it is not our brief to delve into the debates regarding the tensions between secular and religious knowledge, and the way 'modern science' has been constructed against 'superstition', though what we call Catholic knowledge lost some of its international purchase because it was considered a lesser (religion-tainted) knowledge. A striking example is, of course, that of Sir William Jones and other British administrator-orientalists who made it a point of honour to expel all Catholic alloys from the pure scientific (but Protestant) British Orientalism and a new British empire of knowledge. Albeit it is not only about Orientalism, this tension has been the object of recent debates, in particular those launched by historians who militated to put the Iberian empires, in Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's words, 'back into the narratives of modernity'.¹³

¹¹ Christopher Bayly, *Empire and Information: Intelligence Gathering and Social Communication in India, 1780–1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996) and various works by the *Subaltern Studies* collective. A more recent, revisionist historiographical strand emerged with the distinctive focus on the early modern Indian history. We named it 'reconstructivist', in Ines G. Županov and Marie Fourcade, 'Introduction: La question des Lumières en Inde: Un champ à revisiter', in *L'Inde des Lumières: Discours, histoire, savoirs (XVIIe–XIXe siècle)*, Collection *Puruṣārtha*, 31 (Paris: EHESS éditions, 2013), p. 13.

¹² António Manuel Hespanha et al., eds, *O Orientalismo em Portugal, secs. XVI–XX* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1999).

¹³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?', *Perspectives on Science*, 12, 1 (2004): 86–124.

In writing this book we embarked on a similar path. But in contrast to the majority of these Iberian historians, who tend to dissolve the Portuguese experience into the Spanish/Iberian template, we focus on a body of knowledge produced by the Portuguese before, during, and after the union of the Iberian crowns that cannot be fitted into an exclusively Spanish historical framework. Without denying the multiple links and intersecting itineraries of the Spanish and the Portuguese imperial projects between 1580 and 1640, as the works of historians such as Serge Gruzinski and Sanjay Subrahmanyam have amply shown, we also point to their parallel lives and loci of difference.

Interestingly, in their recent book, *Writing the Mughal World*, Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam discuss the 'long shadow' the Mughals cast on Indian historiography.¹⁴ They define the themes they cover in their book as ones that forced them to swim 'against the tide of historiographical orthodoxy', while, somewhat paradoxically, they also claim to be 'part of an interesting renewal and reorientation of Mughal historiography'.

The same ambivalence permeates our book. When we started the project, in 2006, the term we coined—Catholic Orientalism—and the themes we defined were marginal to historiographical orthodoxy. Ever since, and after a period when the notion of 'Orientalism' was an outcast subject due to the backlash of criticisms that followed Edward Said's thesis, new works on the different types of Orientalisms have begun to appear in print. Urs App in his *The Birth of Orientalism*¹⁵ filliped Catholic Orientalism back on to the scene. In addition, there is now a plethora of doctoral theses, post-doctoral projects, and conferences dedicated to the Orientalist production, which preceded the Orientalisms of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, some of them looking very closely into Catholic centres, groups, and individual actors. In that sense, this book also belongs to this renewed interest in Orientalism, and the place that Catholic knowledge had in its emergence and forms.

Before proceeding to the itinerary and case studies proposed in our chapters, we caution the reader to keep in mind two additional

14 Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World: Studies on Culture and Politics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), pp. 23, 26.

15 Urs App, *The Birth of Orientalism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

factors which are in all crucial predicaments directly related to the historical contexts referred to earlier (geopolitical challenges and changes, cultural mobility, secularization): these are fragmentation and invisibility.

As opposed to later varieties, Catholic Orientalism is conditioned by the fragmentary nature of institutions, itineraries, and archives within which it was shaped and made operational, and by the fragmentary nature of the existing scholarship on the Portuguese imperial knowledge of India.

The seats of political power which, at least nominally, commissioned the collection and crafting of information were variously fragmented during the period, in addition to being, at times, in competition with each other. Lisbon was, no doubt, an important centre during the sixteenth century, in which some of the most important Catholic Orientalist texts were produced. They were frequently linked to demands of the Portuguese crown. The best-known example is the *Décadas da Ásia* (Decades of Asia) by João de Barros, humanist and royal administrator, also known as Portuguese Livy. However, during the political union between the Portuguese and the Spanish crowns (1580–1640), Lisbon lost the status of the capital to Madrid, and this loss of political power had an impact on the demands for useful knowledge.

Lisbon not only lost the status of a capital in the Catholic monarchy, but from the early seventeenth century the papal Rome challenged its claim to Asian Respublica Christiana. In the context of the conflicts between the *Padroado* (Portuguese royal patronage of the missions) and the Roman *Congregazione della Propaganda Fide*, part of the papal imperial project, some canonical powers that had been delegated to the Portuguese crown had to be renegotiated.¹⁶ The Propaganda Fide was thus established in 1622, with the project of controlling and collecting information on the 'four parts of the world'.¹⁷ Discalced Carmelites, among other religious orders, were protagonists of this 'Roman turn', which was responsible for the mushrooming of new 'Orientalist centres' in South Asia and beyond. Adding to Goa and

16 Jordan Branch, "'Colonial Reflection' and Territoriality: The Peripheral Origins of Sovereign Statehood', *European Journal of International Relations*, 18, 2 (2012): 277–97.

17 Francesco Ingoli, *Relazione delle quattro parti del mondo*, ed. Fabio Tosi (Rome: Urbaniana University Press, 1999).

Kochi (Cochim), where the Portuguese had their headquarters, the Discalced Carmelite mission in Vazhapuzha (Verapoly) became an important centre of Catholic Orientalist learning and a rich research library. According to some, the library was washed away in the flood, although when Claudius Buchanan travelled through Kerala in 1806, he found an interesting Syriac manuscript there, labelled 'Liber hereticus prohibitus'. He stole it and took it back to Europe, where it is still kept in the library of the University of Cambridge.¹⁸ Only briefly, however, around the turn of the nineteenth century, Rome did become the centre of Catholic Orientalism, mostly owing to the sizable accumulation of both Padroado and Propaganda Fide missionary collections.

Paris was another competing Orientalist hub, especially when, with Colbert and Louis XIV, the aspirations of the French monarchy encompassed the East. It was during this period that men like François Bernier, a friend of Pierre Gassendi and a reader of René Descartes, as well as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, travelled to Asia, leaving a written legacy that became an important source for eighteenth-century intellectuals. Compared to Lisbon—the capital of a small country at war against Madrid from 1640 until 1668 and waging battles at sea against the British, the Dutch, and other rivals—Paris was on the rise. Consequently, the French took over the production of Orientalist knowledge (not all of it Catholic) by the middle of the eighteenth century. Unsurprisingly, therefore, and in spite of the titanic project undertaken by the Royal Academy of History (amounting to too little, too late) in preserving and disseminating the legacy of the Portuguese imperial knowledge in the eighteenth century, Catholic Orientalism had less and less of a Portuguese imprint, becoming more Italian and French. The comprehensive history of French and Roman (papal) Orientalism is yet to be written.

At the turn of the nineteenth century, when the first 'professional Orientalists'—those who are seen as devoting their lives to the study of the 'Orient' in a scientific manner—appeared on the scene, they were employed by French, German, and British academic institutions.¹⁹

18 István Perczel, 'Have the Flames of Diamper Destroyed All the Old Manuscripts of the Saint Thomas Christians?', *The Harp*, vol. XX (2006): 96–7.

19 Raymond Schwab, *La Renaissance orientale* (Paris: Payot, 1950). David Kopf, *Orientalism and the Genesis of the Bengal Renaissance, 1800–1830* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1964).

To political fragmentation referred to earlier, we have to add the diversity of the producers of Catholic Orientalism and the fluidity of their geographical and cultural itineraries and identities. First of all, Catholic Orientalist knowledge easily migrated across the state, language, religious and institutional borders. Physicians, merchants, missionaries (of different orders and nationalities), and royal officials were, for three centuries, active producers of information. Lay and religious, belonging to different (and rival) religious orders, working for or corresponding with different 'masters'—these actors were anything but immobile.²⁰ Instead, their unfixedness makes it difficult to classify them under one homogenous category of 'orientalists'. The presence of Indians as co-producers in this process adds yet another crucial dimension to the definition of knowledge practices and the communities of knowledge.

Fragmentation of archives is a logical consequence of the fragmentation of political centres and of diversity of individual and collective actors. Even in Lisbon, Rome, and Paris the sources of Catholic Orientalism are not in one place because they were disseminated through different institutional channels, depending on the religious orders to which the producers of knowledge belonged. From the end of the eighteenth century, the growing market for Indian sources, in addition to incipient political conflicts, after which the conflicting politics of memory burst on the scene, contributed to further fragmentation. For example, during the Iberian Union, many archives were taken from Portugal to Spain, not even a century later others were ransacked by the French and shipped out of the country. Roman archives had a similar fate when Napoleon's French troops stormed official church buildings.

Finally, quantities of various archives were bought by the British during the auctions of public and private Portuguese collections that took place during the nineteenth century. Some, namely the ones that had been preserved in India and transported to Portugal by the royal decree, disappeared in the high seas. All this was in addition to the destiny of most of the archives in Lisbon that perished in the 1755 earthquake. We are convinced that a massive amount of the Catholic knowledge vanished with these archives, which means that the documents we discuss in this book are probably a small planet of a much

20 Without trying to cover them all, we chose to revive some of the histories, successes, and failures of the Catholic Orientalists in the early modern period in India.

greater universe of texts that had originally existed. Due to the lack of a complete corpus of texts we emphasized the processes of knowledge making and the actors rather than the knowledge itself. In this first phase—to which our book is a contribution—we want to provide at least a catalogue raisonné of the orientalist documents that have been lost or are still waiting to be found.

The multiple forms of fragmentation also help to explain the invisibility of some of the Catholic Orientalist undertakings, representations, and actors. Cultural mobility is partly responsible for dissolving Catholic Orientalist concepts and productions into other Orientalisms—for example, topics and analytical concepts that historians and anthropologists routinely use such as ‘caste’, ‘Brahmanism’, ‘paganism’, ‘possession’, ‘the torrid zone’, and ‘oriental despotism’ were first developed for or used within the Portuguese and Catholic colonial universe in India in the early modern period, long before they were employed by British Orientalists. In addition, the process of secularization devalued forms of religious (in particular Catholic) knowledge, but the most significant blow came with the success of the printed word and its conquest of the public sphere.

The fleeting, work-in-progress nature of Catholic Orientalist knowledge, combined with the lack of printed documents and stable information networks certainly played a role in its dissolution. In fact, the processed information of Catholic Orientalists was only the tip of the iceberg of notes, treatises, and flotsam and jetsam that remained in the back office in the form of manuscripts, falling prey to decay, destruction, and, from our contemporary point of view, intellectual ‘theft’. Of course, epistemological routines in the early modern intellectual world were not excessively concerned with intertextuality and illicit borrowing. The stories of intellectual re-appropriation were a rule rather than an exception.

Thus, it is well known that the Dutch in Kochi pilfered the rich Jesuit archives in Kerala. The story of Philippus Baldaeus’s appropriation of a Jesuit manuscript, attributed to Jacomo Fenicio on the ‘idolatry of the East-Indian Heathens’ is, in that respect, well documented. Later on in 1759, with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese dominions, Jesuit libraries were scattered. The same happened with the French Jesuit library in Pondicherry. It fell into the hands of the *Société des Missions-Etrangères*, sworn rivals of the Jesuits all

through the eighteenth century. Abbé Dubois (1765–1848), the compiler of *Mœurs, institutions, et cérémonies des peuples de l’Inde*, a text later bought by the East India Company and published in English in 1816, had access to this library and appropriated the materials that the Jesuits had been collecting for more than two centuries.²¹

Other Jesuit and Portuguese texts found their way directly into British hands, and into British printed books. In the introduction to the *Grammar of the Malabar [Malayalam] Language* published in Bombay in 1799, Robert Drummond, the physician of the East India Company, praised ‘the worthy prelate [Aloysius a Maria de Jesus]’ who ‘submitted to me all his manuscripts with an injunction to render them as subservient as possible to the end of diffusing knowledge of Malabar tongue among the Honourable Company’s representatives’.²² The Discalced Carmelites, missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide, not only took over Jesuit documents in Kerala, but also collaborated with both the Dutch and the British against the Portuguese Padroado.

Catholic writers also borrowed from each other with little respect for authorship. Thus, Manuel Faria y Souza availed himself of Jesuit Fenicio’s description of Indian gentility and printed it in his *Asia Portuguesa*. The same account was also lifted by the Discalced Carmelite, Idelphonsus a Presentatione B. Mariae Virginis.²³ The exchanges of missionary materials such as dictionaries and grammars, catechetical literature, and other types of information, in particular botanical and pharmacological, flowed quickly (albeit in fragments) within the same geographical area between missionary orders in spite of constantly brewing animosities. Perhaps one of the reasons for this easy circulation was the fact that they often shared informants or that the informants sold the same ‘stuff’ to otherwise embattled missionaries.

Ironically, many of the archival materials produced through these channels are now preserved in British libraries, becoming, in this

21 Abbé Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners and Customs of the People of India, and of Their Institutions, Religious and Civil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1816).

22 Robert Drummond, ‘Preface’ to the *Grammar of the Malabar Language* (Bombay: Printed at the Courier Printing Office, 1799), n.p.

23 Jarl Charpentier, ed., *The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais*, Ms. Sloane, 1820 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells 1933), pp. XCV–CI.

way, part of the British imperial archives, while containing, in fact, archives of previous Portuguese and Catholic imperial experiences. Until recently, their very presence in the British archives was barely noticed by social and cultural historians of the empire. Also, ironically, many of these texts were considered to be potentially full of errors and coming from an 'earlier' period or stage in the development of 'sciences', wrapped in the blinding mantle of popish trickery.

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK

In order to disentangle the complexities of these processes of knowing, preserving, and forgetting knowledge, we analyse several case studies understood and interpreted within the wider political and cultural (geographical, chronological, 'national') contexts. We selected the cases on the basis of their exemplarity and we combine, unapologetically, Foucauldian approaches with typical approaches of the so-called grounded theory.

A brief proviso is in order regarding the inevitable choice to leave out certain topics of enquiry such as Indian continental networks (Mughal Empire, Deccan sultanates, and other political formations), and also Catholic Orientalism in the Atlantic world (Brazil, Mexico, Peru). All these would have necessarily changed the framework of our project. Sociologically, this continues to be a male-centred history. Albeit gender conscious in all other respects, we were, however—our archives being what they are—not able to carve out women's destinies and agencies and put them back on this Orientalist stage. Consequently, Catholic Orientalism is primarily about a male-centred world in which the quest for knowledge and power is readily detectable at the top layers of the archival heap, usually the only surviving layer.

As previously mentioned, we argue that it is impossible to understand Catholic Orientalism without looking specifically into these processes through a grid of knowledge and power relations that are simultaneously macro and micro, local and transnational.

For this reason, particular attention is paid: (a) to the contexts within which Portuguese imperial knowledge was produced, connected, and disseminated; the contents of this knowledge; and how it was valued, protected, and changed; (b) the key actors, from the

famous New Christian²⁴ physician, Garcia de Orta, to little-known/unfamiliar/obscure Indian priests such as Leonardo Paes or Antonio João Frias; (c) the key 'orientalist' topics (philology, ethnography, early modern medical botany) and institutions (The House of India, religious orders, Propaganda Fide, secular academies); and (d) debates and events relevant to knowledge and empire that were played out in different epicentres in Portugal, in India, and elsewhere.

The three sections into which the book is divided—Imperial Itineraries, Catholic Meridian, Contested Knowledge—are structured based on these levels of analysis. At the same time, the first and the eighth chapters serve as boundaries of the chronological and analytical itinerary: the rise and the fall of Catholic Orientalism and its various dimensions.

In the first chapter, we widen the range of Orientalism to include the earliest practices of knowledge closely linked to the Portuguese imperial presence in India. Our claim is that an effort at classicizing Portugal opened the way for the subsequent move to 'orientalize' India. Sciences of administration and natural history or bio-knowledge, probably the least visible areas of Portuguese imperial knowledge gathering, at least in Anglo-American scholarship, are the objects of the second and the third chapters. In the second chapter, we address early Portuguese practices of government administration, such as the *Tombos* of Goa, the first colonial censuses and gazetteers, which are important for tracing the genealogies of the later imperial science of administration, considered by scholars such as Bernard S. Cohn or Christopher Bayly as a fundamental tool of empire. Then follows a chapter where we show that survival in the Portuguese tropical empire was seen by contemporary actors as depending directly on the possession of nature. This chapter contributes to making visible the fact that what we know at present of Portuguese bio-prospecting in South Asia and its global connections is still a small part of a rich historical field.

In the second section—Catholic Meridian—we show how Catholic Orientalism became a composite and cosmopolitan entity, especially in the context of interaction and competition between Iberian monarchies, the Papacy, and finally France for control, knowledge, and possession of the territory, trade, and people in South Asia. In

²⁴ New Christian, or *cristão novo*, is a term applied to Iberian Jews and Muslims and their descendants who were forcefully converted to Christianity in the early sixteenth century.

these chapters, we discuss missionary agents and the relevance of the knowledge produced by them. Some of the first and fascinating texts on 'religion' of the Indian 'pagans' and on philological difficulties in translating (and converting) 'paganism' came from the Catholic missionaries and their local informants (fourth and sixth chapters). In the fifth chapter, we uncover still unstudied strands of Franciscan Orientalism. In the eyes of the recent historiography, Jesuits stand for Catholic modernity while Franciscans have remained invisible, partially due (again) to the dispersion of their archives and to their own, at times, neglectful attitudes to writing, but also because the Jesuit missionary self-narration has left deep imprints in historical scholarship.

Nonetheless, Franciscans were expert writers of chorographies and histories, and their practice of collecting natural objects since the medieval times was directly related to their theological and intellectual routines. Of course, the Jesuits who left the richest documents studiously avoided writing about Franciscans. Although they used Franciscan texts because these were important instruments of evangelization, the Jesuits in general treated them as nothing but raw material, to be ransacked for information and discarded. However, the quantity of the information collected by the Franciscans makes them unavoidable protagonists of Catholic Orientalism.

The last part—Contested Knowledge—takes us to the eighteenth century and deals with two types of challenges faced by Catholic Orientalism. By looking into the historical 'identity' narratives produced by Catholic Goan Brahmans and Kṣatriyas (in the seventh chapter) from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in which orientalist knowledge was appropriated in unexpected ways and used both to fight cultural subalternity and to impose social domination, we discuss the agency of the Indians, defined more broadly than usually considered in historiography. These are not merely native informants but also dynamic agents of knowledge and empire. Catholic Orientalism, in fact, easily became 'Orientalism from within' as well as a tool of empowerment of local elites. Finally, in the eighth chapter we analyse the paths Catholic Orientalism took in the enlightened Catholic circles of the Papacy, France, and England, purified from its initial Portuguese stain, and ready to migrate to (or to be dismissed by) more secular forms of intellectual debates.

Part I

Imperial Itineraries

Making India Classic, Exotic, and Oriental

Writing from Goa to the king of Portugal, Martim Afonso de Sousa (c. 1500–71), the governor of the Estado da Índia (State of India) who fought against the local ‘pirates’ from Diu to Calicut just as he fought earlier the Dutch and the French ships off the coast of Brazil, criticized Nuno da Cunha (1487–1539), another former governor of Goa, for marketing his youthful ‘classical’ experience in Rome and the visit to see the ruins of the Colosseum.¹ Brought up in the court of the dukes of Braganza, the highest nobility of Portugal well known for their humanistic interests, Sousa was in fact simply envious.

Posterity would also remember him for being a patron of a famous Portuguese humanist, Garcia de Orta (1501–78). In the acclaimed medico-botanical work, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas he Cousas Medicinais da India* (Colloquies of the Simples and Drugs of India), this enigmatic New Christian physician who lived in Goa in the first part of the sixteenth century praised Sousa because he taught him so much in his ‘military and courtly school’.²

1 Martim Afonso de Sousa, *Cartas* (Lisbon: Alfa, 1989), p. 25. Martim Afonso de Sousa and Nuno da Cunha served as governors of the Estado da Índia—Sousa from 1542–5 and Cunha from 1529–38.

2 Garcia de Orta, *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas he Cousas Medicinais da India* (Goa, 1563; reprint, Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987). This is a facsimile edition of an annotated edition by Conde de Ficalho, published in 1891—the one that is quoted in this book.

However, Sousa's Goan circle of savants and writers such as Orta were not enough for him to feel like an established humanist. In his eyes, to claim that status, one had to establish close and credible links with Rome and the Romans. And Nuno da Cunha had accompanied his father, Tristão da Cunha, on his famous embassy to Rome in 1514. Cunha's father was one of the envoys of the Portuguese king, Manuel I (1469–1521), who were sent to Pope Leo X (1475–1521) and he carried with him exotic Asian presents, of which the most prized item was an elephant. During the procession in Rome that resembled an antique Roman triumph, Annone or Hanno, as the elephant was called, splashed the audience with water and subsequently became a papal entertainer, at least for a few years of its short life before succumbing to the Roman climate.³

Painted by Raphael, described by Pietro Aretino, with his image engraved by the Portuguese painter Francisco de Holanda, the memory of Annone spread throughout Europe and made him an icon and symbol of global (mainly oriental) possibilities (Figure 1).

In 1550, Catarina of Austria, the wife of the Portuguese king João III (1502–57), who owned one of the biggest collections of exotica of early modern Europe, acquired another elephant. This time it was made of crystal and mounted on a fine gold setting. A year later, however, the queen and the king of Portugal sent a live elephant to the archduke, Maximilian II (1527–76), the future emperor of the Holy Empire. This second elephant was named Salomon, and his name was supposed to evoke the submission of the Ottomans to the



Figure 1. Hanno or Annone, painted by Raphael (or by Giulio Romano), c. 1514, drawing on paper, Staatliche Museum, Berlin

3 Silvio A. Bedini, *The Pope's Elephant* (Lisbon: Carnet, 1997), p. 143.

Habsburgs.⁴ The life of Salomon in Vienna was similar to Annone's in Rome—he did not live very long. But his end was less dignified. If Annone was buried in the papal gardens of Belvedere, Salomon was dissected and his various parts were distributed and used as commodities.⁵

Besides Annone and Salomon, early modern European imagination was crowded with elephants. They appeared on maps as a symbol of India, they were described in treatises such as that of Cristóvão da Costa, a traveller and physician, or they existed as material pleasure objects such as the queen's crystal elephant. From imagined to captured, from captured to domesticated, from domesticated to transformed, from transformed to imagined—these sixteenth-century elephants stand as allegories of possession and as symptoms of the dialogue between classicization and orientalization that was present in the relation between Europe and Asia from the earliest encounters.⁶

In Portugal, the same link was triggered, as Sylvie Deswarte suggested, by the embassy Manuel I sent to the Pope, in which Nuno da Cunha and Tristão da Cunha participated.⁷ Multiple and concrete experiences of various Asian territories only helped emphasize further and internalize this interdependence. In the following pages we will try to make sense of some of these instances of overlapping and blending imaginations.

4 'Alvará da rainha D. Catarina (30 de Setembro de 1550)', ANTT, CC, I, MSS. 85, n°56. The queen paid 33.810 réis for the crystal and gold elephant.

5 Annone survived in European memory through its portraits, while Salomon's body parts can be seen and touched, even sat on, as decorative objects or curiosities. Some of Salomon's bones were assembled into a seat. On this, see the catalogue of the exhibition, Ana de Castro Henriques, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries, 16 July–11 October, 2009* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, 2009), p. 97.

6 Stephen Greenblatt makes a distinction between medieval wonder as a sign of dispossession and Renaissance wonder as an agent of appropriation. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvellous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 24.

7 Sylvie Deswarte, *Ideias e imagens em Portugal na Época dos Descobrimentos: Francisco de Holanda e a Teoria da Arte* (Lisbon: Difel, 1992), p. 24; See also, Diogo Ramada Curto, *Cultura Escrita: Séculos XV a XVIII* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2007), p. 102.

A GENERATION THAT CLASSICIZED PORTUGAL AND ORIENTALIZED INDIA

What soul is there so abject, timid and humble, that when he reads of the deeds of Caesar, Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, and many others, is not inflamed by an ardent desire to be like them, and does not make small account of this frail two days' life, in order to win the almost eternal life of fame, which in spite of death makes him live in far greater glory than before?⁸

Dedicated to Miguel da Silva (1480–1556), a bishop and ambassador of the king of Portugal to Rome, this excerpt from *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*) by Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) captures unwittingly this classicizing moment and its dependence on Asian experience that would eventually develop in Portugal. Eternal life of fame was certainly what the conquest of India could bring to the Portuguese.

Staying in Rome between 1514 and 1525, Silva was a member of various erudite circles. He was a friend of important statesmen such as Leo X and Alessandro Farnese, as well as of famous painters such as Michelangelo Buonarroti and Raphael d'Urbino.⁹ Castiglione's book, a mirror of and for the early modern courtier, emphasized the importance of military accomplishment in the education of a nobleman. Castiglione's perfect courtier cultivated arms and letters, a typically humanist conciliatory proposition. The same model was also an inspiration for many of the governors of the Estado da Índia—from Nuno da Cunha and Martim Afonso de Sousa to Afonso de Albuquerque (1443–1515) and João de Castro (1500–48)—but in different ways. It was not on the European stage, or in the Mediterranean—where Italian or French nobles showed off their prowess—but in Africa, Asia, and Brazil, that the Portuguese were able to express chivalry and pluck.

The singularity of the Portuguese nobility's humanist experience, in comparison to Italian, British, French, and German, is that the Portuguese (and the Spanish) turn towards antiquity occurred

8 Baldassare Castiglione, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* (Venice: Aldus, 1528). Hereafter the quotations are from the English translation. *The Book of the Courtier* (Horace Liveright's edition, 1929; reprint, New York: Courier Dover Publications, 2003), p. 57.

9 Miguel da Silva was son of the count of Portalegre and nephew of the Portuguese saint, Beatriz da Silva. See Sylvie Deswarte, 'Le Rome de D. Miguel da Silva (1515–1525)', *O Humanismo Português, 1500–1600* (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1988).

alongside the building of the overseas empire. In fact, all things considered, Portuguese 'classicism' was (as ironical as it may sound) more cosmopolitan than Italian. The Portuguese confronted and engaged directly with the Indian subcontinent, which has been since the Greeks an oneiric location of various European desires. This topos was constantly repeated from the end of the fifteenth century and after the voyage of Bartolomeu Dias to the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. At the same time and even more so when they finally 'discovered' India, the Portuguese saw themselves as not only the successors of the Romans, but as the protagonists of the new golden age.¹⁰

The *orationes* or speeches pronounced before the popes by the Portuguese diplomats sent to Rome from the fifteenth century onwards epitomized these desires. They simultaneously presented Portugal as a classical setting, highlighting the continuity between Lusitanians and the ancient Greeks and Romans, as well as a mighty kingdom able to control the discovered and conquered exotic territories. Portuguese humanists were joined in this patriotic propagandist campaign with other humanists in Italy and by German publishers, who were all duly impressed.¹¹

It is no surprise, therefore, that the Portuguese nobility felt entitled to be compared with classical heroes and aspired to attain eternal fame. Afonso de Albuquerque's and João de Castro's exploits in the Indian Ocean and in India were portrayed in contemporary and later narratives as feats that surpassed the success of both Alexander the Great and Augustus. The same heroic space had initially been occupied by Henry the Navigator, who had been described as worthier than Romulus, Caesar, and Cicero.¹² Under the pen of these writers, antiquity became an idea and an ideal that would be embodied in

10 See, for the Spanish case, the classic book by Anthony Pagden, *Lords of the World: Ideologies of Empire in Spain, Britain and France c.1500–c.1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995) and David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003).

11 See Luís de Matos, *L'Expansion portugaise dans la Littérature latine de la Renaissance* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1991), chapter 4; Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and the Marvelous* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2008).

12 Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Crónica dos feitos notáveis que se passaram na conquista da Guiné por mandado do Infante D. Henrique* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1978).

the actual Portuguese society. The apology of the continuity between Greece and Rome (mainly Rome) and Portugal was massively spread by way of a particular emblem signifying universal power of the Portuguese kings. Invented in the Western world by Eratosthenes of Cyrene (276–195 BC), librarian of Alexandria, the armillary sphere (already known in China) had a long history before becoming the main symbol of the Portuguese imperial expectations during the reign of Manuel I. The sixty-one illuminated manuscript volumes of *Leitura Nova* (The New Reading), a collection started by this king, express well the political discourse associated with this emblem. In the front page of each book, a letter by the king stated the reasons behind the importance of this collection, among which were the memories of the conquests in Africa, as well as the discovery and conquest of India.¹³

In the front page of the 3^o *Livro dos Místicos* (Third Book of the Mixed) (Figure 2), at the top of the page, the coat of arms of Portugal is placed between two armillary spheres with the words 'SPHERA' and 'MUNDI', connecting nautical knowledge, mobility, and political power in a direct way. In the centre, towards the end of the page, another image underlines the importance of knowledge to the Portuguese monarchy: a scribe transcribing the laws ordered by the king, or writing the history of the Portuguese deeds. The king himself, as well as the four evangelists and multiple angels (among whom, one is black) completed this visual discourse, associating political providentialism and universalism with the narrative of the Portuguese empire.

At the same time, an explicit discontinuity between the classical Romans and the Portuguese was also stated, since the Portuguese were said to be descendants of a local tribe (the Lusitanians) who had rebelled against the Romans.

This discontinuity was expressed in the Portuguese complaints and mistrust of 'old' knowledge. The learned Portuguese frequently wrote that the travels of their fellow countrymen (or their own) revealed that some of the Ptolemy's assumptions were wrong, and the topos

¹³ *Leitura Nova* is a collection of books started in 1502, during the government of King Manuel I, and completed in 1552, during the reign of King John III. It contained transcriptions of older royal decisions and fiscal duties and obligations (of the villages and the inhabitants) established by the Portuguese crown. See Sylvie Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova, 1504–1552: Étude de la culture artistique au Portugal au temps de l'humanisme* (Paris: Centro Cultural Gulbenkian, 1977).



Figure 2. The front page of the 3^o *Livro dos Místicos* (Third Book of the Mixed), ANTT, Col. *Leitura Nova*, Livro 32

that eyewitness experience was more important than (or as important as) the findings of the ancient writers became a commonplace in most of these writings.¹⁴

This cultural and political imagination came to an apogee during the reign of João III. A painter and a writer, Francisco de Holanda (1517–84), whose father, Antonio de Holanda, worked on the illuminations of the *Leitura Nova* books, authored *Diálogos em Roma* (Dialogues in Rome) where he described his conversations with Michelangelo.¹⁵ He had been sent to Rome by the king in order to—in Holanda's words—acquire information about the classical style and eventually introduce it to Portugal. Upon his return from Rome, where he had stayed between 1538 and 1547, Holanda was apparently annoyed to

¹⁴ Luís de Albuquerque, 'D. João de Castro—Os Descobrimentos e o Progresso Científico em Portugal no século XVI', *Boletim da Academia Internacional de Cultura Portuguesa*, n° 1 (1966).

¹⁵ Francisco de Holanda, *Diálogos em Roma* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, [1548] 1984).

find out that the Portuguese court was already classicized. Probably with a bit of rhetorical exaggeration, Holanda described a kingdom where paintings and buildings that evoked ancient times were widespread. It is true that during his stay in Rome an architecture treatise by Diego de Sagredo (1490–1528), the *Medidas del Romano* (Roman Measures), had been published (1541), and the king had already commissioned a mathematician Pedro Nunes (1502–78) to translate *De Architectura* (The Ten Books on Architecture) which Vitruvius had written for Augustus, the Roman emperor.¹⁶ The books by Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) and by Andrea Palladio (1508–80), especially the *Antiquità de Roma* (Roman Antiquity), also circulated in Portuguese intellectual circles during the same years. Back in Lisbon, Holanda was just another member of the classicized elite for whom he wrote his own treatises such as *Da Pintura Antiga* (Of Ancient Painting) and *Antigualhas* (Antiquities) among others.¹⁷

Just as the monarchy constructed itself materially by imitating its version of antiquity, Portuguese humanists worked on legitimizing the process of classicization. Raphael had done the same for Rome by identifying the material links connecting its present with the past. This was one of the main goals of André de Resende (1500–73), a humanist obsessed with the evidence that would prove the Roman foundations of Portugal. A member of an important family from Évora, a town where Roman ruins were still visible, André de Resende started collecting ancient monuments and exhibited them in his garden, as in an open air museum. After studying in Salamanca, France, and Louvain (where he served as Latin teacher to Pedro de Mascarenhas, a future viceroy of India), Resende authored various books. Like Holanda's texts, many of them were on antiquities. In one of these books—*As Antiguidades da Lusitânia* (Of Lusitanian Antiquities), published posthumously (1593) as a synthesis of his historical and archaeological investigations—Resende linked Portugal and the Roman Empire,

16 Rafael Moreira, *A Arquitectura do Renascimento no Sul de Portugal: A Encomenda Régia entre o Moderno e o Romano* (Lisbon: Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, 1991), p. 291; Deswarte, *Ideias e imagens*, 9.

17 Vítor Serrão, *História da Arte em Portugal—O Renascimento e o Maneirismo (1500–1620)* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 2002), p. 53. Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antiga* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, [1548] 1984).

all the while emphasizing Portuguese singularity as the descendants of the Lusitanians,¹⁸ an idea that became a national fixture in the famous epic *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiads), written by Luís Vaz de Camões (c. 1524–80).¹⁹

Linguistically minded thinkers of the period were also obsessively working on identifying these links. In fact, during the sixteenth century a 'linguistic program' was set up to transform Portuguese, with the help of Latin, into a more elegant language. To conquer the Latin language—just as Africa and Asia were to be conquered—was a necessity, said one of the interlocutors in 'Dialogue in Praise of our Language', published by João de Barros (1496–1570) in the 1540s. Referring to the cultural politics of imperial Rome, Barros wrote that 'the language is better than a memorial stone', defending the thesis that cultural imperialism was intertwined with political imperialism and could strengthen its longevity.²⁰ Fernão de Oliveira, author of one of the early grammars, *Grammatica da linguagem portuguesa* (The Grammar of the Portuguese Language), followed the same line of reasoning, and similar attitudes can be identified in texts written by Sá de Miranda (1481?–1558) and Damião de Góis (1502–74), before culminating in the *Dictionarium latino-lusitanicum* by Jorge Cardoso in 1570.²¹

In addition to this kind of dialogue with antiquity, the Portuguese turn towards antiquity was also a movement towards primitive Christianity, very much influenced, at a certain moment, by the reception of Erasmian Christian humanism. This meant that the dialogue with antiquity also included the later, Christian period. If the parallel

18 André de Resende, *As Antiguidades da Lusitânia* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1996). Before this work, Resende published the *História das antiguidades da cidade de Évora* (1553), referenced by Pero Magalhães Gândavo in the context of his work on Portuguese authors and books, *Regras que ensinam a escrever e a ortografia da língua portuguesa*, and which a Jesuit, Andreas Schottus, published in his *Hispania Illustrata* (1600–1613). Resende, *As Antiguidades*, p. 3; Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, pp. 70–5.

19 Luís Vaz de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1572). English version: *The Lusiads*, trans. Landeg White (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

20 João de Barros, *Grammatica da Lingua Portuguesa, Cartinha, Gramática, Diálogo em Louvor da Nossa Linguagem e Diálogo da Viciosa Vergonha* (1539–40), ed. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1971), p. 401 and Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *Textos Pedagógicos e Gramaticais de João de Barros* (Lisbon: Verbo, 1969). For further discussion, see Chapter 6.

21 Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, pp. 62, 70.

with Augustus was evident, the analogy with the emperor Constantine was unavoidable.²² In both cases, India had a central place. The project of converting 'the Orient', the first step in the Christianization of the world, was—it was thought—more ambitious than the Romanization and Christianization of the Roman Empire, confined to the Mediterranean basin and adjacent territories. From that moment onwards, the oneiric India would begin changing in shape from Annone, the wild beast that had been captured before becoming a curiosity in the European court, to Salomon, a domesticated creature with its difference and interest gradually dissolving.

In fact, through metaphors, allegories, and comparisons, the efforts to classicize Portugal opened the way to (in addition to depending on) the process of exoticization and orientalizing. If classicism was an identity locus that defined its interior—with its exterior vertiginously extending towards the east and the west—the identification of the difference was a way to bring it into focus and strengthen it.

The role played by the perceptions and representations of Islam was crucial in this context. In order to establish the topos that Islamic presence was an intrusion into Portuguese history—a topos that later Orientalisms would disseminate about Islam in India, for example—it was necessary to make visible the differences, not only religious, but also political, social, and cultural. These differences justified the fact that Islam was to be expelled from the Portuguese historical memory just as Muslims were physically expelled from the kingdom.

Moreover, from the fifteenth century, historical narratives suggested that in contrast to medieval times, the Portuguese were now invading the Islamic territories, 'liberating' their inhabitants from the Islamic yoke. They defeated them first in northern Africa, before heading on to other parts of the world. In Gomes Eanes de Zurara's *Cronica da tomada de Ceuta por el-rey D. João I* (Chronicle of the Conquest of Ceuta) and *Cronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* (Chronicle of the Discovery and the Conquest of Guine) on the west coast of Africa, these feelings can be identified easily. The old 're-conquest' moved to an imperial stage at times as a true conquest, and at others,

22. About this universalist project, see John M. Headley, 'Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 53, no. 4. (Winter, 2000): 1119–55.

as a distinct type of re-conquest.²³ In both cases, these dynamics were intended to annihilate the power of Islam in the world, and with it, to universalize *Respublica Christiana*. They were also instrumental in the process of internalization of the idea that the community living in Portugal was (and should be) Christian.

Beyond west Africa, one of the first oriental stages where these dynamics happened to be transferred to was sixteenth-century Ethiopia, also called 'India Minor'. A long-lasting myth of an alliance with Prester John—in vogue in the first part of the sixteenth century and feeding into a discursive production of the clerics, diplomats, and humanists—was part of this larger and profoundly influential geopolitical imagery.²⁴

Paradisus terrestris had already been identified between the Third India and Ethiopia, by medieval travellers like Jordan Catala de Séverac, following the 'equatorial hypothesis' of the earthly paradise proposed by Tertullian and taken up by Thomas Aquinas.²⁵ Even if William of Rubruck and Marco Polo avoided the question altogether, the armchair travellers, scholars, and compilers speculated on the basis of real and fantastic narratives. These were intended to bring

23. Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Cronica da tomada de Ceuta por el-rey D. João I* (Lisbon: Academias das Ciências de Lisboa, 1915) and Gomes Eanes de Zurara, *Cronica do Descobrimento e Conquista da Guiné* (Paris: Aillaud, 1841). Re-conquest (*reconquista*) was the name given to the process of conquering those territories in the Iberian Peninsula that were under Islamic rule from the eighth century onwards, collectively known as Al-Andalus. This process of re-conquest had started immediately after the first Muslim conquests, and lasted until the conquest of the kingdom of Granada, in 1492, by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabel of Castille. For a general account in English see Stephen Lay, *The Reconquest Kings of Portugal: Political and Cultural Reorientation on the Medieval Frontier* (Basingstoke, Eng. and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Joseph O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

24. On Damião de Góis's treatise on Ethiopian religion and the synthesis regarding these questions, see Giuseppe Marcocci, 'Gli umanisti italiani e l'impero portoghese: Una interpretazione della "Fides, Religio, Moresque Æthiopum" di Damião de Góis', in *Traduzioni, imitazioni, scambi tra Italia e Portogallo nei secoli*, ed. Monica Lupetti (Florence: Olschki, 2008), pp. 61–124.

25. The erudite works on the Earthly Paradise were legion. See Jean Delumeau, *Une histoire du paradis: Le jardin des délices* (Paris: Fayard, 2004) and Joseph E. Duncan, *Milton's Earthly Paradise: A Historical Study of Eden* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972).

home something of the incredible riches of all sorts, instantly possessed in texts.²⁶ In the two Indias, the Major and the Minor, different kinds of riches were evoked: plants, animals, and minerals. These were difficult to possess and transport back home, but their descriptions proposed a sensory kind of wonder, coming from the experience of tasting, touching, and seeing: the trees were capable of feeding and sheltering the inhabitants by their giant leaves; there were varieties of tasteful fruits, and the regions were lush and fertile.²⁷ This kind of 'Orient' was a primordial locus of collective desires, and was associated with a set of characteristic elements of the kind to be found in the Garden of Eden.²⁸

Until 1498, this type of imagination was woven through Portuguese perception, attested in the wide circulation of the legends about Prester John, Josafaat, and Barlaam, and the *Acts of St. Thomas*,²⁹ as well as in *The Book of All Kingdoms*, in which most of these topoi appear.³⁰

If the perception of India until Vasco da Gama's 'discovery' was essentially positive, configured as *indomania*—to use Thomas Trautmann's suggestive vocabulary³¹—especially in the attitudes shared by the

26 Christine Gadrat, *Une image de l'Orient au XIVe siècle: Les Mirabilia descripta de Jordan Catala de Séverac*, (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2005), p. 170.

27 Gadrat, *Une image de l'Orient*, p. 276. For the quest of the Garden of Eden in Brazil see Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Visão do Paraíso: Os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e colonização do Brasil*, 6th edn (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1994); Luísa Borralho and Mário Fortes, 'Do Jardim de Éden às Terras de Vera Cruz', *Episteme*, 15 (2002): 71–93. Júnia Ferreira Furtado, 'Tropical Empiricism', in *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, eds James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 130.

28 We discuss some of these topics in Chapter 3. See also, Geneviève Bouchon, 'L'image de l'Inde dans l'Europe de la Renaissance', *L'Inde et l'imaginaire, Puruṣārtha*, 11 (1988): 69–90.

29 Manuel João Ramos, *Ensaio de Mitologia Cristã: O Preste João e a Reversibilidade Simbólica* (Lisbon: Assirio & Alvim, 1997).

30 Paulo Lopes, *Viajar na Idade Média: A visão ibérica do mundo no livro do conhecimento* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2005). *Libro del conocimiento de todos los reynos e tierras et señorios que son por el mundo* is an anonymous fourteenth-century Castilian geographical and armorial manual in the form of autobiographical travelogue of a Castilian mendicant friar as he travels through the entire world.

31 See Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) and Tony Ballantyne, *Orientalism and Race* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

Portuguese elites, very quickly this first image had to accommodate negative feelings. The inhabitants of India—if proved to be Muslim—would also blend into the category of traditional enemies. This animosity was part of a large-scale process: in the Portuguese and in the European contexts, the crusade against Turks was an extremely powerful objective. The battle of Tunis (1535) and the publication of *Bellum Christianorum* (The Christian War), (1532–3), written by Robert Monachus, Abbot of Saint-Rémy, in which he compiled various medieval stories about seven hundred years of struggle between Christianity and Islam, bear testimony to the process of sharpening religious polarization.³²

The modalities of understanding and narrativizing Asian realities in general, and Indian in particular, during the sixteenth century, should be situated in this context.

The capture of fragmentary information, and the fragmentary capture of information characterized the first period—a period when the hegemony of the local informants and interpreters in the communicative process was unquestionable. Nautical, cartographical, and geographical knowledge, in response to immediate demand (mastering the seas, the coasts, and the winds), were among the most important information collected. Because the techniques of registering, transliteration, and translation were at that point relatively 'open' and unchecked, this information was simultaneously more descriptive and the voices of the 'natives' are still clearly present.

The rhythm of appropriation of information intensified after the conquest of Goa in 1510, and in particular with the beginning of the reign of João III after 1521. The founding of settlements in Kochi, Melaka, Ormuz, and Goa, as well as in other places, smaller in size and less important, was responsible for the increase in available data (of ethnographic kind, in particular), followed by the first efforts at classification.³³ Still, the representations produced during these early times were far from the 'simple vision of the winner', organized as a unitary gaze, and a stable system of classification that reproduced the interests of those who engaged in conquest and commerce. Instead, the rivalry and competition between those who tried to appropriate

32 See Marcocci, 'Gli umanisti italiani'.

33 Luís Filipe Barreto, *Descobrimentos e Renascimento. Formas de Ser e Pensar nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1983), pp. 61–4.

and fix a certain kind of memory made the process of systematization of information less linear.³⁴

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, this process became increasingly more complex, leading to written compilations.³⁵ Botanical treatises like the *Colóquios* (1563) by Garcia de Orta, geographies as the *Atlas* (1571) by Fernão Vaz Dourado, and histories, such as Fernão Lopes da Castanheda's *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, 1551 (History of the Discovery and the Conquest of India by the Portuguese), João de Barros's *Asia* (1552), as well as epics like *The Lusíads* (1578) and the narratives of adventures written by Fernão Mendes Pinto in *Peregrinação* (*The Pilgrimage*) (first published in 1614), correspond to this chronological slice. These texts belong to the same period as the classicizing narratives mentioned earlier—those by André de Resende and Francisco de Holanda, by Damião de Góis (*Hispania*, 1541–2), and by Frei Bernardo de Brito (*Monarquia Lusitana*, 1597). Histories of the kingdom and the empire were closely intertwined.³⁶

FIRST PORTUGUESE ORIENTALISTS

Having given a bird's-eye view of the political and intellectual processes that were taking place in sixteenth-century Portugal and its imperial territories, it is time to introduce the actors.

One of the most important groups is constituted by those 'orientalists' who wrote about the 'Orient' without ever visiting Asia. João de Barros, but also other writers and cartographers, based their ideas on voices, texts, and images arriving from various and unknown

34 Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, pp. 52–3.

35 For a general introduction to this period, see Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *A la recherche de sa spécificité de la Renaissance portugaise* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, Centre Culturel Portugaise, 1978); Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, *Portugal e as origens do pensamento moderno* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1981); José Sebastião da Silva Dias, *Os Descobrimentos e a problemática cultural do século XVI* (Lisbon: Editorial Presença, 1982).

36 Fernão Lopes da Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses* (Coimbra, Imp.: João Álvares, 1551–61); Camões, *Os Lusíadas*; and Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação de Fernam Mendez Pinto em que da conta de muytas e muyto estranhas couas que vio ouvio* (...) (Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1614).

geographies. Their intellectual practices were quite similar to those of writers in other parts of Europe, who avidly registered and disseminated the novelties of the world. However, in this initial period there was a structural difference between these Portuguese and non-Portuguese orientalists. Only the Portuguese, often in service of the royal colonial administration, had access to archives and first-hand information. At the same time, their writings and drawings, especially if they were still employed as royal officials, were not supposed to leak outside the royal and administrative circles. These documents were prepared for the exercise of power and of colonial governance. Revisiting their 'archival world' is essential to get at the origins of the orientalist knowledge and to make visible some of the aspects that remained, until now, in the shadow.

Another group of orientalists included those who were simultaneously royal officials in Asia and writers of the empire. This was the case of courtiers such as João de Castro who resembled closely those described in Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier*, or those who were advocates of 'specialized' knowledge, useful for the imperial administration. In this group we find physicians Garcia de Orta and Cristóvão da Costa, the cartographer Fernão Vaz Dourado (c. 1520–80), as well as historians Gaspar Correia (c. 1496–1563), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (c. 1500–59), and António Galvão (c. 1490–1557).

There was space, still, for a third group of orientalists: less sophisticated and less self-conscious thinkers, or those who did not have a good classical education and thus had a less refined 'eye'. In general, these were royal officials who reported on places they had been to, but in a less systematic way. Tomé Pires (1465?–1524 or 1540), Duarte Barbosa (c. 1480–1521), or Francisco Rodrigues (?–?) belong to this group.

Socially, all these orientalists were a heterogeneous group: some were nobles, some were men of letters, and some were of humbler origins. Another dividing line between them was the one that separated laymen from ecclesiastics and members of the religious orders. The names evoked until now were of lay people, but from the second half of the sixteenth century, religious specialists emerged as major producers of knowledge. Moreover, although they espoused different goals, as clerics they were in general better educated than the lay people. This fact would shape, in different ways, the nature and modalities of this Orientalism and its discursive regime.

The multiplicity of these 'social types' reveals that the producers of knowledge about Asia in the early modern Catholic world were socially, culturally, and institutionally heterogeneous. In that sense, they would hardly fall into the group of Saidian orientalisists who proclaimed a consistent 'regime of truth', as Sanjay Subrahmanyam had already noticed referring to early modern European chroniclers.³⁷ As we will show in the following chapters, some of these types appear to be more important in certain periods than in others.

We will start with the itineraries of two contemporary humanist orientalisists, both culturally mobile and intellectually sophisticated: João de Barros (1496–1570) and João de Castro (1500–48). The first was seated at his *bofete* (desk) in one of the rooms in the House of India, in Lisbon, but travelled around the world through books, documents, and imagination, while the second travelled between Portugal and India, with books, on ships, and through battlefields.

Grammarians, historians, and moralists, João de Barros was, from 1525 onwards, an important official in the House of India. Also called the House of Mina before 1501, the House of India was the institution in charge of organizing and administering maritime commerce, created out of the previous structures concerned with African territories. From the few available documents about its activities, since its archives disappeared during the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, we can trace the path of spices and sugar, and many Asian commodities that entered Portugal and became a part of the daily routines of institutions and ordinary people. Indian *panos pintados* or painted textiles, porcelain, and jewels, the existence of which is recorded in contemporary paintings and demonstrated by inventories of private collections, were part of Portuguese elites' daily life from 1500

³⁷ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'European Chroniclers and the Mughals', in *Explorations in Connected Histories, Vol 1: From the Tagus to the Ganges* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 138–79. Similar ideas can be found in the works of Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism: Resisting the Rise of the Novel* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012); Rahul Sapra, *The Limits of Orientalism: Seventeenth-Century Representations of India* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011); App, *The Birth of Orientalism*.

onwards.³⁸ It was in the House of India that the Fourth Count of Ericeira, searching for archival rarities, saw a 'big book written on palm leaves ... in what appears to me the Malabar script', possibly one of those 'that the famous João de Barros said he had acquired from that Nation'.³⁹ Unfortunately, none of these palm-leaf books often mentioned by Barros, nor other documents, reports, and maps commissioned by the kings of Portugal, survived the earthquake.

In charge of organizing the drawers of documents in the House of India collections, Barros developed a certain kind of 'science of administration' for the Portuguese crown. He mentioned that the books surrounding him in the public room in which he had his desk came from the four parts of the world and were precious sources for his written works. In contrast to Livy, one of his intellectual heroes, the sources of Barros's *Asia* were from larger and more distant geographies. Barros renounced composing his work in heroic and poetic genre, and wrote instead in prose, and in the prologue he compared himself to the last chronicler of Alexander the Great's campaigns in Asia. He claimed that in contrast to Alexander's historiographer, who had written from records of some thirty chronicles, he had at hand only the work of Gomes Eanes de Zurara, a former royal chronicler.⁴⁰ Most of his sources were, instead, original documents, translations, or transcripts of Asian and Indian texts that he sifted through all day long. Due to the fragmentary nature of this information and, as yet, the inexistence of rigid categories of its interpretation, Barros often

³⁸ ANTT, CC, P, I, MSS. 10, n° 75, Alvará para o recebedor da Casa da Índia entregar à rainha todo o ambar e aljófar que tinha vindo ultimamente da Índia, 01.08.1511; ANTT, MSS. 10, n° 81, Alvará para que o tesoureiro da Casa da Índia desse 30 varas de pano pintado ao Convento de Santa Clara de Coimbra, 18.08.1511; ANTT, MSS. 10, n° 16, Alvará para os oficiais da Casa da Índia darem às religiosas da Madre de Deus 12 porcelanas e 4 panos pintados, 23.10.1511; ANTT, MSS. 50, n° 77, Mandado por que o infante D. Fernando ordena a João Gomes, tesoureiro da Casa da Índia, pague a João de Miranda 171 mil réis resto da compra que lhe 1726, fez de certa tapeçaria e com recibo em como recebeu, 23.01.1533.

³⁹ *Collecção dos Documentos*, Conferência de 7 de Fevereiro de 1726, vol 6 (Lisbon: Off. Pascoal da Sylva, 1726).

⁴⁰ Barros considered Zurara the sole writer who preceded him in describing Portuguese triumphs overseas. João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia. Dos feitos que os Portugueses fizeram no descobrimento e conquista dos mares e terras do Oriente*, 4 vols. (Lisbon: INCM, 1992), see the 'Prologue' to volume 1.

provided unusual explanations for the history and organization of different parts of India.

The rich and heterogeneous archives in the House of India had been assembled and generated in the context of the Portuguese imperial experience. Some were written in India and in other territories in the Indian Ocean, others were a product of a lexicon of knowledge and imagination that circulated in Portugal during this period. Many documents were collected and preserved as unique copies of those destroyed later by zealous Goan bishops who were 'ecclesiastics, rather than academics', as the erudite, eighteenth-century members of the Royal Academy of History put it with a tinge of regret. All were part of an important, but subsequently lost, colonial archive. This is why Barros's *Asia* and some other texts written prior to the earthquake serve as resonance boxes of these missing experiences, filtered archives of these lost voices, a palimpsest of an era.

Asia, in particular, is a paradigmatic work. Located at a juncture binding together classicization and orientalization, it can be considered as the first truly orientalist book.⁴¹

Given that Barros's book—together with Fernão Lopes de Castanheda's *História* and Gaspar Correia's *Lendas da Índia* (Legends of India)—is among the most ambitious accounts of Portuguese imperial experience in Asia, it is also a central place for understanding the analytical space in which the 'exotic' and the 'oriental' were mobilized.⁴²

In contrast to Castanheda, who started his history with the decision of João II of Portugal to find the maritime route from Europe to India, Barros explained the destiny of early modern Portugal through its earlier history. The source of Portuguese epic expansionist endeavour was, according to Barros, closely linked to the relation between Christianity and Islam, between the Portuguese and the *Mouros* (Arabs/Muslims).⁴³ For Barros, the re-conquest of

41 Rubiés calls it proto-orientalist. Joan-Pau, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

42 José Manuel Torrão, 'Os prólogos de João de Barros: Defesa de conceitos com tributos à Antiguidade', *Ágora: Estudos Clássicos em Debate*, 2 (2000): 137–54. Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, ed. Rodrigo José da Lima Felner, 4 vols (Lisbon: Na Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1858–64).

43 António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *João de Barros: Historiador do pensamento, humanista de Quinhentos* (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1980), p. 180.

Portuguese territories under the rule of Muslim kings, starting from the eighth century, was no less than legal restitution of the lands that had been usurped. The princes of the House of Avis such as Henry the Navigator, Manuel I, and João III, the king who reigned during the time Barros wrote his book, were merely continuing the process initiated by the first Portuguese kings. In other words, the wars in Africa and Asia were a continuation of earlier struggles, an extension of the *reconquista*. If the Portuguese presence in northern Africa, so close to the Iberian peninsula, was of major importance, it was in the 'oriental regions of Asia, among the infernal mosques of Arabia and Persia, and the gentile temples of India, this side and beyond Ganges, the regions where (according to Greek and Latin writers) except for illustrious Semiramis, Bacchus, and the great Alexander, nobody dared to go', that the tenacity of the modern heroes was clearly confirmed.⁴⁴

As the most prominent narrative of Portuguese overseas experiences, *Asia* disseminated and crystallized many topoi regarding India. The internal structure of the book (and the same holds for Castanheda's work) facilitated subsequent appropriations. The descriptions of the local customs were placed frequently in specific chapters, concerning geographical, political, and cultural aspects. This kind of organization became a blueprint for other texts and facilitated practices such as intertextual 'borrowing' or plagiarism. At the same time, these descriptions served as a background against which historical events were staged.⁴⁵ Mostly static, the description of the place and the victorious Portuguese deeds (mostly kinetic) worked together to provide an individual and collective understanding of those territories and populations. Under Barros's pen the Asians became mostly objects of Portuguese and European actions that Edward Said somewhat schematically denounced as the construction of European agency and *ethos*.⁴⁶

44 Barros, *Década I da Ásia* in Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*. On these connections see Vincent Barletta, *Death in Babylon: Alexander the Great and Iberian Empire in the Muslim Orient* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 11.

45 See Ana Paula Avelar, *Figurações da alteridade na cronística de Expansão* (Lisbon: Universidade Aberta, 2003), pp. 127–30.

46 Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin, 1977).

As an enthusiastic apologist of Christian political universalism who saw the Portuguese imperial enterprise as one of its motors, Barros was an armchair erudite, but in many ways his life and work mirrored that of João de Castro, a mathematician, cartographer, and a viceroy of India.

Castro belonged to the highest Portuguese nobility and had been educated in the royal court, together with Prince Luís, the brother of João III. As many of his ilk, he went to north Africa as a young man to participate in the military campaigns. For several years, he was active in the Portuguese court, before going to Asia.

His profile of a 'chivalric scientist' corresponds to the type recently identified by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra in the sixteenth-century Iberian world.⁴⁷ Castro was a scientist, as well as a knightly courtier or a courtly knight, as imagined by Barros in his *Chronica do Imperador Clarimundo*, 1522 (Chronicle of the Emperor Clarimundo) and by Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier*. However, according to Castro's sixteenth-century biographer, Jacinto Freire de Andrade, he 'loved letters by obedience and arms by fate', and valued little formal education, which explains his choice of military career.⁴⁸ Unlike civic humanists who saw the *polis* as their territory for intervention, Castro and other Portuguese (Iberian) humanists targeted the world battlefield as the stage for their action. It is true that these military campaigns combined blood-drenched fighting with civil conversation. This had been the case with the battle of Tunis, in which Castro participated. We know that during this campaign Castro discussed cosmographic topics with his friend, Prince Luís, to whom he dedicated the *Tratado da Esfera* (Treatise on a Sphere).⁴⁹

47 Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Chivalric Epistemology and Patriotic Narratives', in *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2006), pp. 7–13. Already in 1995, José Manuel García stressed this link between war and science in his essay 'D. João de Castro: Um homem de guerra e ciência', *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*, ed. Francisco Faria Paulino (Lisbon: CNCDP-IPM, 1995), pp. 13–48.

48 João de Barros, *Chronica do Imperador Clarimundo* (Lisbon: Germão de Galharde, 1522). Jacinto Freire de Andrade, *Vida de D. Joam de Castro* (Lisbon: Off. Joam da Costa, 1593), L. I, p. 3.

49 Luis de Albuquerque, *Ciência e Experiência nos Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon: ICALP, 1983).

Perhaps against his will, three years later Castro was sent to India in order to accomplish not a military but 'a scientific mission'. The goal was to study the sky, the winds, and the seas with the help of an instrument invented by Pedro Nunes. With this instrument, Castro accurately established the distance between the Cape of Good Hope and Brazil, between Alexandria and the Red Sea, and thus corrected measuring errors that were until then part of the cartographic and maritime vulgate, most of them based on the Ptolemy's tables.

Also because of that, according to many, Castro, like Garcia de Orta, belonged to a group of Portuguese rationalists, all of whom made important advances in botany and nautical science during the sixteenth century. Nautical knowledge was, as already mentioned, extremely important. The Portuguese lordship of the Cape route and other maritime routes depended in greater part on the detailed knowledge of sea currents, coasts, and star movements. João de Castro wrote valuable books on these topics, such as *Tratado da Esfera* and *Da Geografia por modo de diálogo* (Geography in a Dialogue) (1535), two dialogical works with pedagogical goals, a typical humanist choice. It was in his three *Roteiros* (Itineraries)—*De Lisboa a Goa*, 1538 (From Lisbon to Goa), *De Goa a Diu*, 1538–1539 (From Goa to Diu), *Do Mar Roxo*, 1540 (The Red Sea)—in which images helped synthesize the accumulated knowledge, that Castro staged his debate with classical science, mainly the knowledge enshrined in the Ptolemy's *Geographia*.⁵⁰ He joined the mathematician Pedro Nunes against other nautical specialists in considering mathematics as a basic language of knowledge, and systematic observation as the basis of experience.⁵¹ For Castro and Nunes, science was the result of the dialogue between theory and experience. The result was that even when his works and other 'scientific' texts in this period were created on the basis of practical experience, they continued to draw their inspiration from the classical grid.⁵²

50 Barreto, *Descobrimentos e Renascimento*, p. 25. João de Castro, *Tratado da Esfera por Perguntas e Respostas* and João de Castro, *Geographia a modo de dialogo*.

51 Pedro Nunes, *Obras*, 4 vols (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1940–60).

52 João de Castro, *Obras*, eds Armando Cortesão and Luís de Albuquerque, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Academia da Cultura Portuguesa, 1968), p. 81. This knowledge circulated in the Portuguese court and in the discourse. See, for example, the chapters: Frei Heitor Pinto, 'Da liberdade e dos louvores do Direito Civil e da Matemática', in *Imagem da Vida Cristã* (Coimbra: João Barreira, 1563) and 'Da filosofia activa e contemplativa, e qual delas convém mais ao perfeito príncipe'.

During Castro's governorship, Gaspar Correia, chronicler, painter, and former secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque, started a series of paintings of the governors and viceroys of India placed in the gallery of portraits in the viceroy's palace in Goa.⁵³ Correia refers to this pictorial enterprise in his book: apparently, Castro wanted to create in India a gallery of the *uomini famosi* (famous men), probably resembling those that existed in the Renaissance courts in Europe and in the palaces of the illustrious families. In addition to being motivated by similar exhibitions of 'famous men', the gallery of the viceroys in Goa was also related to the *Camerino dei Cesari* in the *Palazzo di Tè* in Mantua, a room designed to display canvases of the Roman emperors. Both were inspired by Suetonius's *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, a book that became famous after Petrarch's unfinished collection of biographies, *On Illustrious Men*.⁵⁴ Once more, Castro wanted to represent Portuguese India as a 'New Rome'.

This belief in the power of images was shared by his close friend, Francisco de Holanda. Holanda had praised the capacity of images to preserve the fame of the princes and illustrious men who set an example for others to follow. Moreover, in the treatise *Da Pintura Antiga* (Of Ancient Painting), Holanda explained that the contemporary painters should take inspiration from those of antiquity, especially in the manner in which they portrayed men and women.⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, Correia's models were Titian's portraits that circulated in print. João de Castro may have seen them either during his stay in Tunis or during his discussions with the prince, Luís, and Holanda. In fact, as it has been noted by Annemarie Jourdan-Gschwend, Holanda had praised Titian as the best portraitist alive.⁵⁶

53 Correia, *Lendas da Índia*. On the importance of these visuals devised for achieving political goals, see Fernando Bouza, 'Comunicação: Memória e Conhecimento na Espanha da Época Moderna', *Cultura—Revista de História das Ideias*, 14 (2002): 105–71; Marc Fumaroli, *L'École du Silence: Le sentiment des images au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994). Nuno Martins, 'Império e Imagem: Retórica visual do vice-rei D. João de Castro' (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2014, unpublished dissertation).

54 Annemarie Jourdan-Gschwend, *O retrato de corte em Portugal* (Lisbon: Quetzal, 1995), pp. 76–7.

55 Francisco de Holanda, *Da Pintura Antiga* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1984), pp. 38–40.

56 Francisco de Holanda, *Tirar polo natural* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1984), p. 41.

This typical Western project that Serge Gruzinski considered as a part of the dynamics of standardization of European culture in the colonial territories had its 'indigenous' side.⁵⁷ In the very same years, portraits of Asian men and women, well known today as *Codex Casanatense*,⁵⁸ had been commissioned, perhaps by the very same João de Castro. Parallel to the images of the viceroys included in Gaspar Correia's book, the images of *Codex Casanatense* are considered by scholars as an 'encyclopaedic' visual display of the 'colonized'. Images have, as we know, a synthetic power that is not present in writing. Through this different kind of mapping, the imperial agents created a particular kind of reality that would help them to persuade the decision-makers that they *knew* those who were under their rule.⁵⁹

Correia had noticed that the gallery of the viceroys was a novelty in the local courtly practices and that Indian elites responded to it with interest and curiosity. The same reasoning can be applied to *Codex Casanatense*, also new in the Indian pictorial practices of that period. Although there are men and women painted in early Indian manuscripts, their representations mainly refer to religious and courtly settings. It is true that the miniatures of the *Codex* share some

57 Serge Gruzinski, *Les quatre parties du monde, Histoire d'une mondialisation* (Paris: Les éditions de la Martinière, 2004).

58 Commissioned by the Portuguese and painted in Gujarati or Deccani country style, this album of paintings represents people of various nations in their ethnic dresses. The collection preserved in the Casanatense Library in Rome as *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, contains seventy-six coloured drawings representing ethnographic scenes from Africa to China. It has been dated by Georg Schurhammer to around the 1540s. Besides purely secular themes such as portrayal of different dress codes and events punctuating everyday life (hunting, harvesting rice, dances, travel, eating, and drinking parties, warfare, etc.), at least eight of them can be identified as acts of religion.

59 On this manuscript, see *Oltremare: Codice Casanatense 1889 con il Libro dell'Oriente di Duarte Barbosa* (Franco Maria Ricci, 1984); Luís de Matos, ed., *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do código português da Biblioteca Casanatense* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985); Maria Manuela Mota 'Código Casanatense: An Indo-Portuguese Portrait of Life in 16th-century India', in *India and Portugal: Cultural Interactions*, eds José Pereira and Pratapaditya Pal (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2001), pp. 34–45. Ernst van den Boogaard is in the process of publishing an image by image analysis of the pictures with a team of collaborators in the *Anais de História de Além-Mar* in Lisbon.

interesting stylistic aspects with later southern Indian paintings, like the ones, for example, on the ceiling of the Varadaraja complex at Kanchipuram.⁶⁰ But they are different, again, because they constitute a list of portraits of 'social' and 'national' types, majority of them painted out of context. The absence of narrative connections enabled the use of these portraits in a completely different way.⁶¹

In short, these objects help us glimpse João de Castro's encyclopaedia, as well as the cultural and intellectual environment in which he lived and acted. This is also visible in the way Castro used Vitruvian categories in his writing. Rafael Moreira believes that Castro had read Vitruvius in his leisure time in India, and had used him to interpret Indian art.⁶² If this was the case, Castro had experienced *in loco* a powerful emotional and intellectual experience of deciphering the Indian architectural realities in the light of the most admired architectural theory in the Christian world. His description of the monuments on the Elephanta Island, near Mumbai, confirms this impression. About its rock-hewn temple, Castro wrote that it was

a very big temple, made in such a marvelous way that it seems impossible to be made by human hands, and all the work, images, columns, rooms, are made in the rock of the mountain; it appears not to be made of nature. And the symmetry and the proportion of each figure could not truly be achieved by any painter, even if he were Apelles.⁶³

Apelles—also referred in Holanda's books—was the Greek painter reputed for perfectionism.

60 For possible connections, see Navina Najat Haidar and Marika Sardar, eds, *Sultans of the South: Arts of India's Deccan Courts, 1323–1687* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011); Deborah S. Hutton, *Art of the Court at Bijapur* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006); Mota, 'Código Casanatense', pp. 36–46.

61 Jourdan-Gschwend, *O retrato de corte em Portugal*. On southern Indian sixteenth-century painting practices see, for example, George Michell, *Architecture and Art of Southern India: Vijayanagara and the Successor States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

62 Rafael Moreira, 'D. João de Castro e Vitruvius', in *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*, eds Francisco Faria Paolino et al. (Lisbon: CNCDP-IPM, 1995), pp. 51–6, 52.

63 João de Castro, *Primeiro roteiro da costa da Índia: desde Goa até Dio: Narrando a viagem que fez o vice-rei, D. Garcia de Noronha, em socorro desta última cidade, 1538–1539*, (Porto: Typ. Commercial Portuense, 1843), pp. 66–9.

The way in which the memory of Castro's military campaigns in India was constructed synthesizes his universe. Several Portuguese humanists were engaged in praising Castro's deeds: Diogo de Teive, Damião de Góis, Leonardo Nunes, and Jerónimo da Corte Real who included beautiful watercolour plates in his book.⁶⁴ In addition to these texts, there is a famous set of tapestries in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, representing João de Castro's military victory in Diu and his triumphant return to Goa.⁶⁵ The tapestries weave together classical and contemporary imperial victories, and anticipate the triumph of Christians over pagans. In the choreography of his triumphal entrances, Castro combined the heroic military reception with that of the winner of academic disputes, as they were represented in Book IX of Vitruvius's *On Architecture*. In the panel called 'The fire in the castle of Ponda', the visual narrative had a double meaning: the old and the new India were finally conquered by a Western power: neither by Alexander nor by Augustus, but by a Christian king and his Portuguese hero, D. João de Castro (Figure 3).⁶⁶

At the time when the French king Francis I of Valois commissioned his tapestries with the figure of Scipio the African, considered by many the greatest general of antiquity, and when the emperor Charles V had his victories in Tunis similarly represented (copies of which were displayed in the Lisbon royal palace), an identical statement was made by João de Castro, the viceroy of India, as a 'general' of João III.

The three sets share a common structure and organize their narratives in the same way—the battle scenes and the representations of triumphs weave together and play with allegorical (as in Scipio's case) and analogical parallels (as in the case of Charles V and João de

64 Diogo de Teive, *Commentarius de rebus a Lusitanis in India* (Coimbra, 1548); Damião de Góis, *De Bello Cambaico Ultimo Commentariis*, Lovanii, Apud Seruatiu Sassenum Diestensem, 1549; Jerónimo da Corte Real, *Sucesso do segundo cerco de Diu, estando Don Ioham Mazcarenhas por capitam da fortaleza: an[n]o de 1546* (Lisbon, 1546, manuscript); Leonardo Nunes, *Historia quinhentista (inédita) do segundo Cêrco de Dio: Ilustrada com a correspondência original, também inédita, de d. João de Castro, d. João de Mascarenhas, e outros* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1925). Teive's *Commentarius* was translated to Italian and French as *Summario delle cose successe à Don Giovan di Castro* (Rome, 1549) and *Nouvelles des Indes* (Paris, 1549) respectively.

65 Faria Paolino, *Tapeçarias de D. João de Castro*.

66 Moreira, Rafael, 'Arquitectura: Renascimento e Classicismo' in *História da Arte Portuguesa*, ed. Paulo Pereira, vol 2, (Lisbon, Circulo de Leitores, 1995), pp. 327–31.



Figure 3. The fire of Ponda. A detail from 'Die Einäscherung des Schlosses von Pondá', 1555–60, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 345 × 470 cm, Inv. Nr. T XXII 3

Castro) with classical memory.⁶⁷ However, if the battle of Diu—one of the most acclaimed victories of Castro—could be imagined as analogous to the battle of Tunis (and both to major classical battles), it was also *more than that*, because India (of which Diu was an allegory) had already acquired a considerably greater weight in European imagination. Thus, Castro's military victory in Diu was more than a victory of Christianity over Islam. It represented also the victory of civilization over barbarism, of the 'West' over the 'East', and also of the present over the past. All this was epitomized in the poem written about this event by the Scot, George Buchanan, who also attributed these words to Queen Catherine of Austria, the wife of João III: 'He fought like a pagan, but won as a Christian.'⁶⁸ The representations of Castro as a classical hero and of a Roman-style woman—as can be perfectly seen in the details of each figure—represent these ideas (Figures 4 and 5).



Figure 4. D. João de Castro's legs. A detail from 'Die Einäscherung des Schlosses von Pondá', Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1555–60, Vienna, 345 × 470 cm, Inv. Nr. T XXII 3



Figure 5. A woman in the fire of Ponda. A detail from 'Die Einäscherung des Schlosses von Pondá', 1555–60, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 345 × 470 cm, Inv. Nr. T XXII 3

⁶⁷ Rotraud Bauer, 'Die Tapissereienserie', in *Die Portugiesen in Indien: Die Eroberungen Dom João de Castros auf Tapissereien, 1538–1548* (Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1992). Krista de Jonge, 'El emperador y las fiestas flamencas de su época (1515–1558)', in *La Fiesta en la Europa de Carlos V* (Seville: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenários de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), p. 56. Rafael Moreira, 'Cultura Material e Visual', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, eds Francisco Bethencourt and Kirti N. Chaudhuri, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), pp. 480–1.

⁶⁸ Moreira, 'Arquitectura: Renascimento e Classicismo', p. 87.

'We paint with brain and not with hands', said Michelangelo, an axiom that Francisco de Holanda had certainly heard.⁶⁹ This Platonic statement encapsulates the visual representation of the entry of João de Castro, not only in the choice of the content and the arrangement, but also by the aesthetic canons that inspired him.⁷⁰ The portrait of João de Castro—resembling images of Scipio Africanus that circulated at the time—was hardly realistic except for the long beard of which he was reportedly quite proud. Goa, in turn, is presented as a classical landscape, with imprecise geography and chronology. 'Indian' turbans and an elephant were the few elements that allowed the observer to recognize an exotic place.

In this and all other tapestries, the signs did not represent things, but contrived a discourse about reality in which, side by side, existed places and actors belonging to different historical periods. Interwoven with the rest, this intellectual project earned Castro a prominent place in the pantheon of the early modern Portuguese Orientalists. Unlike Barros, Castro had explicitly used images. His letters were full of visual references, showing that he was a careful observer of buildings, sculptures, and other artefacts. With André de Resende, an obsessive collector of classical antiquities, he shared the taste for objects, but not in the same way.⁷¹ In his summer house near Sintra, Castro built a *Wunderkammer* for which he collected exotic, oriental, and Indian antiquities, very different from the museum built by Resende in Évora and the gallery of the *famous men* in Goa.⁷²

As an Orientalist, his discourse was based on a single idea: the Portuguese and their kingdom were the true successors of the Greeks and the Romans, surpassing them in everything, from

69 'Si dipinge col cervello e non con le mani' in F. Milanese, ed., *Le lettere di Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Florence: 1874), p. 489. See also Maria Berbara, "'Nascentes Morimur': Francisco de Holanda as an Artist, Reader and Writer", in *The Artist as Reader: On Education and Non-Education of Early Modern Artists*, eds Heiko Damm, Michael Thimann, and Claus Zittel (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 389.

70 See Steve Lynn, *Rhetoric and Composition: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

71 Castro's ideas were also not identical to those of Francisco de Holanda, who outlined a classical utopia in his *Da fabrica que fallece á cidade de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1984 [1571]).

72 Moreira, 'Arquitectura: Renascimento e Classicismo', p. 53.

military campaigns to sciences. The proof was that the generals of the Portuguese king were able to conquer India, a heroic deed that neither Alexander nor Augustus could truly accomplish.⁷³

Castro and Barros, both of whom belonged to the Portuguese elite inspired by Italian and Erasmian humanism, emerged as the principal constructors of the first self-conscious interpretative framework for Asia. Barros did so by way of a narrative, with the use of figures of speech, metaphors, analogies, and allegories referring to the classical universe. João de Castro, on the other hand, chose material images to evoke the same universe. The historical narrative was accompanied by an immediate synthetic experience made possible through pictorial representation. In this sense, it was a vision that provided, more than any other cognitive instrument, the epiphany of various historical periods and their instant recognition.

Decades before, the direction of this discourse was less linear and deliberate.

ORIENTALISTS 'IN SPITE OF THEMSELVES'

Among many others who travelled to India as royal officers in the early sixteenth century, two men became deservedly famous. They spent a large part of their lives in India and wrote two important treatises known as *O livro do que vio e ouvio*, 1516 (The Book of What I Saw and Heard) and *Suma Oriental*, 1515 (The Suma Oriental)—these were written by Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires respectively. These texts have already been considered as the first early modern European geographies of Asia.⁷⁴

73 Rotraud Bauer, 'Die Tapissierenserie'. On this topic, see also Catarina Madeira Santos, *Goa é a chave de toda a Índia: Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505–1570)* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1999), pp. 256–93.

74 Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa, ed., *O livro de Duarte Barbosa do que vio e ouvio*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1996–2000) and Armando Cortesão, ed., *A Suma Oriental de Tomé Pires e o Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1978). The English version was published as *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to China. Written in Malacca and India 1512–1515* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1990). Luis Filipe Barreto defended this idea in Berta Ares Queija and Serge Gruzinski, 'Duarte Barbosa e Tomé Pires: Os autores das primeiras geografias globais do Oriente', in *Entre dos mundos: Fronteras culturales y agentes mediadores* (Madrid and Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, EEHA-CSIC, 1997).

In addition to these two important texts, other letters and reports were sent to the king of Portugal, upon his request, more or less in the same decades during which imperial agents described their experiences and listed useful information about natural resources, the wealth of the countries, and their populations.

However, the great majority of these imperial subjects, although not anonymous, remained invisible to historians. The collection of *Corpo Cronológico*, in the Torre do Tombo (National Archives) in Lisbon, where part of the sixteenth-century official correspondence between India and Portugal is preserved, is rich in this kind of letters containing information about Asian and colonial territories. Diogo Ramada Curto identified this information as an integral part of what he calls 'culture of excerpt' in which small informative fragments appear in other texts and are in constant dialogue with similar reports and intelligences.⁷⁵ It is also probable that some of these works were part of the archival collection of the House of India, consumed by the fire when it collapsed after the earthquake (1755).

In close relation with the political and administrative needs of the Estado da Índia, the treatises of Pires and Barbosa circulated initially in manuscript version in the Portuguese court in Lisbon and were probably read by both crown officials and humanists. It is well known that parts of *Suma Oriental* have been translated in Italian and included anonymously in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's printed collection, *Of Navigations and Travels* (1550). Through this publication the text of *Suma Oriental* acquired a large readership and lived in other books, but without any link to the original author.⁷⁶

Pires was an apothecary of the Portuguese princes, Afonso and João (future king João III), during the reign of Manuel I. He was the son of an official who also served as an apothecary at the Portuguese Court during the administration of the previous monarch, João II (1455–95). At the court, Pires had access to humanist education and he briefly mentions Italian and classical authors he consulted in the beginning of his book.⁷⁷ Years later, he was portrayed by João de Barros as a 'man

75 Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, p. 99.

76 Luís Filipe Barreto, 'Apre(e)nder a Ásia (séculos XVI e XVII)', in *O orientalismo em Portugal*, p. 64. Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Primo volume delle navigationi et viaggi* (Venice: gli heredi di Lucantonio Giunti, 1550).

77 Avelar, *Figurações da alteridade*, p. 122.

of letters', with curiosity and 'spirit', in addition to his talents in the art of commerce.

Pires left Portugal in 1511 and we find him employed in Kannur as the crown agent in charge of *drogas*, their acquisition and dispatch to Portugal.⁷⁸ The following year, the viceroy, Afonso de Albuquerque, sent him to Melaka, where he lived until 1515 as scrivener of the factory, accountant, and revenue officer. During this period, while Pires travelled in Fernão Peres de Andrade's fleet as an 'ambassador' to Java and Guangzhou, organized by Lopo Soares de Albergaria (c. 1460–c. 1520), he developed his plan to conquer China.

Besides his utopian plan recently rescued from oblivion by Serge Gruzinski,⁷⁹ his most famous book, *Suma Oriental*,⁸⁰ is an account in which he described in detail the geographical origins and characteristics of some Asian *drogas*. After medieval reports, it was Pires who offered information on those regions through which he had travelled, cautioning his readers that his descriptions were very different from the traditional views (of Saint Anselm and Ptolemy, in particular). According to Pires, the difference was not surprising since the information of the earlier authors were second-hand reports, while he wrote about what he had seen and experienced in addition to including new documents such as those from Muslim sources.

Pires combined the natural history of certain regions in India with their political history. He described different territorial powers, the boundaries between them, the number of large cities, the types of inhabitants, their customs, their economy (from agriculture and crafts to trade), and thus offered an empirical comparative ethnography with a detailed panoramic view of those parts of the world. In contrast to the travel accounts, constructed linearly as log books or diaries, or chronicles organized around specific actions of characters, geography was the main protagonist of Pires's book.⁸¹ Geographical

78 The category 'drogas' was included in the sixteenth-century medicinal plants, spices, and various other types of plants. James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580–1640* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1993), p. 322.

79 Serge Gruzinski, *L'aigle et le dragon : Démesure européenne et mondialisation au XVIe. Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 2011).

80 Cortesão, *A Suma Oriental*.

81 Avelar, *Figurações da alteridade*, p. 120.

areas, demarcated by five rivers (Nile, Tigris, Euphrates, Indus, and Ganges), flag the narrative time and divide the treatise into five parts. Just like most of the Portuguese, he perceived history and geography within the same organizational framework which opposed Christian and Muslim domination.

If little is known about the life of Tomé Pires, on Duarte Barbosa the information is even scantier. It is known that in 1511, he was also a royal official in Kannur and must have crossed path with Tomé Pires. Sometime later, he held the same office in Calicut together with Gaspar Correia, the author of the *Lendas da Índia*. According to Correia, Barbosa was a nephew of the former Kannur agent, Gil Fernandes Barbosa, with whom he learnt the Malabar (Malayalam) language. This is why Afonso de Albuquerque chose him as interpreter. After a trip to the Red Sea, when about the same time on the other side of the Indian Ocean Pires departed for China at the behest of the same governor, Barbosa returned to Kannur as the first scrivener and remained there until the end of his life, in 1546 or 1547. Incidentally, he must have met the captain of the Portuguese fortress established in that city around 1534, and his son and humanist, Diogo de Sá, who later wrote several books and participated in the circle of poets around queen Catherine of Austria, and praised João de Castro's military campaigns.⁸²

In *O livro do que vio e ouvio*, Barbosa described the human and physical geography of the places where the Portuguese had already settled, or that were of political and economic interest, as well as different customs and manners.⁸³ Just like other writers of his time, Barbosa insisted on the truthfulness of his account and of the method for acquiring knowledge (conversations with the locals, experience, and observation). He also shaped his information so that the difference would be clear to the Portuguese reader.⁸⁴ The play of the familiar and the different, which John Elliott identified decades ago in his classic statement in *The Old World and the New: 1492–1650* and which Joan-Pau Rubiés identified as a protocol of description,⁸⁵ stamped the first moments of the encounter,

82 On Diogo de Sá, see Ana Cristina da Costa Gomes, *Diogo de Sá: Os Horizontes de um Humanista* (Lisbon: Editora Prefácio, 2004).

83 João de Pina Cabral, 'Semelhança e verosimilhança: horizontes da narrativa etnográfica', *Mana*, 9, no. 1, Rio de Janeiro (April 2003).

84 Sousa, *O livro de Duarte Barbosa*.

85 Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 121.

and these were the rhetorical routines that made the texts produced in this period so rich.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, the original manuscript of Duarte Barbosa's treatise has never been found. Instead, there are several manuscripts and printed copies in different languages, one of which was included in Ramusio's compilation, *Of Navigations and Travels*.⁸⁷

Less known, from the same period is Francisco Rodrigues's *O Livro de Francisco Rodrigues* (The Book of Francisco Rodrigues), which is the first cartographic work of the eastern part of the Indian Ocean and the coast of China. Complementing the information transmitted by the Cantino planisphere of 1502, the oldest surviving world map of the Portuguese 'discoveries', Rodrigues's treatise—considered by José Manuel Garcia as the first Atlas of the modern world—also contains the earliest panoramic drawings of the East Asian cities.⁸⁸ Moreover, Rodrigues represented the urban and rural life of the inhabitants in great detail, by simply juxtaposing different levels of knowledge.

Together with Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires, Francisco Rodrigues belonged to the group that accompanied Afonso de Albuquerque during his military campaigns throughout the Estado da Índia. It is possible that the information produced by all of them had been primarily commissioned by Albuquerque, a political visionary, who wanted to give the king a graphic image of the 'world' that he began to know and intended to conquer. Unfortunately, the hard data to prove this are lacking.

While Barbosa, Pires, and Rodrigues focused on a large-scale image of India (of their own imagination, of course), others did the same on a smaller scale. This was the case of the description of the Vijayanagara kingdom by Domingos Pais, *Relação de Bisnaga*, 1520 (An Account of the Vijayanagara,) and Fernão Nunes's, *Chronica dos Reis de Bisnaga*, 1530 (the Chronicle of the Kings of Vijayanagara), as well as the accounts of Bengal and Gujarat by anonymous authors in the same period.

86 John H. Elliott, *The Old World and the New: 1492–1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

87 Jose Manuel Herrero Massari, 'La trasmision textual del libro de Duarte Barbosa', *Revista de Filologia Románica* (Madrid, 1994–5): 11–12, 392–401; Sousa, *O livro de Duarte Barbosa*, vol. 1, pp. 20–35.

88 José Manuel Garcia, ed., *O Livro de Francisco Rodrigues: O Primeiro Atlas do Mundo Moderno*, (Porto: Ed. Universidade do Porto, 2008).

This set of documents does not exhaust the sixteenth-century production, but, taken as a whole, they are valuable today as descriptive information regarding the Indian subcontinent, because they were useful to contemporary political actors and facilitated political decisions and imperial moves. They also witness an emerging political culture and practices that would characterize the Iberian empire in the later period, in particular its obsession for imperial mapping.

IMPERIAL MAPPING

Imperial mapping is a broader concept and practice than geography and cartography. Here, it also comprises literature, poetry, images (painted, etched, woven into tapestries), and history that contributed to the construction of mental maps of the 'Orient', by updating, reinterpreting, and reworking some of the classical images that circulated in the Portuguese world, as well as in Europe. According to Luís Filipe Barreto, for example, it was in literature and poetry that Asia and India really captured the cultural imagination of the Portuguese.⁸⁹ In our view, the combination of these images and writings laid foundations to later Orientalisms, as well as to the 'imagined communities' in Europe and in India.

The texts by Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, João de Castro, and João de Barros were, therefore, part of this broader mapping exercise. Luís Vaz de Camões and Fernão Mendes Pinto (1510–83) may also be included as actors in these mapping dynamics. Having left for India around 1553, Camões stayed there until 1569. The poet had studied at Coimbra, probably among the Dominicans, and at the university in Lisbon, in the same years when Garcia de Orta was teaching there, whom he seems to have befriended later in Goa. When he reached the capital of the Estado da Índia, the viceroy was Pedro de Mascarenhas (1554–5), who had spent part of his life as Portuguese ambassador in northern Europe, where he hobnobbed with humanists such as Damião de Góis, André de Resende, and Erasmus. It is still not clear whether he was also Camões's patron or not. During his Asian stay, Camões wrote poetry and perhaps—ironically—the most important work for the construction of the Portuguese imagined community, *The Lusiads*. He also wrote theatre pieces, which were staged in the

⁸⁹ Barreto, 'Apre(e)nder a Ásia', p. 70.

palace of Mascarenhas's successor, Francisco Barreto (1555–8). In China, where he had been sent as official of the Portuguese crown, Camões met Fernão Mendes Pinto. However, upon his return to Goa, he was imprisoned during the viceroyalty of Constantino de Bragança (1558–61) until the arrival of Francisco Coutinho (1561–4). Camões then participated in Coutinho's literary circle and contributed a poem to Orta's *Colóquios* printed around that time.⁹⁰

Three years after the poet's return to Portugal, his epic, *The Lusiads*, was published in Lisbon. In his masterpiece, Camões portrayed the Portuguese as the descendants of the *Lusos*, one of the tribes who inhabited Iberia in Roman times, but who were also the true heirs of the Greeks and Romans. Like Barros, Camões selected those historical or imaginary episodes that best fitted his narrative: the antiquity of the Portuguese greatness and its immediate connection with the classical past. At the same time, India was transformed into a place of universal desire where inane virtues of the Portuguese could be clearly revealed.

In the same years that Camões wrote and published his epic, Mendes Pinto was writing the *Peregrinação*, a completely different literary experience. Born into a modest family, Mendes Pinto had served in the house of a noble lady in Lisbon, and then in another noble family in Setúbal. He arrived in India between 1537 and 1538 before spending twenty-one years travelling through Asia.

In contrast to Camões, he wrote his book, detached and reflecting on his experience, only after returning to Portugal, sometime between 1570 and 1578. The book, published posthumously in 1614, became a great editorial success and was translated and published in several other languages. Mixing fantasies about and experiences in the East, the *Peregrinação* became for the European audience another important vehicle of orientalization.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Visconde da Juromenha, *Obras de Luiz de Camões: Vida de Luiz de Camões. Elogios dedicados a L. de Camões, por alguns escriptores. Traducções dos Lusíadas e outras obras de Camões e relação dos auctores estrangeiros que escreveram sobre o poeta. Escriptores portugueses. Artistas. Monumentos a Camões* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1860); Hernâni Cidade, *Camões e a Índia* (Lisbon: Editorial Império, 1952).

⁹¹ Published in 1614—thirty-one years after the death of its author—this book started its European conquest by Father Herrera Maldonado's translation in Spanish in 1620. Five years later appeared the English translation (London, 1625), and eight years later the French (Paris, 1628). More editions appeared in the seventeenth century until interest in it declined in the eighteenth century.

Camões and Mendes Pinto represent two different ways of literary mapping (or Orientalism). Together with Barros's *Asia*, and Hakluyt's and Ramusio's collections, their books were also compelling contributions to the European identity. In addition to recounting real events—the military victories on Indian soil—they incorporated a narrative on the relationship between 'the West' (Christian powers) and 'the East' (under the heathen powers), distinguishing clearly who was the winner and who was the loser.

In the next few pages, and in greater detail in the next chapter, we will change radically the focus and discuss the knowledge that had immediate practical effects on the ordering of imperial spaces: geography, cartography and nautical science, demographic surveys, and others.⁹²

Cartography was intended to describe the territories of the kingdom and the empire, the distance between them, the linkages, and to enumerate, as much as possible, cities and other settlements in a graphic, pictorial, and synthetic form.⁹³ Through the artifice of maps, audiences were offered the illusion of ownership of desired territories, constituting, to use Patricia Seed's terminology, 'the signs of possession'.⁹⁴ At the same time, maps were useful for conquests and for political communication, just as detailed geographies and chorographies (in addition to travelogues) were essential instruments for inscribing the power into the new territories. Chorographies belonged to a distinct form of representation, but continued to be linked with cartography. As Pedro Nunes wrote, 'chorography should represent only one part as if someone wanted to imitate one eye's vision or one ear's hearing', while geography, under the

92 Zoltan Biedermann and Francisco Roque de Oliveira, 'Geographical Mapping in the Portuguese East Indies', in Matthew Edney and Mary S. Pedley, eds, *Cartography in the European Enlightenment, The History of Cartography*, David Woodward, ed., vol. III of *The History of Cartography*, ed. David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

93 For a panoramic discussion, see Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia: The Epic Story of Seafarers, Adventurers, and Cartographers Who First Mapped the Regions between China and India* (Rutland, Vermont, and Tokyo, Japan: Tuttle Publishing, 1999).

94 Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

Ptolemaic sign, was to 'treat only the biggest and the most important places'.⁹⁵

This means that through a play of representations between the micro and macro levels, with well-established connections, according to Nunes, or by means of graphical and pictorial representations, it was possible to chart various worlds on the very same map.

In the next chapter we will focus on some areas of expertise that were closer to chorography and its principles. Here we want to refer very quickly to the role played by Portuguese cartography in the formation of the visual image of Asian spaces.

What was the impact of the new images of the world displayed by these maps on those who had the opportunity to see and to use them?⁹⁶

Notwithstanding the important contribution of Donald Lach's monumental *Asia in the Making of Europe*, and the recent historiographical advances (stimulated by Sanjay Subrahmanyam's and Joan-Pau Rubiés's works, among others), the extent of participation of Portuguese humanists and travellers in selecting the texts that were included in these collections is still to be studied.⁹⁷

Let us consider some of its characteristics. This knowledge acquisition mainly began in the fifteenth century through institutions such as the House of Ceuta, first, then the House of Mina (which became, in 1501, the House of India). In these institutions, the Portuguese crown accumulated knowledge of history, geography, and nautics about Africa and Asia, under the umbrella of classical and theological culture and under the aegis of *De Situ Orbis* by Pomponio Mela (second century)

95 Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, 'O enquadramento do espaço nacional', in *No Alvorecer da Modernidade, 1480–1620*, ed. Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, vol. 3, *História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), p. 17; See, also, Headley, 'Geography and Empire', pp. 1120–1. Headley shows the porosity of the boundaries between these disciplines and the way they complemented each other.

96 Similar reflections concerning the Atlantic can be found in Walter D. Mignolo, 'Colonial Situations, Geographical Discourses and Territorial Representations: Toward a Diatopical Understanding of Colonial Semiosis', *Dispositio*, vol. XIV, nos 36–8 (1989): 93–140; and Raymond Craib, 'Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain', *Latin American Research Review*, 35, no. 1 (Spring 2000): 7–36.

97 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, book 1: *Visual Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970) and Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected Histories*; Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*.

and *Etymologies* by Isidore of Seville (seventh century). From the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Ptolemy's *Geographia* became an important reference work, against which the direct experience of navigation and contact were accommodated and contrasted. Unfortunately, most of the maps, reports, correspondence, and instruments produced in these institutional contexts were destroyed in the fire following the earthquake of 1755. Patricia Seed pointed out recently that the castle in Cape St Vicente, where Henry the Navigator used to host discussions with pilots and captains succumbed to a very similar fate.⁹⁸

From some cartographic cases it is possible to determine the extent and the progression of knowledge they witnessed. For example, the novelty of the Cantino map—a well-known source for Italian and German mapmakers in the first decades of the sixteenth century—is that it represents the world in the Ptolemaic mathematical grid, superposed with the representations and information acquired during the previous century, especially by the Portuguese only a few years into their Asian expansion.⁹⁹ The same syncretism is present in *Esmeraldo Situ Orbis* by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, written in the first decade of the sixteenth century and dedicated to King Manuel I. Being a multilayered book, *Esmeraldo* contained a significant number of urban maps, similar to Francisco Rodrigues's *Livro*, all of which are unfortunately lost.¹⁰⁰ Did the maps that accompanied *Esmeraldo* share the same political motivation (and political culture) as *Livro das Fortalezas* (The Book of Fortresses) (1509–10) by Duarte

98 Patricia Seed, 'Navigating the Mid-Atlantic', in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, eds Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Eric Seeman (New Jersey: Pearson, 2007), p. 78; About this, see Francisc Relião, *The Shaping of Africa: Cosmographic Discourse and Cartographic Science in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Hampshire-Burlington: Ashgate, 2002).

99 W. G. L. Randles, 'From the Mediterranean Portulan Chart to the Marine World Chart of the Great Discoveries: The Crisis in Cartography in the Sixteenth Century', *Imago Mundi*, vol. 40 (1988): 115–18. The most recent work on Fra Mauro is Angelo Cattaneo, *Fra Mauro's Mappa Mundi and Fifteenth-Century Venice* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2011); see also Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos XV e XVI*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1935), p. 121; Maria Fernanda Alegria, João Carlos Garcia, and Francisco Relião, 'Cartografia e Viagens', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, eds Kirti N. Chaudhuri and Francisco Bethencourt, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), pp. 1, 35.

100 Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos*, vol. 1, p. 121.

de Armas, which recorded fortresses that signalled the dominion of the crown within the kingdom of Portugal?¹⁰¹ The chronological coincidence of the two would prove that the Portuguese crown found it important to map simultaneously the territories within its metropolitan borders and the wider, overseas 'imagined community'.

The cartography created in the workshop of Pedro Reinel and his son Jorge Reinel in Lisbon later transferred to Seville where they taught another Portuguese cartographer who had acquired Spanish citizenship, Diogo Ribeiro (later known as Diogo Ribero), and helped Fernão de Magalhães to prepare his trip commissioned by Charles V, is also important. The representation of space in Reinel's maps is very realistic, linking them to the older Catalan cartographic tradition with a penchant for pictorial representations.¹⁰² The descriptive power was henceforth privileged in order to create through these objects a mental image of the world, its cities, and its inhabitants. Other cartographers continued to work in this tradition. Tents and caravans, for example, represented Muslim areas—and their nomadic, tribal nature—(Figures 6 and 7) in opposition to Christian and Asian buildings, which, on other or the same maps, represented civility and stable societies. For example, in the same map of Africa, from 1513, the only building that is represented is the fortress of São Jorge da Mina, built by the Portuguese in the end of the fifteenth century.



Figure 6. Caravans in North Africa by Lázaro Luis. A detail from a map of Africa by Lázaro Luís, 1513, Academia das Ciências, Lisbon, 43, 2 x 61, 3 cm

101 Magalhães, 'O enquadramento do espaço nacional', p. 27.

102 Catalan charts are a subtype of the medieval period portolan charts based on compass and observation in determining the shape and location of coastlines and ports. Leo Bagrow and R. A. Skelton, *History of Cartography*, 2nd enlarged edn (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), p. 66.



Figure 7 Portuguese fortress of São Jorge da Mina, on the West Coast of Africa. A detail from a map of Africa by Lázaro Luís, 1513, Academia das Ciências, Lisbon, 43, 2 × 61, 3 cm

Instead, in the map of China by Fernão Vaz Dourado (1571), this cartographer represents this kingdom—considered as being on a higher civilizational level—by several 'oriental palaces', distinguishing the icons of that part of the East from the ones of the African and Islamic world.

Fernão Vaz Dourado's *Atlas* is one of the best examples of this cartographic tradition, which blended natural and human landscapes. Just like tapestries associated with the family of João de Castro, Dourado's *Atlas* was commissioned by a viceroy—Luís de Ataíde. Like Orta and Camões, whom he probably met in Goa, Dourado spent part of his life in India. Some of his best maps, such as the *Atlas*, were created in Goa between 1560 and 1570. Dourado had a keen and precise cartographic eye with an interest in inscribing economic advantages such as mineral wealth on maps. The effect of adding long captions with historical information resulted in continuous dialogue between pictorial synthesis and the narrative. Some details, in the way he framed his maps, echo those on the tapestries of João de Castro, and *Leitura Nova* (The New Reading) manuscript books from the time of João III, pointing towards a shared visual blueprint. Dourado's *Atlas* expresses what John M. Headley identifies in Gerhard Mercator's efforts: an aesthetic experience of possession, which corresponds to the hermetic ideal of *gnosis*.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ Headley, 'Geography and Empire', p. 1125. Also in the representations of the fauna and flora, some animals appear more than others because of their symbolic significance. The elephant is one such icon, and the way it heavily populates Diogo Ribeiro's world map (1527), which became the *Padrón Real* (master map) for the Spanish monarchy, is also significant.

The publication of certain travel-cum-cartography collections is of crucial importance to understand the filtered impact of some of these maps that have massively circulated and were important in the creation of a new image and conception of the world and of Asian spaces. Ramusio's *Of Navigations and Travels* (Venice, 1550)—to which Damião de Góis may have contributed information during his stay in Venice between 1534 and 1538 when he befriended Giovanni Battista and Pietro Bembo¹⁰⁴—John Willis's *The History of Travel in the West and East Indies* (London, 1557), Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, Contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages, and Lande Travels, by Englishmen and Others* in four volumes (1625), Lucas Jansz Waghenaer's *Treoor der Zeevaert* (Leiden, 1592), Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1571), Georg Braun's and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* in six volumes (1572–1607), and Gerard de Jode's *Speculum Orbis Terrae* (1578) are the best-known, stimulating shorter summaries that circulated at the capillary level.¹⁰⁵ The publication of Gerhard Mercator's *Atlas* in the late sixteenth century had a similar effect.¹⁰⁶

Reproduced quickly in various editions during the seventeenth century, these works had become templates for the new geography and cartography, and spoke a different cartographic idiom from that of Sebastian Münster's edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* (1540) and *Cosmographia* (1544). Various translations and editions of these books are parallel to Jan Huyghen van Linschoten's famous *The Voyage* (1596). This bestseller supplemented the more general descriptions in the earlier works with detailed portions of the text zooming in on particular Asian territories.¹⁰⁷ The fact that none of these books were Portuguese explains perhaps the type of representation they circulated, given the multiplicity of filters involved in the production of maps and images. Ironically, João de Barros's *Asia* and Tomé Pires's

¹⁰⁴ Marcocci, 'Gli umanisti italiani'.

¹⁰⁵ Johnson, *The German Discovery*.

¹⁰⁶ Gerhard Mercator, *Atlas sive Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura* (1595).

¹⁰⁷ Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, *Itinerario: Voyage ofte schipvaert van Jan Huyghen van Linschotennaer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Claesz, 1596). Arthur Coke Burnell and P. A. Tiele, *The Voyage of John Huyghen van Linschoten to the East Indies, from the Old English translation of 1598* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885).

Suma Oriental never acquired such editorial success, in spite of the fact that the latter had been one of the first 'modern' texts to discuss the origins of Asian spices.¹⁰⁸

Besides better-known works, there are a lot of images and information gathered in the context of Portuguese imperial experience that remained anonymous, as is the case of representations of cities in the Indian Ocean (Goa, Kannur, Calicut, Ormuz) that are part of *Civitates* by Braun and Hogenberg.¹⁰⁹

Moreover, atlases and other compilations of maps, well known in the restricted circles in Portugal remained mostly in manuscript. At the same time, the Portuguese (and the Iberians, in general) continued to map, in part for political reasons and due to already established routines, their imperial territories and thus indirectly influenced, by way of espionage, the production of Dutch, British, German, and French cartography.

Before pursuing this itinerary further into the next chapter, we would like to synthesize some of the ideas presented in the last pages.

The processes of classicization of the kingdom of Portugal and orientalization of its Asian territories were intertwined. Many Portuguese humanists and erudites, who travelled in Asia and gathered together in learned circles in sixteenth-century Goa, connecting the constructed identities of the metropolitan world to those of the colony, demonstrate these processes. They were all forging the desired Portuguese classicized identity.

In this respect another important point should be emphasized: in one way or another, these people were connected to the courts of the viceroys and governors of the Estado da Índia. Governors and viceroys needed practical knowledge in order to pursue their political projects, but they were also used to cultivating arts and humanities on their own. Afonso de Albuquerque, Martim Afonso de Sousa, Nuno da Cunha, João de Castro are four among many others who fit this profile. Therefore, in addition to the evident connection between knowledge and power, information and politics that can be traced back to this period, some of the produced knowledge was the result of their own intellectual and aesthetic motivations, as well as a pure pleasure of knowing.

¹⁰⁸ Torrão, 'Os prólogos de João de Barros', pp. 137–54.

¹⁰⁹ Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg, *Civitates orbis Terrarum*, volume 1 (Köln, 1572).

And finally, the fact that some of these historical actors were laymen while others belonged to ecclesiastical hierarchy or religious orders is also important. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the main producers of knowledge about India and Asia, in the context of the Portuguese empire, were laymen. Only later, especially from the time of Spanish dominion, the ecclesiastics surpassed lay people as knowledge producers. We think that this happened partly because the Estado da Índia became one among many territories of the dual monarchy. It just so happened that the Spanish crown was more interested in knowing its Atlantic territories of the Portuguese empire than the Asian ones, which meant a decline in the exercise of the imperial science of administration in these places.

CHAPTER TWO

Empire and the Village

Our goal in the first chapter was to offer an overview of the conditions of the production of knowledge (and of representations) about Asia in general and India in particular, in the sixteenth-century Portuguese Catholic world. In this chapter we focus on collection and production of useful knowledge by the Portuguese for the governance of local societies at the micro level—the level of the Indian village. We argue that this knowledge was part of the history of the ‘colonial science of administration’—as MacLeod conceptualized it¹—but that it should be understood in a more nuanced way than what Bernard S. Cohn’s analysis of the British forms of colonial knowledge seems to imply. In fact, the documents we discuss in this chapter confirm statements by historians such as Christopher Bayly and Kapil Raj who insist that the collection of administrative knowledge (or science) in colonial territories was a co-production, dependent on previously existing practices and on the participation of the ‘colonized’.² As Kapil Raj has put it: ‘South Asia was ...

1 Roy MacLeod, ed., ‘Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise’, in *Osiris*, second series, 15 (2000): 1–13.

2 We cannot provide a catalogue of all the literature on this topic. Perhaps the most emblematic works were those by Bernard S. Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996) and Bayly, *Empire and Information* and more recently Kapil Raj, *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

an active, although unequal, participant in an emerging order of knowledge’.³

Important as it is, this historiography of India barely acknowledges the Portuguese imperial presence in South Asia and the interchanges that took place between Indians, Portuguese, and others, centuries before the massive British presence.

Inscribed in these new trends of historiography, the recovery and the study of the documents produced in the Portuguese imperial context is important because it opens a new window into the micro level of local life in sixteenth-century India, and may help us correlate these findings with recent reflections in other documentation.⁴ Adding to that, documents such as the *Foral de Mexia* (Charter of Mexia), a ‘chart of laws and customs’ in use in Goan villages, compiled in 1526 by the head official of the Revenue Office, Fernão de Mexia, and published by Baden-Powell in 1900,⁵ showed that the Portuguese crown applied various mapping instruments to learn about territories and people under their imperial dominion from the very early moments, disputing the idea of political and administrative backwardness of the Iberian empires.⁶

That is why we argue in this chapter that the Portuguese early presence in the region should not be easily dismissed as irrelevant. Instead, the documents produced in this Catholic imperial context

3 Raj, *Relocating Modern Science*, p. 13. See Joseph M. Hodge, ‘Science and Empire: An Overview of the Historical Scholarship’, in *Science and Empire: Knowledge and Networks of Science across the British Empire, 1800–1970* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 22.

4 It may be possible to correlate these documents with the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, a collection of inscriptions found in the Mysore region (third to nineteenth centuries) and compiled by Benjamin Lewis Rice and other Orientalists, or with the works of the Orientalists of the Madras School, studied recently by Thomas Trautmann. Thomas Trautmann, ed., *The Madras School of Orientalism: Producing Knowledge in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009).

5 B. H. Baden-Powell, ‘The Villages of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (New Series), 32/02 (1900): 261–91.

6 Under the name *invention*, O’Gorman showed, a few decades ago, the importance of similar texts in the construction of America. Edmund O’Gorman, *The Invention of America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961), originally published as *Invenición de América* (1958). See also James Delbourgo and Nicholas Drew, eds, *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Mignolo, *The Darker Side of the Renaissance*.

provide a privileged access to different aspects of Indian history before the British era and help us discuss in different terms the emergence of a 'colonial science'.

It is true that many of these documents were simply by-products of earlier metropolitan administrative practices, planned transfers of administrative instruments from the kingdom of Portugal to the imperial territories with more or less anticipated efficacy. But others were hybrid in their format and content, more dependent on the local forms of knowing. They should be understood in relation to other administrative devices existing in sixteenth-century India, like the ones produced in the context of the Vijayanāgara kingdom and of the Mughals. Integrating these devices, as well as the geographical and chorographical information collected by Portuguese officials, by writing them down and compiling them into imperial archives, these documents transformed 'the landscape into an object that could be comprehended, colonized and consumed'.⁷ In other words, they turned Goa and other places in Portuguese India where similar devices were applied (like Bassein and Sri Lanka) into true colonial spaces. Had these documents been published earlier, they would have probably merited H. Blochmann's assessment of *Ā'in-i Akbarī*: that they contain 'those facts for which, in modern times, we would turn to Administrator Reports, Statistical compilations, or Gazetteers'.⁸

In the following pages we will unspool some of these archival histories that deserve and need to be told.⁹

MAPPING THE KINGDOM, MAPPING (AGAIN) THE EMPIRE

The systematic efforts at knowing the territories and the population of the kingdom go back in Portugal to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. At that time, the first population censuses were attempted and

7 Craib, 'Cartography and Power', pp. 9–11, refers to the book *The Road to Botany Bay: An Exploration in Landscape and History* by Paul Carter (2nd edn, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

8 Abu'l-Fazl Allami, in the 'Preface' to *The Ain-i Akbari*, vol. I (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1927, reprint 1993).

9 Antoinette Burton, ed., *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 2005).

they were intended for the king to know the number of subjects who lived in his territory.¹⁰ What followed were the inquiries and the beginning of the reform of the charters, the foundation of the official archives and of the royal library. From Afonso V (1432–81)¹¹ to João II, the project continued during the reign of King Manuel I.¹² These inquiries drew a descriptive map of the counties in addition to providing a better idea of the size of the population in the kingdom and an inventory of the fiscal duties to be paid to the crown. Other written documents—*Livro das Fortalezas* (1509–10) by Duarte de Armas, the already mentioned *Leitura Nova* (1504–?), the publication of the *Ordenações do reino de Portugal*, 1514 (Ordinations of the Kingdom of Portugal) and of the *Ordenações da Índia*, 1521 (Ordinations of India)—accompanied these administrative practices geared at political control.¹³

From 1521 onwards, changes in the political culture in the court of João III can be easily identified. The progressive adoption of the Roman imperial model was, as discussed in the previous chapter, a central model for the Portuguese expansion and was one of the most visible patterns. It entailed at least two important, if not contradictory, variants.

Acute political consciousness of the interdependence between knowledge and power during the reign of Manuel I, as we discussed in the first chapter, was also expressed in the royal support of education reform and in the introduction of more technical disciplines, such as mathematics, different types of geographical measurements, etc.¹⁴

In a dedication letter written by Erasmus to King João III, patron of his *Lucubrationes aliquot* (1527), the famous humanist praises the king for his studies of mathematics, astronomy, geography, and

10 João J. Alves Dias, *Gentes e Espaços: Em torno da população portuguesa na primeira metade do século XVI* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian e Junta Nacional de Investigação Científica e Tecnológica, 1996).

11 See, for example, *Ordenações Afonsinas* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1984), L. 1, tt. 50.

12 Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova*, See also chapters 1, 5, and 6.

13 *Ordenações do reino de Portugal* (1514) and *Ordenações da Índia* (1521) are collections of royal laws.

14 Giuseppe Marcocci, *A consciência de um império: Portugal e o seu mundo, sécs. XV–XVII* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2012).

history, in addition to Latin and Greek, as well as for his efforts at stimulating these studies in the kingdom.¹⁵ At the same time in an apparent contradiction, the king of Portugal consciously relied on the close association between religion and politics. He wholeheartedly enlisted the clergy (secular and regular) in the governance of the kingdom and the empire. The development of increasingly sophisticated techniques of mapping the soul, of knowing the intimate beliefs and feelings of the political subjects is a good example of the extent to which the connections between religion, politics, knowledge, and power were interwoven.

The *Numeramento Geral* of 1527–32 (General Census), inaugurated during the reign of João III, and followed by a series of ‘chorographic’ commissions regarding various counties of the kingdom (of which we have no trace in the archives, except the memory that they existed), were part of the ongoing administrative innovations.¹⁶ Likewise, visual documents contributed to a more synthetic appropriation of the territory and its people. From the beginning, the mapping efforts combined at least three descriptive instruments: writing, enumeration, and visualization. However, the uses of these devices reveal the way in which the monarchy changed in terms of administration and governance. The aesthetics of the manuscripts such as *Leitura Nova* also embodied these changes. Besides some continuity (like the omnipresence of the armillary sphere) between the older and the new books, the themes and the style of the illuminations changed in important ways from the time of Manuel I to that of João III.

The ‘classical turn’ is clearly expressed in the modes of representation of royal power during João III’s reign when new topoi were

¹⁵ Deswarte, *Les enluminures de la Leitura Nova*, p. 58.

¹⁶ Chorographies did not hide the intention of highlighting the riches and the prosperity of certain regions. These were the cases of João Brandão’s *Tratado da Magestade e grandeza e abastança da cidade de Lisboa* (1552); Cristóvão Soares de Oliveira’s *Summario*, also about Lisbon, published a year earlier; Damião de Góis’s *Urbis Olisiponis descriptio* and *Hispania*; João de Barros’s *Geographia d’Entre Douro e Minho e Trás-os-Montes* (1548); Duarte Nunes de Leão’s texts leading to *Descrição do reino de Portugal* from the end of the sixteenth century, but published only in 1610, and of *Monarquia Lusitana* by Frei Bernardo de Brito.

added to those already in use in the volumes made earlier.¹⁷ The front page of the 2° *Livro das Beiras*, a central-northern province of Portugal, combines biblical, imperial, and regional topoi (Figures 8 and 9). In a layout similar to the 3° *Livro dos Místicos* that we analysed in the first chapter, at the top of the page we find the coat of arms of the king’s dynasty, the armillary sphere, and the four evangelists. These elements emphasize the continuity of the Portuguese imperial aspirations and the divine protection they deserve. Interestingly, in the 2° *Livro das Beiras* the lower part was filled with the image of a bucolic, almost paradisiacal territory under the king’s rule, an ideal *locus amoenus* (the pleasant place), and a frequent humanist topos in poetry.

The establishment of the House of Ceuta in 1434, the House of Guinea in 1443, the House of Mina in 1482, and finally the House of India in 1501, was parallel to these efforts at managing empirical information. The primary concern of these institutions was economic, not the mapping of the empire. Nevertheless—and as already pointed out—they possessed inventories of goods, descriptions of territories, maps, seas, routes, and so forth. In a word, they assembled instrumental knowledge, extremely helpful, even necessary, for taking care of commercial interests.

We believe that the development of a bureaucratic culture and of a science of administration in the metropole was simultaneous to the Portuguese imperial ventures.¹⁸ And the multiplication of territories under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese king stimulated the diversity in knowledge acquisition. Manuel Severim de Faria (1544–1655), an important Portuguese intellectual, promoted the idea that knowledge was indispensable for governing when he wrote that ‘the essential part of politics is the information about the province in which one is born, and upon whom administration can

¹⁷ This ‘classical turn’ was also present in paintings and architecture commissioned by the king. Deswarte, *Les Enluminures de la Leitura Nova*, p. 72.

¹⁸ The importance of identifying these processes have been stated, some years ago, in Ângela Barreto Xavier and Catarina Madeira Santos, ‘A cultura intelectual das elites coloniais’, introduction by Ângela Barreto Xavier and Catarina Madeira Santos to *Cultura Intelectual das Elites Coloniais*, special issue of the journal *Cultura—História e Teoria das Ideias*, 2ª série, n° 24 (2007).



Figure 8. Detail from the front page of the 2º Livro das Beiras, ANTT, Col. Leitura Nova, Livro 7



Figure 9. Locus amoenus in the 2º Livro das Beiras. A detail from the front page of the 2º Livro das Beiras ANTT, Col. Leitura Nova, Livro 7

be exercised in all or in part. It is not possible to rule what one does not know.¹⁹

Besides cartographical knowledge and the knowledge contained in travelogues and reports, how was this political perception expressed in the Portuguese administrative experience in India?

Speaking administratively, the king of Portugal was interested only in fiscal and defense matters in the first phase of the Portuguese presence in India. He delegated the exercise of power to already established institutions and actors, and relied on the established model of relations linking the monarch with his feudal lords, or the communities of Jewish and Muslim origin. In this system, the gathering of knowledge was minimal.²⁰

The *Foral de Mexia* of 1526, which contained information on Goan territories and people, was a product of this context where the recognition of local rights by the Portuguese was crucial for the preservation of their fragile empire.²¹ The *Charter* was the most convenient solution for the Goan elites because it allowed them to share power

19 Ana Cristina Nogueira da Silva, 'O conhecimento do território', in *História dos Municípios e do Poder Local*, ed. César de Oliveira (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), p. 88. Not before the eighteenth century would the Portuguese crown muster enough resources to acquire integral knowledge of its territory and its population. Leonor Freire Costa, Pedro Lains, and Susana Munch Miranda, *História Económica de Portugal* (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2011), chapters 1 and 2; Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, 'As descrições geográficas de Portugal: 1500–1650. Esboço de Problemas', *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 5 (1980); Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, 'O enquadramento do espaço nacional', in *História de Portugal*, ed. Joaquim Romero de Magalhães, vol. 3, in *No Alvorecer da Modernidade (1480–1620)* (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1993), p. 14; Ana Cristina Nogueira da Silva, *O Modelo Espacial do Estado Moderno: Reorganização Territorial em Portugal nos Finais do Antigo Regime* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1998).

20 Luís Filipe Thomaz, 'Goa: A sociedade luso-indiana', in *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Difel, 1994) pp. 245–89.

21 In spite of the fact that it was used by many authors, and the impact it had on later literature, partly because it was included in Baden-Powell's *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities*, the modalities of its production, the context of the political cultures (metropolitan and local) in which this document was produced, and its reception have not yet been systematically analysed. The only scholars to read this document critically are Sanjay Subrahmanyam, Paul Axelrod, and Michelle Fuerch. Until recently the descriptive character of the *Foral de Mexia* was frequently accepted as indisputable. Baden-Powell, 'The Villages of Goa', pp. 261–91; also, Baden-Powell,

and administration with the Portuguese.²² The importance of Indian elites in handling the local order is visible in the contents of this document which is especially attentive to customs concerning the rights to property, taxes and inheritance laws, and administrative and judicial aspects of the village life. This means that local voices, their interests, and their conceptions of land tenure and organization were inscribed in this document.²³

The information order contained and expressed in the *Foral de Mexia* was sufficient for the type of empire exercised by the Portuguese established in Goa in the first decades of the sixteenth century.²⁴ In the later period the Crown required additional knowledge in order to establish a direct rule and thus secure a durable imperial domination.²⁵ The Roman model of land settlement and colonization, which was already in the back of Afonso de Albuquerque's mind, became the dominant model and persisted well into the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, and in the

The Origin and Growth of Village Communities. Paul Axelroad and Michelle Fuerch, 'Portuguese Orientalism and the Making of the Village Communities of Goa', *Ethnohistory* (1998): 454–5. Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Oromântico, o oriental e o exótico', in *Histórias de Goa*, ed. Rosa M. Perez (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1998).

²² Danna Agmon proposed the concept of 'shared authority' in her discussion of French 'weak' political structure in Pondicherry in the very beginning of French Indian empire and the French dependence on the Tamil mercantile elites playing the role of intermediaries. See Danna Agmon, *An Uneasy Alliance: Traders, Missionaries and Tamil Intermediaries in Eighteenth-Century French India* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2011).

²³ As soon as it was adopted as a descriptive register of the local reality, it embedded the empire into the daily routine of Goan villages and made them, inevitably, a part of the Portuguese empire. *Relaciones Geográficas* played a similar role in New Spain. Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). Lauren Benton, 'Colonial Law and Cultural Difference: Jurisdictional Politics and the Formation of the Colonial State', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41 (1999): 563–88.

²⁴ Thomaz, 'Estrutura político-administrativa', in *De Ceuta a Timor*, pp. 207–44.

²⁵ The compilation of the customs and manners went on in Portugal at the same time. See the collection 'Compilações de costumes e transcrição de forays', today in ANTT, Lisbon, produced by official chorographers such as Garcia de Resende.

identity narratives of the Goan Christianized elites (the principal protagonists of the seventh chapter).²⁶

It was in this period that João de Castro was governor and viceroy of the Estado da Índia. Following the footsteps of Martim Afonso de Souza, he forcefully proceeded with his tasks of acquiring knowledge of the territory, inscribing political power and constructing memory.

The mid-sixteenth century descriptions of religious customs and cultural practices of the local populations represented in the already mentioned illustrations of the *Codex Casanatense* are essential to visualize the inhabitants of the territories the Portuguese tried to rule.

The *Casanatense* manuscript contains multiple representations of socio-cultural types from the Cape of Good Hope to China, in addition to religious rituals. This picture album of Portuguese royal subjects (or desired subjects) includes a few iconic images of Portuguese living in India as well. If the cartographic documents intensified visual imagination and opened a unique access to imperial territories, this list of images endowed the geographic spaces with specific details and transformed them into colonial places. This epistemological and political exercise took place decades before Linschoten provided and disseminated his magnificent prints, and it is quite plausible that the *Casanatense* images were among the sources of Linschoten's engravings.

In contrast to Linschoten, the *Casanatense* images are portal to the place and the moment of the encounter in which new cultural scenarios were beginning to emerge, and constituted an important ethnographic source on people, customs, and commodities of Asian territories, allowing the royal officials to grasp the 'quality' of the actual or virtual subjects of the Portuguese crown, as well as their enemies. For example, many of the inhabitants of different regions were portrayed as they performed their economic, social, and cultural practices, others were described in function of their ethnic and regional affiliations, or performing different acts.

In these two cases (Figures 10 and 11), we glimpse important economic practices in Goa, with men and women in their local costumes working in the paddy fields or as blacksmiths. The instruments and the techniques they were using are in the foreground. We can see

²⁶ Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'David contra Golias na Goa seiscentista e setecentista: Escrita identitária e colonização interna', *Ler História*, 49 (2005): 107–43.



Figure 10. Rural workers from Canara, sowing rice and wheat, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 65



Figure 11. Blacksmiths of Goa, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 73

sickles for harvesting rice, the storage huts for the harvest, and the technique of smelting metal from which silver objects were produced by silversmiths such as Rahul Chatim, whose work was highly appreciated by Portuguese courtiers.²⁷

More or less in the same period, Castro introduced in Goa the register (*tombo*) of land and inventories (or charters) of temple land and properties (*forais*).

In 1547, the revenue official (*vedor da fazenda*) of the Estado da Índia, Simão Botelho, wrote to the king of Portugal about the territories of the Portuguese crown in India, explaining that he was working on the registers of Ormuz, Diu, Baçaim, and Chaul fortresses according to the order given to him by João de Castro.²⁸ Similar inventories were probably drawn for other fortresses and settlements, referred to in the correspondence between João de Castro and his son, Álvaro. In these letters, Álvaro reported that his father had asked him to collect information in Salcete and Bardez and that he plans to make a new register.²⁹

Like the images of the *Codex Casanatense*, all these registers and charters offer deep-cut slices into the flesh of the local society, especially when combined with landscape descriptions by Duarte Barbosa and Tomé Pires, histories by António Galvão, João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and Gaspar Correia, and the correspondence of the local officials and the clergy. In general, these were rich and systematic accounts of these territories and their inhabitants that provide information about some hundred and fifty villages in the Konkan region. The information enshrined in them may help us understand the fragmentary history of early modern Orientalism, as well as the fragmented history of the objects it described. The lack of identical

27 On the importance of blacksmiths and other artisans for the Portuguese imperial formation, see Nuno Vassallo e Silva, et al., *A Herança de Rauluchatim* (Lisbon: Museu de São Roque, 1996).

28 'Carta de Simão Botelho dando parte ao rei ir-se povoando a terra de Baçaim pela diligência do governador D. João de Castro, 30/11/1547', ANTT, CC/1/79/134. See also Jorge Flores and António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *The Firangis in the Mughal Chancellery: Portuguese copies of Akbar's documents, 1572–1604* (Delhi: Embaixada de Portugal, 2003).

29 Luís de Albuquerque, ed., *Cartas trocadas entre D. João de Castro e os seus filhos (1546–1548)* (Lisbon: CNCDP-Ministério da Educação, 1989).

textual series for the same period in other parts of South India—in spite of other types of local sources such as temple inscriptions—speaks for their unique worth.

The principal goal of these registers was to inventory the goods and the lands that belonged to temples, divinities, and their servants in the Goan villages. There is no doubt that these documents were produced in the colonial context in which power relations necessarily contaminated the process of textualization. In addition, the contingencies of translation and various filters imposed by colonial agents and other historical actors are responsible for a muddle of concepts used and inscribed for denoting landed property, taxes, and revenues. The passage from oral to written added another layer of complexity. Even with these limitations, they provide a unique access to local life and, ironically, allow us to think beyond empire.

In fact, all these documents created a complex administrative grammar, 'an order of discourse' in Foucault's words. The collections, known as the *Livros das Comunidades* (Books of the Communities) and the *Livros das Monções* (The Books of Monsoons), as well as the decision to establish Archives of Goa are also integral part of the same organizational logic.

Inaugurated by the end of the sixteenth century, the *Livros das Comunidades* contained documents and registers of the village administration in Goa (known as *gaunkari*). These are a precious site for accessing the dynamics and vibrancy of the local life. They come in a series. For example, for a single village there may be more than hundred books between the end of the sixteenth century and the eighteenth century, a set of documents that registered 'the inner life of empire' in the imperial territories.³⁰ Since each of these books contained the minutes of the meetings between the land owners (the *gaunkars*), they permit us a glimpse into the topics discussed, the habits of the administrative lives of these villages, and their transformations due to the Portuguese imperial presence.³¹ And although

30 Although Emma Rothschild uses this expression in a different way in her book, we thought it appropriate to use it here. Emma Rothschild, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

31 Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *O tombo de Damão, 1592* (Lisboa: CNCDP, 2001); Lúvia Ferrão, 'Rendas e foros de Damão nos finais do séc. XVI', *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, II (2001): 169–79.

they were initially written in Konkani, the *Livros das Comunidades* gradually introduced Portuguese words—expressing what Sumit Guha defined as linguistic bifurcation—until they were entirely written in Portuguese. The chronology of these changes reveals the rhythm of inscription of the imperial power in the villages.³²

If this collection provides access to the micro-level of village life, the correspondence between the kings of Portugal and the viceroys and governors of the Estado da Índia, assembled in a chronological order a macro landscape of imperial decision-making. During the sixteenth century, the Secretary of the Indian Affairs (*Secretário dos despachos e coisas da Índia*), bound by a *regimento* (administration chart or order) of March 1530, was commissioned to classify information and send it to the king. The inventories of the documents that the Secretary of India entrusted to Diogo do Couto, in 1592 and 1596, for safekeeping in the newly established Archives (*Torre do Tombo*), give us a hint of the type of documents that had been produced during the sixteenth century until the moment when the collection of the *Livros das Monções* was put together.³³ The name of this collection refers to the contingencies of the political communication with the central power, conceived as a regular exchange, but depending in large part on monsoons. In order not to lose information, the correspondence was supposed to be sent by various itineraries, by land and by sea, and addressed, sometime later, to the institutions that dealt with specific matters. In this collection, one can discern different viewpoints of the imperial administrative institutions concerning mainly the local geopolitics (i.e., relations with various rulers from Indian to Pacific Ocean) and the daily administration of the empire. Their contents were varied: navigation (dealing with trade and travel permits or *cartazes*), fleets, shipbuilding, fortresses and military affairs (works, personnel, garrisons, munitions), conquests, trade, diplomacy (local, international), but also religion (churches and convents, religious orders, converts), administration (officials, etc.), education and assistance (schools, hospitals, confraternities, charity), and finances (customs, financial accounts, contrabands).

32 Sumit Guha, 'Serving the Barbarian to Preserve the Dharma: The Ideology and Training of a Clerical Elite in Peninsular India c. 1300–1800', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 47, no. 4 (October/December 2010): 497–525.

33 APO, f. 3, pp. xiv–xvi.

It is not always clear, however, who were the main institutional interlocutors in the metropolitan world of the correspondence sent by Indian officials. Given the plural nature of the Portuguese political administration, probably the Secretary of the Estado da Índia had to respond to different institutions in different periods.

This dispersion reveals that the Portuguese administrative practices were not conceived as building a general and unified archive. The bureaucratic creativity was a response to ad hoc political imperatives, rather than a planned project. They were also part of the dialogue established with the local populations, incorporating many of their contributions. Relationality, as Celeste M. Condit warns, is non-essentialist and presumes fluidity and change, and this condition perfectly describes these processes of knowing.³⁴

The tension between these various dynamics—the institutional dispersion, the need to centralize knowledge, and the active participation of the ‘colonized’ characterized the first two centuries of the Portuguese imperial experience.

This dispersion was substantially transformed by the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal in the second half of the eighteenth century. It is in this context that a part of the *Livros das Monções* was sent to Portugal in response to the royal letter of February 1774, with a request to dispatch to metropolis all original documents concerning the political and ecclesiastical government of India-polis. By this act, the enlightened project of the Marquis of Pombal stripped these territories of knowledge that was produced there and was part of their cultural heritage. It also stimulated dynamics similar to those identified by Bruno Latour in scientific relations between political centres and its peripheries.

After this brief description that allows us to locate our documents in the productive chain of the imperial documentation, it is time to turn to the charters and registers and see what they contain.

CONTEXTS OF PRODUCTION AND PRACTICES

The property *Registers* (*tombos*) of the Estado da Índia (their limits, rights, and obligations towards the king), also called *Charters* (*forais*), clearly show that the power of the Crown was not intended to be

³⁴ John Louis Lucaites, Celeste Michelle Condit, and Sally Caudill, eds, *Contemporary Rhetorical Theory: A Reader* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1999).

exercised only on the most superficial level.³⁵ Just as in the metropolitan territory, the king of Portugal wanted to know more about the organization and the modes of functioning of the Goan religious structures, and his interference in these matters leave no doubt about the scope of power that the Portuguese Crown desired to exercise.

These documents were produced in order to be converted into useful sources for political and administrative governance, especially for revenues and land control. They also helped improve the decision-making process regarding these spaces and people. Although they were chronologically consecutive, these documents had different goals than those of the *Foral de Mexia*. In fact, the *Registers* inaugurated a period in which the religious sphere slipped from the Indian direct control into the hands of the agents of the imperial government.³⁶

From that time onwards the linkages between the political and religious power were mediated by Christian agents, almost always of European origin, and the properties that had been beforehand apportioned for the local worship became the means for financing Christian churches. This legal and administrative change, associated with the Portuguese Padroado, created the conditions in which religious specialists increasingly began to play a central role in their double function as the agents of the Crown and the agents of the Church.

In order to carry out the true metamorphosis in the life of these villages, by converting them into Christian settlements, it was considered necessary to catalogue the earlier religious structures, as missionaries would do, as well as their modes of subsistence and reproduction—the main function of the Registers.

It is easy to imagine the difficulties the Portuguese crown officials faced, ignorant as they were of the multilayered textures of the Indian society! In the kingdom of Portugal where in most of the cases villages

³⁵ Charters, or *Forais* were official, written documents in which the accounts regarding the rights and tributes that a particular village or institution had to pay were recorded. The two terms—*foral* and *tombo*—were often used indiscriminately in the sources. See ‘Minuta para os forais de Arganil, Nogueira, Álvares do Mosteiro de Folques, Cardosa, Lourosa, Couto do Mosteiro de Avô, Pampilhosa, Midões, Póvoa e Santa Comba’, ANTT, CC/1/1/2.

³⁶ Ângela Barreto Xavier, ‘Dissolver a Diferença: Conversão e Mestiçagem no Império Português’, in *Itinerários: 25 anos de investigação no Instituto de Ciências Sociais*, eds, Manuel Villaverde Cabral, Karin Wall, Sofia Aboim, and Filipe Carreira da Silva (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008).

possessed written registers of rights and properties—and where it was possible by analogy with the neighbouring villages, or from the conversation with the local officials, to determine these rights—the inventory commissioned by the Crown turned out to be extremely problematic. For example, the incompleteness of *Leitura Nova* manuscripts reveal precisely the political will to collect information, fix it and ‘immortalize’ it, as well as the difficulty in accomplishing this project.³⁷

In the Goan experience, official Portuguese knowledge of these village matters was based on the very general information in the *Foral de Mexia*, because they were aided by local interpreters (*línguas*) whose political allegiances as well as linguistic proficiency were uncertain. It was within these constraints that in Goa the process of identification of the properties bequeathed to local temples was started in order to redirect them to finance Christian worship.

In contrast to what happened in Portugal, where these administrative acts were carried out by *corregedores* (higher magistrates),³⁸ in Indian territories the Crown was represented in various manners. If in 1554, it was the *tanador-mor* (Chief Judicial Authority) of Goa, António Ferrão, who had started the inquiry, in 1567 it was Ambrozio de Sousa, the Judge of the Orphans of the *gente da terra* (natives), who started the inventory in Salcete by the order of the viceroy.³⁹ Under the Habsburg rule from 1580 onwards occurred a major change in this practice. In 1630, Philip III of Portugal (and IV of Spain) showed his displeasure at the assignment of an officer who was not a *desembargador da Relação de Goa* (the judge of the High Court of Goa) for the task

37 ‘Carta de André Farinha, corregedor da comarca de Évora, dando conta a D. João III das demarcações e tombo que ia fazendo naquela comarca e dúvidas que se moviam em algumas vilas, 10-04-1538’, ANTT, CC/1/61/33; ‘Carta da Câmara da Covilhã a D. João III sobre o tombo que fazia dos maninhos da dita vila o licenciado Domingos Gil, de que muitas pessoas se agravaram, 13-07-1539’, ANTT, CC/1/65/14.

38 The *corregedores* were royal officers who, together with judges (*ouvidores*), played the central role of mediators between the crown and the local society. ‘Carta de D. Manuel para o arcebispo de Braga, para eleger uma pessoa perita que com o corregedor da comarca iria fazer o foral da dita cidade, 11-10-1516’, ANTT, CC/1/20/110. See Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro, ‘O centro, o local e o inexistente regional’, in *História dos Municípios e do Poder Local*, ed. César de Oliveira (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1996), pp. 85–8. The *Juiz dos órfãos* was a crown official responsible for managing the inheritance of the orphans, providing for their education, living, and so forth.

39 *PP*, VI-2, (1988), p. 17.

of making the register of Bassein and Chaul. According to the king, a minor officer could not be competent enough for managing the situation and writing up these documents that required a detailed legal knowledge.⁴⁰ Other changes occurred in the relationship between the Crown and the villages. For example, during the production of the Charters of 1554, the imperial officials stopped visiting each village that had to be inventoried. In 1567, instead, it was the gaunkars and the scribes of these villages who had to go to the main village in the region in order to report the information collected. The main reason for this change was the resistance these officials faced when they travelled to peripheral settlements

Aside from security reasons that shaped the technical aspects regarding the field inquiry, other adjustments were taking place. If local actors found that they benefited from a larger scope for action, the demands of the Crown became more detailed, signalling the adjustment of the government to the locally lived experience.⁴¹ For example, in the first encounter with the gaunkars of the village of Carambolim in 1554, the inventory of the goods and properties was relatively short. Later, however, the properties were increasingly specified while the space for manoeuvring for the local elites was significantly reduced. The royal officials would inquire about estates (lands that belonged to the temples, divinities, and their religious specialists), shops, and business establishments, as well as slaves, cows, other types of livestock, silver, jewellery, and different precious objects. The inventory takers were learning how and what to ask. This ‘learning process’ can be glimpsed when we look into the registers written within fourteen years of difference, but also in the single register itself, within one, two, or several days of difference.

Something similar happened with the *Foral de Salcete* (Charter of Salcete) of 1567.⁴² The first query required the inhabitants of Madgaon

40 Antonio Raymundo Bulhão Pato, ed., *Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, vol. 11, 1625–1736 (Lisbon: Academia Real das Sciencias, 1880), n° 873.

41 See *Ordenações do Senhor Rey D. Manuel* (Coimbra: Real Imprensa da Universidade, 1797), L. 2, tt. lxx.

42 *Foral de Salcete* was a compilation of the reports referring to the lands and the goods that the villages of Salcete had allocated to temples and their officials. The original is preserved in the Historical Archives of Goa. Parts of it have been published in the *PP*.

(Margão), the most important village of that region, to provide information about *todalas fazendas* (all the landed property) that belonged to the temples and divinities and their servants 'and other types such as jewels, gold, silver, male and female slaves, a herd of cows, a herd of oxen and others'.⁴³ Two weeks later, the officials of another village, Betalbatim, were asked to enumerate 'all the landed property that belonged to the village', as well as 'other type[s]' of properties such as 'all the pieces of bronze and lead used in the temple and gilded silver handles, rice and vegetables and other goods that other gaunkars give to their temples and the goods they gave for dressing their gods', 'and all other movable goods and landed property such as male and female slaves, a herd of buffaloes or all other property that belongs to that temple'.⁴⁴ A day after, the representatives of Calata were also asked for 'the bells of the silk dresses', which probably means that the officers noticed (or were informed) that these bells in gold or in silver were also valuable.

Crown officials also learned to identify different officials whose properties were being registered. Within the same year of 1567 we can detect differences in questions that were asked. The most interesting episode refers to the category of the *servidores dos pagodes* (servants of the temple).⁴⁵

In 1567, the royal officers asked, the first time, for all the goods that belonged to the 'gurus, the *pernis*, the single women, the *joshi*' and to officials of 'all other qualities'. Later, we are told that this flexible category included 'yogis and *farazes* [untouchables] of the temple, carpenters, painters, and those who carry banners like standard bearers when the divinity (*pagode*) goes out [of the temple] and those who make holes to stick inside the areca tree during their Carnival'.⁴⁶

43 PP, VI-2, (July–December 1988), p. 21.

44 'De todas as peças de quobre e latão do serviso dos paguodes doss emcastoados de prata do bate e doutro lagumes das outras fazemdas que os outros guamquares dão aos seus paguodes e as fazemdas que eles dão e de todo o fato de vestir dos paguodes', PP, 1-2 (December 2000), p.34.

45 On the etymology of the word pagoda, denoting both an idol and the temple, see Hans J. Vermeer, ed., introduction to *The First European Tamil Grammar: A Critical Edition* (English version by Angelika Morath) (Heidelberg: Groos, 1982).

46 'Grous como dos pernis molheres solteyras, Jousys e outras de toda a calydade ... jogues e farazes dos carpimteiros dos pagodes, dos pintoires dos que leuão as bandeiras como alferes quando o pagoda vay for a E dos que fazem as couas pera por arequeiras no seu sygmo', PP, VI-2 (July–December 1988).

but also of a wizard, a jester, as well as 'those who clean the houses of gaunkars and trumpet players who are called *calis* and *malis* who are gardeners and *bamdaris* who are treasurers of the temples'.⁴⁷ Two weeks later, this vast list was enriched with other temple officials or servants, such as washermen, blacksmiths, and other types of single women, such as the dancers.⁴⁸

With the quality and the diversity of information improving, each new inquiry had more questions than the previous. The same type of attitude can be identified in the land inventories. In particular, with each new inventoried land, they tried to find out who the owner was and whether these lands were used as palm orchards or paddy fields.

For palm orchards, they recorded the size and the number of trees that could be planted, that existed already or existed before, the exact position in the field, and the neighbouring lands. Then, they listed the ownership, the value of the land, and the revenue paid or to be paid. The economic potential of palm cultivation was clearly identified, simultaneously attested in Garcia de Orta's *Colóquios* in the chapter about coconuts. Orta's interlocutor Ruano explained that the palm tree was 'a tree that provides many things necessary for human life', to which Orta added: 'no other tree provides the sixth of what a palm tree has to offer' and 'you should announce that all through Castile though it is well known by those who come here because it is so well known'.⁴⁹

The same type of reasoning was applied to paddy fields, the most valuable land in Goa. Perhaps because he was 'not a big friend of rice',⁵⁰ Orta did not accord it as many pages as he did to coconuts, although it was a prominent local food. In fact, from the *Colóquios* we can also map the omnipresence of rice in the region.

After the end of each inquiry, the accountant (*contador-mor*) transcribed and wrote the registers on 'Portuguese paper'. The information always followed the same template: the names of the villages appeared

47 'E asy dos feiticeiros, guaris, chocareiros, E dos que eramão as casas dos gaumcares E dos trombeteiros q/ se chamão calis E dos malis q/ são fuleiros E os bamdaris que são os tisoueiros dos pagodes', PP, VI-2 (July–December 1988).

48 PP, 1-2 (July–December 2000), pp. 33–44.

49 Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 1, p. 235.

50 Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 2, p. 372.

at the top of each new section, and then came the names of the divinities to which the properties were attributed. Under each of these names there was an inventory of estates, with a special emphasis on paddy fields, as well as of other goods that belonged to that deity or its officials.

Filled in and completed registers were sent to the viceroy and stored in the palace of the local government or in the Archives of Goa. These registers were, moreover, frequently subject to addenda and corrections, reflecting the dynamic structure of the local life. They were inscribed with erasures, augmentation, and commentaries, and were frequently used in Goa and consulted in the Archive during conflicts and court cases. In 1626, for example, the charter of the island of Jua was pondered over due to a conflict between the Crown and the Jesuits. A year later, Filipe IV of Spain made his decision on the basis of these documents.⁵¹ Local inhabitants also used them. Such is the case of António Farás (an untouchable), who, after conversion to Christianity petitioned the Chief Archivist to issue the certificate with the inventory of the palm orchards and *namoxins* (temple lands) that were given to his family in the village of Saligão in Bardez.⁵²

In the same years, Ambrósio de Freitas, the revenue official in Sri Lanka, the officer in charge of drawing registers of the gardens in Colombo, wrote some interesting remarks on how to proceed efficiently. The dialogue between Freitas and the Crown was intended to improve the administrative performance with the data acquired from local experience. His statements hint at what the officers in charge of the Charters of Goa worried about already in the mid-sixteenth century, and demonstrated just how the mind of a 'colonial official' operated.⁵³

It seems clear that the daily dialogue between the Crown and the local informants widened the terms of the scrutiny. Perhaps royal officials reconsidered the trust they initially had in their interlocutors, which resulted in more detailed questions and richer inventories. Inquisitive observation (and experience) became as important as the

⁵¹ Pato, *Documentos Remetidos da Índia*, vol. I, 1625–1627, n° 490, n° 1239.

⁵² Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *Junta da Real Fazenda da Índia*, vol. II, L. 41 (Lisbon: CNCDP-Centro Damião de Góis, 2000), n° 713. *Namos* or *namoxins* were lands administered by the temple and their revenue was reserved for the servants of the temples.

⁵³ Artur Teodoro de Matos, ed., *Documentos Remetidos da Índia ou Livros das Monções* (1625–1627), vol. 2 (Lisbon: CNCDP, 2000), n° 355.

exchange of words. Immersed in an intense dialogue with the local population—for some officials this was their administrative debut—enabled them to come to their own conclusions about the nature and organization of those villages. The more these inquiries were successful, the sooner they became part of the inquisitive 'science' of administration, which started to be applied in a homogenizing manner to territories, situations, and subjects. Studies are still lacking about links between the territorial construction and other judicial inquiries, including the Holy Office.

TRACES OF LOCAL LIFE

After considering some aspects of the production of these documents and the practices that accompanied and evolved during this process, we now take a different approach by asking two questions: What is their descriptive value, which enriches our actual knowledge of the region? And, what is their critical potential, that is to say, for helping us challenge the routines of the production of academic knowledge in which certain aspects are selected and validated, while others are relegated to invisibility and oblivion?

These documents confirm that in the sixteenth-century Goa, the temples, divinities, and their servants enjoyed and profited from the most productive lands such as palm orchards of all sizes, paddy fields of one or two *rabi* crops (*vanganas*), areca nut plantations, mango and tamarind orchards, gardens, salty estuaries, waste land, sea shore, salty forests.⁵⁴ This information maps well the basic elements of land characteristics and land organization of these territories, the economic importance of the temples in the life of the villages, and the relations and tensions at the micro level between political and administrative bodies represented by the gaunkars, and the religious institutions represented by the temples. From them we can also study and compare small and big villages and their mutual relations.

Hence, we know that in Goa, like elsewhere in India, the transfer of land between villages was frequent.⁵⁵ Some were given as payment

⁵⁴ Rabi crops refer to agricultural crops sown in winter and harvested in the summer season.

⁵⁵ Robert Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (Madras: University of Madras, 1932).

for performance of certain religious services, as in the case of the *devadāsi* (dancing girls) who performed in temples of various villages during the religious festivals, but belonged to one particular temple situated in the main village. Others were given as payment for military help that one village extended to another in case of danger. There were also offerings of land to the divinity venerated in the temple located in another village. It is also clear that the village assembly (*gaunkari*) and the temple were recipients of the *foros* (quit-rent) and the *reñdas da terra* (land revenue), and in certain cases they shared the revenue from the same land.⁵⁶

These sources equally reveal the early efforts of the colonizers to control the best lands in the village, a fact that challenges the mainstream ideas about the Portuguese model of colonization. The direct land transfer from the Muslims to the Portuguese after the 1510 conquest of Goa was applied to all those who resisted Christian conquest. These lands were subsequently redistributed to Portuguese colonizers who wanted to stay on and marry (called *casados* from then on), but also to the inhabitants of the villages who collaborated actively with the new political order.⁵⁷

Aside from the fact that the transfer of land in 1510 did take place and was an important fact, there is no extant inventory of these properties, which means that it followed a 'normal' political practice: being part of the process of acquisition, the transfer of property after the conquest did not require inventory. A different logic was at work in the cases of registers that we discussed here since they were already part of the imperial strategy of territorial control and conservation.

Moreover, from these documents, we can glimpse that in spite of the policy of removing Muslim population, in 1567 some of them continued to live, at least, in the village of Betalbatim in Salcete. For example, Said Muhammad was known among the Portuguese as *tanadar dos mouros* (*tanadar* of the Muslims), or the official who collected revenue from the Muslims. This contradicts the conviction (expressed

⁵⁶ On Indian villages administration, see an interesting article by David Mosse, 'Colonial and Contemporary Ideologies of "Community Management": The Case of Tank Irrigation Development in South India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 33, no. 2 (May 1999): 303–38.

⁵⁷ ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, MSS. 89, *Systema da Causa*, f. 8.

in narrative sources and taken over by historiography) that all Muslim population of Goa had been expelled in 1510. Instead of disappearing from the territory, part of this population had survived—just as it happened in Portugal until 1496—in a political system that, until around 1530, allowed the coexistence of different religious entities and recognized the members of these groups as direct interlocutors of the Portuguese Crown. The discursive annihilation of this population did not correspond to reality and these documents help us trace back this forgotten history.

Other information reveals the existence of other local practices of land administration. It shows that there were frequent tensions between individual interests and those of the villages, as well as efforts at changing the regime of land use. They also reveal the problems between village assembly and the temples, and the climate of a lingering social conflict.⁵⁸

Two later Jesuit manuscripts *Systema da Cauza* (The System of the Cause) and *Antidoto da Inocencia do Collegio de S. Paulo da Comp^a de IESU de Goa* (The Antidote of Innocence of the St. Paul's College of the Society of Jesus in Goa)⁵⁹ are complementary to the registers of the properties attributed to village gods.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ On land property and social tension in South India, see Eugene Irschick, 'Order and Disorder in Colonial South India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 23, no. 3 (1989): 459–92; or, in the English case, Nicholas Blomley, 'Law, Property, and the Geography of Violence: The Frontier, the Survey, and the Grid', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 93, n° 1 (March 2003): 121–41.

⁵⁹ *Antidoto da Inocencia*, ARSI, Goa 22 I, fls 59–66. There are other opinions about what is and what is not permitted to Jesuits in the domain of economic activities; for example, a manuscript 'Commentarios do Pe. Francisco Rodriguez (...)' offers a set of suggestions concerning the problem of contracts, the permissibility of certain loans, and the things prohibited to be sold to the infidels. In the same manuscript there are opinions of other fathers on identical themes. It is obvious that the economic activities of the Jesuits provoked many debates. *Systema da Causa*, ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, MSS. 89.

⁶⁰ The question of the right to property and the notion of property were discussed, almost always, in the shadow of the treatise on property by John Locke. John Locke, *Second Treatise on Government* (1690). See, James Tully, *A Discourse on Property: John Locke and His Adversaries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Stephen R. Munzer, *New Essays in the Legal and Political Theory of Property* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Matthew H. Kramer, *John Locke and the Origins of Private Property: Philosophical Explorations of Individualism, Community, and Equality*

In *The Antidote*, for example, the author defended the right to property of the inhabitants of the Goan villages, claiming that these were inscribed on metal plates (*laminas de metal*) that they kept as a proof. For him, the village inhabitants were to dispose of their land as they wished: they could rent it, sell it, or give it to whomever they want. Confirming the information provided in the Registers, *The Antidote* states that besides auctions, Goan land was available for exchange and economic transactions in the region of Salcete, and that the local social organization had been significantly altered in the past through the transfer of land property.

The second document portrays the land economy of these territories as even more complex. The author of *The System of the Cause* insists that different regimes of property existed in Tiswadi, Divar, Chorão, Bardez, and Salcete, contesting the idea that the *Foral de Mexia* of 1526 was representative of all territories of Goa. According to this writer, the lands of Salcete and Bardez belonged to the king of Portugal, just as they used to belong earlier to the king who governed these places. In contrast, Tiswadi had a different organization of land tenure. Therefore, the contract of 1543, which transferred the property of the temples of Salcete and Bardez to the king of Portugal, who then bestowed the same land to the inhabitants of the villages, was valid in accordance with the regime of emphyteutic lease.⁶¹

To prove his thesis, the author goes as far as to suggest that one should travel to the neighbouring territories in the Konkan region in order to see the type of property rights observed, similar to those that he had identified in Salcete and Bardez.⁶²

All these texts recorded other aspects of local administration before the arrival of the Portuguese: metal plates were mentioned in *The Antidote*, but there were other documents written on the *folhas de ola* (palm

leaves), referred to by the Portuguese as *declaração* (declarations). At the same time, many inhabitants of the villages had no proof of their ownership. In the same way, other Portuguese documents refer to the existence of the *tombo antigo* (old register) in some villages and of an *escrivão fatiozi* (scribe in charge of emphyteutic lease). This indirect information challenges the voices of the inhabitants of the villages, who affirmed that they had lost their ancient registers, and that they did not remember the existence of the scribe of that type. This was an effort at concealing the information from the Portuguese inquisitive eye.

As expected, these dynamics show that before Portuguese presence there were structures and practices of knowledge to which the local populations were accustomed to. Christopher Bayly and others showed that the tradition of the construction of knowledge, with an explicit political intention, had long and deep roots in the Indian territories.⁶³

How did these structures of information and control inspire the Portuguese? Were they conscious of their existence beforehand or were these networks and structures revealed to the Portuguese when they tried to take over and extend their dominion? Did they simply imitate these configurations or refashioned them?

We do not know enough, yet, how the Vijayanagara kingdom, the Bahmani kingdoms and the sultanate of Bijapur, all of whom ruled Goa on different occasions before Portuguese arrival in Goa, had imprinted the constitution of a certain 'information order'.⁶⁴ However, in light of comparison with contemporary political units in South India, it appears that the Goan region was subjected to an administrative culture in which the collection of information and the record keeping were part of the exercise of political power. In his description of the kingdoms of Kozhikode and Vijayanagara, Duarte

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). Our intention here is somewhat different. We want to understand two things: the concepts of property in the pragmatic discourses that circulated in the Iberian world and how the imperial experiences shaped (or not) new notions of property; and to what extent these seventeenth-century discussions were important for the eighteenth-century reflection on systems of property, especially the way they were used in the context of Orientalist disciplines. See Inden, *Imagining India*, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), chapter 4.

61 ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, MSS. 89, *Systema da Causa*, fl. 49.

62 *Systema da Causa*, fl. 49.

63 The representations of Indian royal courts in the writings of the early modern travellers are important for their description of local bureaucratic culture, and the recent historical studies confirmed their observations. See Sumit Guha, 'Serving the Barbarian'.

64 Bayly, *Empire and Information*, p. 10. The interest in these topics in earlier periods is growing. See a synthetic statement of Kurt A. Raaflaub and Michael Talbert, eds, *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-Modern Societies* (Malden, MA/Oxford: John Wiley and Sons, 2010).

Barbosa was astonished by the number of scribes present at the court of Kozhikode. According to his account, they continuously recorded the information on the palm leaves (*olai*). In Vijayanāgara also the king and his governors constantly received information on 'what was happening in His kingdom'.⁶⁵ The admiring tone with which Barbosa wrote about both courts (especially of Kozhikode, which he knew to the minutest detail) reveals either the unexpected similarity of what was encountered with what was taking place in the kingdom of Portugal, or the higher sophistication of the Indian rulers. Decades before, the Russian traveller Afanasy Nikitin had referred to the presence of Sinai Brahmans of the Salcete region who were employed as literati at the Bahmani court. These were the ancestors of the Brahmans discussed by Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski in their inspiring essay.⁶⁶ These data indicate, at least, that the Brahmans of Goa had some expertise in these kinds of practices, which explains why they were recruited by other courts to help in the administrative processes.

It is probable that the knowledge the Portuguese acquired was closely tied to the pre-existing information order, and that the *Foral de Mexia* of 1526 mostly recorded it. The flexibility of local elites and their information agents contributed in embedding it and reproducing it, and thus enabled the Crown to adjust its demands to local conditions. At that first moment, the 'knowledge specialists' were mainly the Brahmans and other groups who preserved knowledge and passed it to their descendants, transmitting it only at convenient moments. There were also people who provided information about everyday economic and social life of the village communities, such as superintendents, water guards, and similar people who watched out for any irregularities in the village activities. If true, this hypothesis inscribes the histories that took place in early modern Goa in the longer 'empire and information' narrative.

The response of the village inhabitants to questions regarding the existence of the earlier archives of information is symptomatic and

65 Sousa, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, vol. 2, pp. 79–86.

66 Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They Are? Pandit Networks and the Problem of Livelihoods in Early Modern Western India', *Indian Economic Social History Review*, 45, no. 3 (2008): 381–416.

shows a political culture geared to domination, but it also reveals the embedded existence of survival strategies. The responses given by the gaunkars which were registered in the Charters vary from village to village.⁶⁷ One aspect of these variations concerns, in some villages, the identity between the names and the offices of the land owners (for example, Loqu, the washerman), while in others the locals were only referred by their name or the office they occupied (i.e., Loqu or washerman). At the same time, the Crown officials constantly warned about the excess of information provided by the inhabitants of the villages. These are especially helpful for understanding the nuances in the local order, and they also enriched our perceptions of these territories and the histories of their people: concerning the local religious order (divinities, devotional practices, festivals, and religious specialists).⁶⁸

An immediate impression we get from reading these documents is that these villages worshipped a huge number of divinities, confirming the idea that religious fragmentation and multiplicity of religious forms (even religions) characterized early modern India.⁶⁹

In the case of Goan villages, and at the time of the Portuguese arrival (and before their massive destruction) there were at least 124 distinct temples, for a total of 564 divinities, which means an average of 4–5 divinities per village.⁷⁰ The distribution of these divinities was unequal. There were 26 villages with more than 7 divinities, 48 with 4 to 6 divinities, and more than fifty with only 1 to 3 divinities. If we look closer, we can also see that in the interior of the villages, life was diverse. In some villages there was only one temple complex with 2 to 4 divinities with assigned revenue for the worship and the upkeep of their servants. In others, there were a couple of temple complexes.⁷¹

67 See, for example, PP, VI-2 (July–December 1988) about Madgaon and PP, 1–2 (July–December 2000), about the village of Betalbatim.

68 For example who paid the tribute, what tributes were these, and what was the form of payment.

69 Heinrich von Stietencron, *Hindu Myth, Hindu History: Religion, Art and Politics* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2005), p. 224.

70 We return to these questions in Chapters Four and Five.

71 See, *Foral das Ilhas de Goa*, 1553–1562, HAG, n. 7604, *Foral de Salcete*, copy of 1585, HAG, n. 3071, *Foral Antigo de Bardez*, 1649, HAG, n. 7587, and *Foral de 1622*, HAG, n. 7583–5.

Santeri was the female divinity with the biggest support (67 references). As for male gods, Ravalnath was important in Bardez and Tiswadi (48 references in 90 settlements), while Narayana (18 for the total of 60 villages) dominated the Salcete region.

In all these cases, the data show both different and similar religious histories in the Goan territory. From the religious point of view, the Goan villages were not homogenous, and were theatres of different devotions, religious practices, and even behaviour. Many of these divinities were part of the classical Brahman pantheon. This may be a symptom of the process of Brahmanization of Goan religious life, taking place through integration of the divinities of different origin into the hierarchical model of the main divinities of Vedic and textual origin. Still, the divinities that were statistically more relevant were not Brahmanic, but of Dravidian origin.

The data collected in the *Registers* are also enlightening about religious practices. If we scrutinize closely a small territory of Salcete, in 22 of its 66 villages, we can discern specific ritual practices—lingam worship, decorations of the gaunkar's houses with palm leaves, making holes for the areca tree festival, dressing the divinity when it leaves the temple, giving it oil to drink, giving it coconuts, betel leaves, sleeping for nine nights in the temple, theatre performance—that rarely appear in missionary letters.

These inventories are also useful for identifying the type of goods that were bequeathed to temples, divinities, and their servants. Besides recording all types of goods, from estates to animals, to plants and objects, and other valuables such as money, jewels, and silver, copper, and gold pieces, they allow us to understand these experiences in the framework of discussion about the role of gift—*dāna*—in the Indian villages.

To conclude, it is clear that this type of information is extremely useful for the study of what Christopher Fuller calls 'beliefs and practices that constitute a lived religion, common practice of the Hindus' in the early modern period.⁷² We did not try to discuss here the origin of Hinduism or its invention (although these data can contribute to that discussion as well). What we wanted to underline was the

importance of these documents for understanding how the beliefs, rituals, and devotional movements were integrated into the society of the sixteenth-century Indian village—and how this information was essential for the exercise of Portuguese imperial power. Having identified these processes, they can now be further studied in comparative and diachronic analysis.

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How did this information travel? How was it reorganized as it passed from hand to hand, locally and transcontinentally? How was it received and interpreted in the vice-royal palace in Goa and other local institutions of power? How did the court in Lisbon make sense of it? In what form was it preserved, archived, and made available for posterity, for future decision making and the construction of memory?

These are questions that still need further answers. However, according to Bruno Latour, the information produced by this type of agents flew from periphery to the centre and was transformed into 'science' before returning to the periphery in a form of 'domesticated' knowledge and political decisions. This pattern can certainly be identified in the context we have described. However, we also have to highlight the fact that the colonies kept, until the reforms of the Marquis of Pombal in the second half of the eighteenth century, their own documentation and archives. For almost three centuries, these were closer to its various producers (Indian and Portuguese) and shaped *in loco* political culture and political decisions.⁷³

On the other hand, if the information available is still scarce about the modes of production of these documents, they appear to be an appropriate place to test Ann Laura Stoler's observations in her latest work: the hesitation with which the classification and definitions of social categories, as well as networks of intelligibility of colonial reality were determined and constructed.⁷⁴ In contrast to the 'civil servants' in Stoler's description, the officials of the sixteenth-century Portuguese crown did not share the same bureaucratic skills and the

⁷³ Delbourgo and Drew, *Science and Empire*, 10–11; Xavier and Santos, 'A cultura intelectual das elites coloniais'.

⁷⁴ Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), chapter 1.

⁷² Christopher Fuller, *The Camphor Flame, Popular Hinduism and Society in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), p. 5.

same type of professionalization. Their in-between identity and the fact that they were located at the very dawn of the modern bureaucratic culture is another reason that makes these knowledge practices a worthwhile case study.

Finally, a great part of this information shows that besides religious matters, Portuguese agents were also interested in knowing and controlling natural resources. The detail of information about paddy fields and palm-tree orchards express well the economic interest in the products (and the production) of the land. These were extremely relevant as commodities, but they were also crucial as instruments of survival. No one understood better than Garcia de Orta, already in the sixteenth century, this double—and interdependent—nature of Asian natural resources. In the next chapter, Orta is the agent and the actor of the Portuguese imperial formation as we follow the itinerary that allows us to discuss the role of this knowledge for the conservation of the Portuguese rule.

CHAPTER THREE

Natural History

Physicians, Merchants, and Missionaries

Garcia de Orta, an old and respected physician and *casado*, authored the famous *Colóquios*, the first treatise on Asian simples and medicinal substances. He described a fruit named *coquo* or *coco* as one that was the size of a human head, thirty of which could grow on a single branch all through the year, and hailed its many usages, its taste, and medicinal quality.¹ The coconut was no more a ghost in the text as it used to be in the earlier documents, but a bioresource supplying and circulating within the increasingly global networks of travel and trade. It was also an object of natural histories composed and compiled for and during what the Portuguese called the 'discovery' and 'conquest' by merchants, missionaries, travellers, officials, physicians, and apothecaries. As the authors never failed to underline, coconut and other palm trees 'are useful for human life with no dispensable parts, but all important from the roots to the last leaf'.² Useful and profitable, palm tree was also a metaphor of Portuguese longing for rootedness and permanence in the tropics.

In this chapter, we take samples from an immense edifice of bio-knowledge collected by those who participated in various ways in the

1 Orta, *Colóquios*, pp. 235–53. See also Chapter 1.

2 Jerónimo Lobo, *Itinerário e outros escritos inéditos* (Barcelos: Companhia Editora do Minho, 1971), p. 723.

Portuguese Asian Empire in order to map places of production, producers, and knowledges about South Asia that these early modern actors considered as the most important for their physical survival: medical, botanical, pharmacological. By shedding light on documents related to natural history, both those that were intended as such and the occasional and fragmentary interests in flora and fauna, medicine, remedies, and similar topics that one finds in travel literature, we continue to argue that the interest in land and settlement can be identified from the early Portuguese presence in Asia.³

If Portuguese discoverers were in search of 'spices and Christians', it seems that they were also in search of places to grow wheat and cereals due to insufficient domestic supply.⁴ It was one of the reasons why they conquered Ceuta in the first place and colonized Madeira and Azores. However small their Asian territorial possessions, there is no reason to believe that the agricultural and settler values easily disappeared, although wheat turned out impossible to cultivate in the tropics.

The problem was and remained the fact that in Goa and elsewhere in South Asia, the land was already in possession and cultivated by local agriculturalists, and it took some time before the Portuguese officials devised the way to organize agricultural relations in the Estado da Índia. The registers and charters collected from 1526 onwards—discussed in the second chapter—are eloquent witnesses of the obsession with landed property, the size of the fields and orchards, the revenue they produced, the names of the owners and the revenue farmers, and any other relevant information.

In a more intensive way, by the end of the sixteenth century, Portuguese colonization of Brazil turned into plantation economy of sugar based on local Indian and slave labour imported from Africa. From Salvador to Rio de Janeiro there were more than 150 sugar cane mills (*engenhos*) and the number doubled by the middle of the seventeenth century.⁵

3 This is in contrast to the network theory, which has been developed in Thomaz, 'Goa: Uma sociedade luso-indiana', pp. 245–89.

4 José E. Mendes Ferrão, *A Aventura das Plantas e os Descobrimentos Portugueses* (Lisbon: IICT, CNCDP, Fundação Berardo, 1992), pp. 16–19.

5 Stuart B. Schwartz, "'Commonwealth within Itself': Early Brazilian Sugar Industry, 150–1670", *Revista de Indias*, vol. LXV, no. 233 (2005): 82–3.

In contrast to Brazil, the agricultural territory in Portuguese possession either acquired by conquest or ceded by the local kings in South Asia, such was the case of the *Northern Provinces* (*Províncias do Norte*), remained scarce and for that reason even more precious.⁶ The way to extract revenues from the agricultural land remained, as elsewhere and later during the British Empire, a complex process of renegotiation between various interests from crown officials to land tenants. Controlling the land, the products of the land, the commerce, and the labour turned out to be very difficult because of the pre-existing socio-economic arrangements and political organization already in place. In Sri Lanka, the Portuguese did try to do just that. They 'conquered' the coastal area with kingdoms of Kotte and Sitawaka bent on controlling both cinnamon cultivation and the trade. However, they never succeeded in conquering the kingdom of Kandy (where most of the cinnamon was grown) in the inaccessible mountainous area in the middle of the island. When the Portuguese lost hold of Sri Lanka to the Dutch in the middle of the seventeenth century, the regret of losing this territory turned into a series of narratives demanding the reconquest and extolling the beauties and riches of the island.⁷

By the end of the seventeenth century, instead of reclaiming the territory, the Portuguese pursued a less chivalrous goal of transplanting, or 'stealing' according to the Dutch, cinnamon trees from Sri Lanka, and from India, to Brazil.⁸ Already about 1617, Ambrosio Fernandes Brandão had proposed the transfer of pepper to Brazil in the text attributed to him by Capistrano de Abreu, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil* (Dialogues on the Greatness of Brazil). By describing the

6 The *prazo* system of the Northern Provinces, that is, the grants of land given by the king for the loyal service turned into a combination of pre-existent Indo-Muslim *iqta* and European *enfiteuse* (emphyteusis). Livia Baptista de Souza Ferrão, 'Land Tenure and People in Daman: Past and Present', in *Goa and Portugal: History and Development*, eds Charles Borges, Óscar G. Pereira, and Hannes Stubbe (New Delhi: Concept, 2000), pp. 159–68.

7 Fernão de Queiroz, *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceplão* (Colombo: H. C. Cottle, Government Printer, 1916). See also an English translation by S. G. Perera, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, 3 vols (Colombo: 1930; reprint, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992).

8 Philomena Sequeira Antony, *The Goa-Bahia Intra-Colonial Relations, 1675–1825* (Tellicherry: IRISH, 2004).

natural world of Brazil as more useful and fertile than the Asian, the author tried to prove that Brazil was indeed the Promised Land for the Portuguese, predicted by Dom Manuel's astrologer.⁹

If land could not be controlled in the same way in Brazil, Africa, and Asia, the natural objects that Portuguese did try to control were plants. Besides commercial reasons, plants were also crucial for their survival. They were the 'green gold'¹⁰—as some historians named the result of the plant commercialization—as important as minerals and metals, especially when rare. They were also remedies for keeping the bodies of the colonial actors (from *fidalgos* to lowly plantation slaves) safe and sound, especially in the face of global travel and migration.¹¹ But they were also subject to a set of political, economic, scholarly, social, and personal concatenations and interventions, so the result of what came to be called 'natural history' appeared in different guises, embedded in various texts.¹²

'BY WHAT MEANS CAN LIFE OF MAN BE PROLONGED'

When the famous Englishman Francis Bacon wrote these words in his *History of Life and Death*, he was hardly the first natural philosopher

9 Capistrano de Abreu, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil de Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão* (Salvador: Progresso, 1956). In the second part of the seventeenth century, the crown policy became Brazil centred. Live specimens of plants and seeds of cinnamon, nutmeg, clove, ginger, and pepper were ordered to be sent to Bahia and to Lisbon. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415–1808: A World on the Move* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1998), p. 153.

10 On 'green gold' see Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 7.

11 See also Londa Schiebinger, 'Prospecting for Drugs: European Naturalists in the West Indies', in *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, eds Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 119. On the treatise by Louis Feuillée, who writes *expressis verbis* that plants were more important than the riches of Peruvian mines, see Neil Safier, "'...To Collect and Abridge... Without Changing Anything Essential': Rewriting Incan History at the Parisian Jardin du Roi', *Book History*, 7 (2004): 90.

12 This is the case with Pedro Teixeira's *Relaciones de Pedro Teixeira d'el crigen, descendencia y succession de los Reyes de Persia y de Harmuz y de un viage hecho por el mismo autor dende la India Oriental hasta Italia por tierra* (1610; facsimile of the first edition, Elibron Classics, 2007). Under this 'Orientalist' title, and embedded in the text is a plethora of observations of plants and remedies.

to think about such lofty and magnanimous task.¹³ Helping the mortals prolong their lives was a political and military issue of uttermost importance in the age of geographical exploration and conquest in the early modern period. As never before, the physicians and apothecaries were encouraged by the Portuguese Crown and the officials of the Estado da Índia to prospect for new remedies in the newly conquered or discovered territories. In the dedication written to the former governor of Estado da Índia, Martim Afonso de Sousa, in the opening of the *Colóquios*, Garcia de Orta draws a parallel between chivalry and salvation, between heroic deeds and writing of a medico-botanical book. Orta admitted that 'in thirty years [that he lived in this land] I never produced any fruit in order to help the mortals with some writing'. Finally, in his book he did write down 'those [things] you taught me, and other[s] ... that I learnt in your military and courtly school'.¹⁴ Even if these affectionate words were written in the context of a dedication to the patron, they make an important connection between the military conquest and the advancement of knowledge.

All through the sixteenth-century bioprospecting was a matter of life and death in the tropical zones of Africa, Asia, and Brazil where Portuguese soldiers, *casados*, *fidalgos*, priests, and missionaries set up residences, erected sturdy looking *fortalezas*, built settlements, or planted imposing, though often mostly symbolic memorial stones or *padrões*. Not only were plants, animals, minerals, and metals an important part of the merchants' capital investment, they were also crucial for the individual survival of the Portuguese bodies in the difficult climatic zones infested with vectorial diseases and lethal tropical germs.¹⁵ As with other colonial knowledge—ethnographic, cartographic, nautical, mercantile—gathered, mulled over, and reprocessed in multiple locations, the question of natural history was first and foremost discussed in terms of utility and instrumentality. The biological resources and environmental heritage of the colonized continents that the Portuguese and Spanish taped into and packaged into social and cultural institutions of their own, had to be excavated, accommodated, and appropriated,

13 Francis Bacon, *Historia Vitae et Mortis*, in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, vol. X, vol. III (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Company, The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1882), p. 1.

14 Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 1, p. 4.

15 Jared M. Diamond, *Guns, Germs and Steel Guns: The Fates of Human Societies* (London: J. Cape, 1997).

and at any cost. Reliance on what today we call 'ethnobotanical' expertise was everywhere the first step in the direction of collecting valuable pharmacological, medical, and biological data on the ground.¹⁶

More than half a century before Bacon, considered the creator of empiricism, imagined his *New Atlantis* as a utopian island based on utilitarian manipulation of natural resources, Garcia de Orta readily dismissed earlier scholastic and formalized knowledge.¹⁷ The natural world of the Torrid Zone made Orta and Cristóvão da Costa (better known as Cristóbal Acosta or Christoval Acosta), the author of another medico-botanical treatise, the *Tractado de las drogas, y medicinas de las Indias Orientales* (Treatise of Drugs, and Remedies of the East Indies), doubt the efficacy of the European drugs and thus of the whole European medico-botanical learned tradition.¹⁸ Medical experience taught Portuguese and European physicians, from Mozambique to Macau to trust the remedies and techniques that were tested and successful more than their books and medical learning.

The study of nature, according to Orta, was not about botanizing in ancient and modern texts and acquiring 'speculative' erudition, it was about direct experience.¹⁹ At the first sight, some daring statements gush out of this mid-sixteenth-century masterpiece in medicine, botany, and self-fashioning: 'Though I am the humblest of all physicians, you should give more credit to me as eyewitness than to those fathers of medicine who wrote from false information'.²⁰

¹⁶ Ethnobotany as a category was coined in 1896 by the American botanist John Harshberger. See Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan, *Colonial Botany*, p. 16. The downgrading of local knowledge with the ethnic label attached to it in the nineteenth century was a gradual process following in the wake of the colonial build up and ideological layering.

¹⁷ Cañizares-Esguerra discusses the Iberian origins of many of Bacon's epistemological insights. Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Iberian Science in the Renaissance', pp. 86–124.

¹⁸ Christoval Acosta, *Tractado de las drogas, y medicinas de las Indias Orientales: con sus plantas debuxadas al vivo por Christoval Acosta medico y cirujano que las vio ocularmente* (Burgos: Por Martin de Victoria impressor de su Magestad, 1578).

¹⁹ Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 1, pp. 20, 32.

²⁰ Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 1, p. 208. It is interesting to what extent Orta's inquisitorial style and accusations hurled against the 'ancients' such as Pliny, Galen, Dioscorides, and other classical medical authors prefigures his own process by the Inquisition, opened some twelve years after his death.

However, Portuguese efforts at gathering, systematizing, publishing, and disseminating knowledge about the natural world in Asia—that they so proudly considered 'discovered and conquered'—was always closely monitored by the king and the governing elites. In the seventeenth century, in particular, all information concerning biore-sources was considered strategic and confidential information to be preserved against other European predators in the Indian Ocean such as the Dutch, the English, and the French. The new settlements in India of the *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) and East India Company (EIC), and *Compagnie des Indes* were not only a serious geopolitical menace to Portuguese Estado da Índia, they were also markets attracting trade ventures, including those in lucrative plants, spices, and medicines. From the absence of printed sources, we can presume that Portuguese administration actively discouraged the publication and the dissemination of bioknowledge during the first two centuries with relative success. Nevertheless, it did not and could not block the production and development of, for example, pharmacological and agronomical commodities that continued to play an important role in Portuguese colonial economy. The efforts at arresting the useful bio-information within the ambit of its own colonial garden were in vain, given that it was an integral part of the global markets and networks. The officially submerged knowledge reappeared in European travel accounts and collections from the early sixteenth century onwards, usually at a safe distance from Portuguese territories and authority.

Some of the travellers were pharmacists (Jean Moquet), physicians (Charles Dellon, Niccolao Manucci), and naturalists by profession (Pierre Sonnerat), others were merchants (Jan Hughens van Linschoten, François Pyrard de Laval, Pietro della Valle) and missionaries (Discalced Carmelites), but most of them peddled in 'second hand' information. They all copied texts from each other and from the local sources, some of which they quoted, forgot, or concealed. A brief look into the *scatola* of manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome collected by the Discalced Carmelite Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo in the late eighteenth century Malabar region is quite instructive. Besides a curious anonymous text entitled *Botanica Malabar* and a list of phytonimes (*Termini botanici*), there were also various scraps of papers with medical recipes and instructions for preparing remedies, in manuscript or on torn printed pages. We can discern various

handwritings, in Italian, Portuguese, French, and German, as well as in Tamil, Malayalam, Sanskrit, and Syriac. It is only in his printed *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* that at least some of his sources, and probably authors of this jetsam and flotsam, shoved without order and anonymously in the archival box, are revealed.²¹

Paulinus's chapter XI of the *Viaggio*, entitled *Medicina e Botanica Indiana*, was obviously based on the works of his predecessors in the field. He tested some of the remedies himself and recorded the effects of some other preparations. However, a long list of illnesses with names in Sanskrit and Malayalam and descriptions of symptoms was probably taken from another list or, as some of his enemies later remarked, from the Sanskrit dictionary, *Amarakośa*.²² Since he wrote the *Viaggio* in the closing years of the eighteenth century with a clear intention of displaying his Orientalist knowledge and of contrasting it with other Orientalist knowledge, such as that being printed by the British, Paulinus dotted his text with the rich scientific apparatus of footnotes.²³ Each statement needed an authority, a name to authenticate a huge mass of facts and words in a dozen languages. This is where we encounter botanists and doctors, herbaria, and manuscripts that have long been lost or unaccounted for in historical records. More than anywhere else, in his chapter we sense the depth of history and the contours of knowledge that, even if fragmented, remains submerged in uncombed archives and private collections.

The practice of natural history also changed in the long run from the wealth of descriptions and catalogues of nature in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century to taxonomy and nomenclature of the

21 Ines G. Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist and Professional Orientalist; A Discaled Carmelite Missionary in Kerala and Rome (18th–19th)', in *Os viajantes europeus e o mundo natural asiático (séculos 16 a 18)* [*European Travellers and the Asian Natural World (16th–18th Centuries)*], ed. Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Revista de Cultura/Review of Culture* 20 (2006): 77–101.

22 Amarasingha's *Namalinganusasana*, better known as the *Amarakośa*, is the most famous and the oldest extant Sanskrit lexicon written in the sixth century AD. *Amarakosa: With the Commentary of Mahesvara/Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, revised enlarged edition (New Delhi: Cosmo, 2004).

23 Paolino da S. Bartolomaeo [Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo], Carmelito scalzo, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, umiliato alla Santità di N.S. Papa Pio Sesto Pontefice Massimo* (Rome: Presso Antonio Fulgoni, 1796).

Linnaean system in the eighteenth century. An effort to separate the first two centuries of diligence in the field of natural sciences, the often called 'pre-Linnaean' botany from the scientific, Linnaean botany enshrined among the achievements of the Scientific Revolution is, it has been amply shown in recent scholarship, and the Portuguese colonial case confirms it, not convincing.²⁴

The natural history texts that we will turn to now are queried for information that is polyvalent and of use to historians of science and to social and cultural historians. Moreover, few of these documents are intended as comprehensive 'natural history' narratives. They mostly belong to fragmentary 'contributions' to natural history, such as accessory listings and descriptions of plants and remedies, embedded in travelogues, histories, private correspondence, and other types of official reports. In fact, rare were those who travelled to the East and wrote about their experience without leaving an account of the riches or horrors of the natural world, especially of the Torrid Zone.

NATURAL HISTORY AS SURVIVAL MANUAL

When Garcia de Orta, printed the *Colóquios* he became the first Portuguese natural history expert in Asia, and he knew it. What he did not know is that the list of printed first-hand Asian natural history works in the same century would be very short. It was closed with the second and the last work by another physician who visited India from 1568 to 1572, Cristóvão da Costa. Published in Burgos in 1578, the *Tractado* is in many ways affiliated with Orta's *Colóquios* and Costa did not hide his inspiration, but rather acknowledged his debt.²⁵

24 Roy MacLeod, 'Introduction' in *Nature and Empire*, 1–13. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Iberian Colonial Science', *The History of Science Society*, 96 (2005): 64–70. Paula De Vos, 'Natural History and the Pursuit of Empire in the Eighteenth-century Spain', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 40, no. 2 (2007): 209–39.

25 The European and Iberian afterlife of both Orta's and Costa's work in books by Juan Frago, Nicolás Bautista Monardes, Carolus Clusius, and others was studied by Teresa Nobre de Carvalho, *O mundo natural asiático aos olhos do Ocidente: Contribuição dos textos ibéricos quinhentistas para a construção de uma nova consciência europeia sobre a Ásia* (unpublished PhD diss., University of Lisbon, 2013). See also José Pardo-Tomás, 'East Indies, West Indies: Garcia de Orta and the Spanish Treatises on Exotic Materia Medica', paper presented at the conference, *O mundo num livro: Abordagens interdisciplinares aos Colóquios dos simples e drogas de Índia de Garcia de Orta*, Goa, 1563, Lisboa, Lisbon, 2013.

These two works stand out not only because they were printed, while most of other texts such as Manuel Godinho de Erédia's *Suma de Árvores e Plantas da Índia intra Ganges*, 1612 (The Suma of Trees and Plants of India intra Ganges) remained in manuscript until only recently, and others such as the *Viridarium Orientale* (Oriental Spice Garden) by a Discalced Carmelite, Matteo di San Giuseppe, is still known only to a narrow circle of specialists, but because they were accomplished natural histories, comparable to other Renaissance works produced in Europe. It is the self-consciousness of and conformity to the genre of natural history (or herbarium) that gave them, at the same time, the sense of their own worth and their own originality, that is, originality of their materials and sources (in contrast, for example, to the naïf work of Tomé Pires). Both Orta and Costa were perfectly aware that they had a community of naturalists out there in Europe with whom they shared the field of inquiry and an 'intense effort' at empirical and precise description of objects and phenomena.²⁶ They were part of the emerging 'Republic of Letters', as this kind of transnational sociability came to be known.²⁷ Both the *Colóquios* and the *Tractado* are constructed as dialogical texts—the *Colóquios* is moreover written in a genre of Ciceronian dialogue between two physicians—because they confirm, dispute and appraise opinions, claims, and experiments of the naturalists who were their contemporaries and of the whole tradition of natural philosophy, starting with the classical Greek and Latin authors such as Dioscorides, Pliny the Elder, and others.

Orta never returned to Europe from where he came in 1534. Fleeing the ever growing hostility to New Christians in Portugal, two years before the establishment of the Inquisition, and under protection of Martim Afonso de Sousa, he was acutely aware of the empowering

²⁶ According to Brian W. Ogilvie, natural history as a distinct discipline was born in the sixteenth century and it was based on a sense of belonging to a community of naturalists 'and masters of its techniques'. The most important technique and an everlasting contribution to natural history was the art of describing. Brian W. Ogilvie, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), pp. 5–8.

²⁷ For sociability and exchanges between natural historians in the early modern Europe, see Paula Findlen, *Possessing Nature: Museums, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

nature (and prestige) that belonging to the naturalists' community bestowed on its members. However, except for a very few other learned physicians, such as Dimas Bosque, Orta may have been deprived of learned and friendly exchanges on botanical and medical topics.²⁸ Even correspondence, on which the naturalist networks were mostly based, with gifts of plants and texts, was too slow and complicated from Goa.

With the choice of a dialogue, Orta tried to divert the attention of his immediate audience from issues he wanted to camouflage, all the while directing it towards objects and interpretations that underscored his authority in the field of natural history.²⁹ What was at stake was Orta's own persona—social, cultural, and biological—that he so masterfully staged in the particular light of his camera obscura in the *Colóquios*. All in all, as a manual of self-fashioning in which the author and his interlocutor Ruano resemble two naturalist-gentlemen interested in the advancement of medical, botanical, and pharmacological knowledge, *Colóquios* was quite successful, at least until the mid-seventeenth century. In the nineteenth century, Conde de Ficalho, among other patriotic Portuguese scientists and historians revived Orta's work and transformed a New Christian physician into a Portuguese national hero of erudition and learning.³⁰

Obviously, in discovering Portuguese natural history archives, such as those preserved in *Colóquios* we are obliged to take into account the structure of the edifice that encloses them as well. In many respects the detailed knowledge of plants and remedies, Orta so proudly displayed in fifty-nine chapters, was not all too unfamiliar

²⁸ Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934), pp. 107–12. According to this author, most of the physicians in Goa were surgeons who were not necessarily accomplished humanists as Orta. His humanist literary circle in situ, including Camões supported his research and work.

²⁹ On Orta's medical authority, see Palmira Fontes da Costa, 'Geographical Expansion and the Reconfiguration of Medical Authority: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563)', *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, 43 (2012): 74–81. See also Juan Pimentel and Isabel Soler, *Entre ciência e filologia: Taxonomia dos erros nos Colóquios ortianos*, paper presented at the conference, *O mundo num livro: Abordagens interdisciplinares aos Colóquios dos simples e drogas de Índia de Garcia de Orta, Goa, 1563*, Lisboa, (Lisbon, 2013).

³⁰ Conde de Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta e o seu Tempo* (Lisbon: Imprensa nacional—Casa de Moeda, reprint [1886] 1983).

to the experienced Portuguese merchants, apothecaries, and physicians. The already mentioned Tomé Pires's letter (1516) to the king Dom Manuel, known as *Suma Oriental*, with its list of 'drugs and where they grow' shows that Orta did not start from the scratch, but rather built his knowledge on half a century of Portuguese intense trade in Asian spices, plants, and medical substances.³¹ How and to what extent did manuscripts of Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa's *O livro do que vio e ouvio*, another treasure trove of geographical, ethnographical, and botanical knowledge, circulate in Goa is impossible to reconstruct, but they certainly did, although they contained strategic information.³² Every merchant in Goa, Orta included, must have also known the text written in 1554 by Antonio Nunes, the *Livro dos pesos da India e assy medidas e mohedas* (The Book of the Weights of India, As Well As Measures and Coins) which listed all the *drogas* (spices and medicinal substances) and how they were measured and priced in various coastal trade marts.³³

Orta never mentioned these sources and authors by name, except for Simão Álvares's opinion on pepper with which he disagreed. Without disclosing Álvares's name, nor quoting from his *Enformação de todalas drogas que vão para o Reino* (Information about All the Drugs That Go to the Kingdom) written around 1547, Orta transformed this different point of view into a 'lowly' apothecary's rumour.³⁴ Moreover, his dispute with the good old apothecary over whether white and black pepper belong to the same or to two separate plants was witnessed by the governor who, according to Orta, promptly wrote to the

31 *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, vol. 1, p. xviii. For the discussion of Pires's work, see Chapter 1.

32 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, the Venetian editor of the famous travel collection *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi*, managed to acquire and publish in 1550 the text of Barbosa's *O Livro* and parts of Pires' *Suma Oriental* without mentioning the name of the author.

33 'Droga' in Portuguese early modern vocabulary is a larger category than it is used today. See Chapter 1, footnote 78. Ficalho, *Garcia da Orta*, p. 349. Antonio Nunes e Simão Botelho, *Livro dos pesos da India e assy medidas e mohedas* (Lisbon: Subsídios para a História da Índia, 1869).

34 Jayme Walter, 'Simão Álvares e seu rol das drogas da Índia', *Studia*, separata, X (July 1962): 117–49. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 2, book 2, p. 429. Álvares's text is published in António Alberto Banha de Andrade, 'Drogas do Oriente (no V Centenário do Nascimento de Vasco da Gama)', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, vol. III (Paris: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, Paris, 1971): 112–88. Teresa Nobre de

king of Kochi to ask him for proper information on that. When the king sent to Goa a sack of white pepper with a letter explaining that he had many trees that produce it, the apothecary refrained from further dispute for fear of the governor's anger.

That Orta and Álvares were not the best of friends, possibly even rivals, is quite clear from the way the story is told in *Colóquios*, but it indicates also how close and complicated were social relations among the physicians, apothecaries, merchants, and governors when it came to identifying plants, especially concerning such an important commodity as pepper. It is interesting that Cristóvão da Costa, almost fifteen years later takes Orta's side in this dispute. He even added a drawing of 'Pimenta Negra' in his *Tractado*, claiming, moreover that the plants of white and black pepper were so similar that the drawing is a good representation of both.³⁵ And yet, Álvares was right and Orta was wrong, which, ironically, in fact proves Orta's larger claim that merchants and experienced *casados* in Asia knew better than the naturalists in Europe from the Greeks to the moderns. His mistake remains a puzzle, however. One possible answer is that he did not possess a pepper plant in his garden in Goa and thus had no experience of its complete cycle of growth and the drying process.³⁶ Since it is well known that due to Portuguese demand, the cultivation of Malabar pepper expanded up north into the foothills of Kanara during the sixteenth century, it may be inferred from the *Colóquios* that it had not yet arrived in the environs of Goa in Orta's time.³⁷ The

Carvalho has brought to attention in her doctoral thesis the importance of *Códice de Elvas*, edited and published in Adelino Almeida Calado, ed. 'Livro que trata da coisas da Índia e de Japão', *Boletim da biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, Coimbra, vol. XXIV (1960): 1–138.

35 Costa, *Tractado*, pp. 19–20. There are two drawings of pepper. The first is entitled 'Pimenta Negra' and it is the representation of an entire plant with the roots included. The second is only of a leaf with a pepper 'fruit'.

36 Black pepper is produced from the unripe berries of the pepper plant. They are cooked briefly in hot water before they are allowed to dry. In the process of drying the fruit, the skin shrinks and darkens into a thin, wrinkled black layer. To get white pepper, the berries are allowed to ripen on the plant. Then they are soaked in water for about a week until the skin around it softens and falls off, and then is left to dry.

37 On pepper trade, see Anthony R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

Portuguese, without sufficient territorial possessions, were so busy buying and selling pepper that they obviously took less interest in the production, left in the hands of local cultivators and intermediary trading clans and political elites, often referred in Portuguese sources as 'pepper kings'.³⁸

If Orta was so wrong on pepper, can we trust his knowledge regarding other spices, simples, and plants? The same question can be asked about Costa: Can we trust his knowledge? Why was he wrong to think that white peppercorns grew on white pepper vines? Both the *Colóquios* and the *Tractado*, the first more tenaciously than the second, criticize their predecessors and contemporary naturalists for peddling wrong information by copying and recopying older texts, and yet they fail to see correctly. How did the first-person observation, of which both Orta and Costa were so proud, betray them?

Well, to start with, their autoptic proofs were in fact based on multiple observations, by multiple agents. The humanists' approach that consisted in trying to reconcile the ancient descriptions with modern observations was their guiding method, but the results tended to disqualify the knowledge of the ancients and those points of view that were immobile, fixed in, or from, one and unique place. For Orta, the unprecedented mobility of the Portuguese is what fuelled the machine of knowledge of the natural world.³⁹ Unable to travel where he wanted, as he complained in the *Colóquios*, Orta portrays his house and his book as a hub in which reports of all sorts of ocular observations converged, were sorted out, and evaluated.⁴⁰

³⁸ On the 'pepper king' of Vadakkumkur, see Correia, *Lendas da Índia*, vol. 4, pp. 684–5. The question of pepper and the policies of the Portuguese crown that oscillated between strict state monopoly and encouraging and taxing the private trade is too complicated a story to be told here in full. See also Luís Filipe Thomaz, *A questão da pimenta em meados do século XVI: Um debate político do governo de D. João de Castro* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa/Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1998).

³⁹ See Ines G. Županov, "The Wheel of Torments": Mobility and Redemption in Portuguese Colonial India (Sixteenth Century)', in *Cultural Mobility*, eds Greenblatt, Županov, Meyer-Kalkus, Paul, Nyíri, Pannewick, pp. 24–74.

⁴⁰ Orta did travel from Kathiawar peninsula to Sri Lanka, during the first years when he accompanied his patron Martim Afonso de Sousa on several military campaigns before settling in Goa. He also mentioned his visits to Burham Nizam

His home was therefore the laboratory and the kitchen in which the natural objects were stored, tested, applied, and consumed. He is a witness of the effects (visual, textual, curative, olfactory, palatal, etc.) of these substances, not a 'modest witness' at that, since besides speaking of/for his objects, he also speaks for himself. He pleads for himself.

The printing of the *Colóquios* is something of a miracle in itself. It was the first secular book printed in Goa in the sixteenth century and the last. In the seventeenth century the printing press(es) in Goan and Portuguese India continued to publish books connected to Jesuit interests (grammars, translations, etc.), with ecclesiastical organization and Catholic spiritual renewal and official texts of the Estado da Índia, but no more natural histories. We can only speculate on why the local Portuguese elites such as the governor of Goa D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, and Aleixo Dias de Falcão, the first inquisitor in Goa, who signed the order to imprison Catarina de Orta upon the death of her brother Garcia, permitted the work to go into print in the first place.⁴¹

One answer is that Orta managed to mobilize different audiences on different issues. In Goa, in his own time he proposed an answer to a burning question: How to survive in the Torrid Zone? He waved before the eyes of his fellow colonial expatriates the promise of remedies, cures, and diets to combat the difficult climate and to survive. Survival by acclimatization is one of the strong messages in the *Colóquios*.⁴² Not just bare life was at stake, but also masculinity, and in the long run, the procreation that engendered the multicultural casado households. The tips of how to 'lift a member' are many and they have shocked the Victorian translator, Sir Clements Markham, who simply excised them out of his printed translation. Orta's open apology of sensuality, yet authoritatively framed in medical advice, must have been appealing to the casado and military elites, especially

Shah, the king of Ahmednagar and to his leased out *quinta* on the island of Bombaim (today in the centre of Mumbai).

⁴¹ D. Francisco Coutinho, Conde de Redondo was on the other hand much more tolerant than his predecessors and even accused of being Erasmian.

⁴² Ines G. Županov, 'Drugs, Health, Bodies and Souls in the Tropics: Medical Experiments in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese India', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. XXXIX, no. 1 (January–March 2002): 1–45.

at the very moment when the ecclesiastical elites decided to take the issue of colonial survival and subjectivity head on.

In another manual of survival, but this time of spiritual survival, Dom Gaspar de Leão Pereira, the Archbishop of Goa accused all sensualists of having converted their soul into flesh. His *Desengano de Perdidos* (Disillusioning the Lost), printed ten years after the *Colóquios*,⁴³ developed a full-fledged program, announced earlier in the *Tratado que fez mestre Hieronimo, medico do papa Benedicto 13 contra os judeus* (A Treatise by Jeronimo, Physician of the Pope Benedict XIII against the Jews), printed in Goa in 1565 and introduced with his *Carta do primeiro Arcebispo de Goa a povo de Israel* (A Letter of the First Archbishop of Goa to the People of Israel).⁴⁴ Judaism was, according to the Archbishop, an illness that lasted for two thousand years and claimed two thousand million souls because the Jews refused the remedy from the hand of the ultimate *médico*, Jesus Christ. It is hard to prove that Orta was a crypto-Jew who continued to observe Shabbat, as the Inquisition process revealed after his death, but it is probable that he tried to protect his life by publishing the *Colóquios*.⁴⁵

EUROPEAN FAME, ASIAN GIFTS

The persecution of other New Christian physicians, combined with the fact that, as much as Orta boasted of his medical treatments, the chances of surviving medical treatment in the early modern period were proverbially equal to dying of it, created a sense of insecurity and doubt among the Goan settlers. The Jesuits and other religious orders were quick in upgrading their own medical services and providing

43 Gaspar de Leão [Pereira], *Desengano de Perdidos* ed. Eugenio Asensio (Goa, 1973; reprint, Coimbra: Por ordem da Universidade 1958), p. 146. Since the prelate did not oppose the publication of *Colóquios* in the press, it is obvious that he did not find the book to be in any way offensive, subversive, or contrary to his own very different pedagogical program.

44 *Tratado que fez mestre Hieronimo, medico do papa Benedicto 13 contra os judeus: Em que prova o Mesias da ley ser vindo*, prefaced by Dom Gaspar's *Carta do primeiro Arcebispo de Goa a povo de Israel, seguidor ainda da ley de Moises, & do talmud, por engano & malicia dos seus Rabis* (Goa, 1565) (BNL, Reservados, 411 P).

45 *Colóquios* saved Orta's life, though not that of his sister Catarina who was burnt at the auto-da-fé a year after his death. The bones of the author of *Colóquios* were dug, tried, and burnt on the 4 December 1580, the same treatment was probably accorded to the book, according to Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta*, pp. 75–8.

a basic health care for their charges in addition to efforts of the *Misericórdia* and the Royal Hospital set up and funded by the Estado da Índia. Nevertheless, in illness and need, the patients and their families were ready to try any physician, even those who were prohibited in Goa such a *vaidyas*, *panditos*, and other non-Christian practitioners. The culture of healing was not easily contained by the interdictions restated insistently by the Church Councils and took various forms.⁴⁶ Some patients went so far as to consult the 'witch' doctors and some of these cases were examined by the Inquisition.⁴⁷

Far from those who may have read the *Colóquios* as a *vademecum* for surviving in the tropics, in Europe, the *Colóquios* acquired a second life, beyond control of his author, of the Inquisition, and of the Estado da Índia. It was Carolus Clusius (Charles de l'Ecluse) who famously translated the *Colóquios* into Latin and published it in an illustrated volume, a year before Orta's death, entitled *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia* (Antwerp, 1567) that went into several editions.⁴⁸

It was years later that Cristóvão da Costa published the second and the last first-hand pharmaco-botanical treatise on Asian plants and remedies in the sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Just like Orta, Costa was a physician working under the protection of the tenth viceroy of India, Dom

46 Non-Christian healers were banned from Goa by the Five Church Councils. APO, fascículo 4, Nova-Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862 (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992).

47 The governor Manuel de Sousa Coutinho (1588–91), his wife Dona Ana Espanholim, and their son Hierónimo de Sousa were accused of consulting idols (pagodas) and 'dealing mystically with the gentile sorcerers'. António Baião, *A Inquisição de Goa*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1945), p. 317.

48 Translations into Italian and French followed in the sixteenth century.

49 Costa may have also been of New Christian origin and was born in Africa. He arrived in India in the year of Orta's death. Costa claims in the *Tractado* that he met Orta, but according to Augusto da Silva Carvalho and Jayme Walter when Costa arrived in Goa by the end of September, Orta was already dead. Augusto da Silva Carvalho, *Garcia d'Orta*, p. 68. Jayme Walter, 'Os "Coloquios" de Garcia de Orta no "Tractado de la Drogas" de Cristóvão da Costa', *Garcia de Orta* (Lisboa), 11, no. 4 (1963): p. 12. Others such as Raúl Rodríguez Nozal and Antonio Gonzáles Bueno speculate that he did encounter Orta shortly before he died. Raúl Rodríguez Nozal and Antonio Gonzáles Bueno, *El Tratado de las Drogas de Cristóbal de Acosta* (Burgos, 1578): *utilidad comercial y materia medica de la India orientales en la Europa renascentista* (Madrid: Ediciones de Cultura Hispánica), p. 15.

Luís de Ataíde (1568–71). Upon return to Europe, he moved to Burgos where he published his *Tractado* (1578).⁵⁰ Historians such as Jayme Walter compared the *Colóquios* and the *Tractado* word by word and found that Orta's text is the most important source with which Costa is in constant critical dialogue, in spite of the fact that he rejected the form of a dialogue and fictional interlocutors. Moreover, the *Tractado* is a much more detailed narrative, with minute systematic descriptions of plants and remedies, and enticing ethnographic digressions. Of the sixty-eight chapters in addition to a short treatise on elephant, Costa opened wide the window to a continent of Asian natural history knowledge that Orta barely unlocked.

Writing in Burgos, Costa obviously responded to a different kind of audience, an audience that demanded description of the plants, regions, and people that were both exotic and desirable.⁵¹ Costa wanted to read and reveal as much as possible of the Asian chapter in the *Book of Nature*. Already in the *Tractado* he showed his predilection for moral allegories, especially in the treatise on elephant. His later published books amply confirmed this moralistic and pious penchant.⁵² Costa's enthusiasm for laying bare the true representation of plants for his audience, and in the process shoring up his own authority, especially vis-à-vis borrowings from Orta, compelled him to add forty-seven drawings of *plantas debuxadas al vivo* (after life). The stylized form in which a single plant is pictured with its roots, leaves, flowers, and fruits, often at the cost of radical foreshortening of the trunk and branches, found no admirers in the northern printing

50 The Italian translation of Costa's *Tractado* was printed seven years later: *Trattado di Christofo Aosta Africano della historia, natura, et virtu delle droghe medicinali, e altri semplici rarissimi, che vengono portati dalle Indie Orientali in Europa*, Venice, 1585. Modern edition, by Jayme Walter, Cristovão da Costa, *Tratado das Drogas e Medicinas das Indias Orientais* (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1964).

51 According to José Pardo-Tomás, Spanish imperial desires for Asian products and *materia medica* were also important incentives for the composition of this work. This interest was partly due to the enormous gap in prices compared to those imported from America. Consequently, it lasted only until 1580 when the Portuguese empire merged with the Spanish. Pardo-Tomás, 'East Indies, West Indies'.

52 Teresa Nobre de Carvalho, 'Imagens do mundo natural asiático na obra botânica de Cristovão da Costa', *Revista de Cultura*, 20 (2006) [Macau]: p. 37. Costa published in Venice two more treatises on moral and spiritual topics: *Tratado en contra, y pro de la vida solitaria*, 1592 and *Tratado en loor de las mugeres*, 1592.

houses where Plantin and Clusius published their remarkable and famous natural history books.⁵³

While Clusius added illustrations to his translation of Orta's *Colóquios* in the translation of the *Tractado* published in 1582 in Antwerp as *Aromatum et medicamentorum in Orientalis India nascentium liber*, he suppressed all but a single picture from the original.⁵⁴ It was reproduced as an example of spurious representation and juxtaposed with the proper (*legitima*) picture. In his 1605 edition of *Exoticorum libri decem*, Clusius reprinted the *spuria icon* of the clove tree and the *legitima icon* of the clove branch in order to give a lesson to his natural history audience on truth and falsification.⁵⁵ By dismissing Costa's drawings, and by summarizing, translating, and incorporating the *Colóquios* and the *Tractado* into his own various printed works, he made the two Portuguese authors slowly and smoothly slide into irrelevance, becoming himself the reference for natural history. Moreover, by the end of the sixteenth century, the British and the Dutch opened their own commercial routes to the Orient and Clusius turned to their networks for information on exotic plants.⁵⁶ It seems that he gave a memorandum to a ship's apothecary with instructions of what objects and information to bring back home.⁵⁷

Scholars have recently shown the importance of Clusius's European network of botanists, natural historians, and physicians,

53 Sachiko Kasukawa, 'Uses of Pictures in Printed Books: The case of Clusius' *Exoticorum libri decem*', in *Carolus Clusius: Towards a Cultural History of Renaissance Naturalist*, eds Florike Egmond, Paul Gerardus Hoftijzer, and Robert Paul Willem Visser (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2007), pp. 221–46. For a larger question of the role of visual culture in early modern European context of art and science, see Pamela H. Smith, 'Art, Science, and Visual Culture in Early Modern Europe', *Isis*, 97 (2006): 83–100.

54 Kasukawa, 'Uses of Pictures', p. 224.

55 Carolus Clusius, *Exoticorum libri decem: Quibus animalium, plantarum, aromatum, aliorumque peregrinorum fructuum historiae describuntur; Item Petri Belloni Observationes eodem Carolo Clusio interprete* (Leiden: Ex Officina Plantiniana Raphelengii, 1605), p. 267.

56 Clusius acquired Costa's *Tractado* during his stay in England. He also used information obtained from the Pacific expedition of Francis Drake to complement Orta's work in *Aliquot notae in Garciae aromatum historiam* (Antwerp, 1582). Joseph L. Barona, 'Clusius' Exchange of Botanical Information with Spanish Scholars', in *Carolus Clusius*, eds Egmond et al., p. 99.

57 Kasukawa, 'Uses of Pictures', p. 225.

and the exchanges of seeds, plants, texts, and drawings that made his prolific printed oeuvre possible.⁵⁸ It is interesting to notice that Clusius included among his friends and correspondents several Spanish physicians and naturalists such as Benito Arias Montano and those from the Sevillian circle (Simón de Tovar, Juan de Castañeda, Rodrigo Zamorano), but not Nicolás Bautista Monardes whose work on American plants and remedies he translated into Latin.⁵⁹ In addition, there is no trace of any letter to or any effort at contacting Cristóvão da Costa before he retired to his hermitage in La Peña de Tharsis around 1587.⁶⁰

Although historians of science have stressed the importance of friendly support networks through which correspondence, ideas, and materials circulated and helped the Renaissance naturalists build their collections and publicize and print their books, the rivalries between individuals, circles, and institutions redirected certain efforts and blocked others. However, writing natural history from Goa, Burgos, or Antwerp in the sixteenth century meant that the authors shared fascination with nature, but the actual publishing and production of the book was contingent on their ability to attract local patronage networks.⁶¹

There was no lack of enthusiasm and admiration for Asian natural history among the Portuguese elites, from learned *fidalgos* to *casados*, ecclesiastics and missionaries, and there was no lack of experiments with drugs and remedies, as well as commercial and economic botany, but there was no common platform for 'scientific' exchange in a modern sense of the word.⁶² Natural history works and medical

⁵⁸ The Clusius project (2005–9) at the Scaliger Institute of Leiden started by digitalization of 1300 letters addressed to Clusius and some 300 that he wrote to various correspondents. See Egmond et al., eds, *Carolus Clusius*, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Barona, 'Clusius' Exchange', p. 105.

⁶⁰ Nozal and Bueno, *El Tratado de las Drogas*, p. 20.

⁶¹ Cañizares Esguerra, 'Iberian Science in the Renaissance', p. 92.

⁶² Moreover, the printing press in Goa was in ecclesiastical hands all through the seventeenth century and all of the forty or so books that were published were directly connected to local political, ecclesiastical, and missionary interests. See José António Ismael Gracias, *A Imprensa em Goa nos Séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII: Apontamentos Histórico-Bibliográficos* (Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1880). Hélder Garmes, *Oriente, Engenho e Arte: Imprensa e Literatura de Língua Portuguesa em Goa, Macau e Timor Leste* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2004). See also Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, pp. 324–30.

herbaria have surely circulated among the physicians and apothecaries and were given as gifts to patrons and *fidalgos*, as is the case with the already mentioned Manuel Godinho de Erédia's *Suma de Árvores e Plantas da Índia intra Ganges* (The Suma of Trees and Plants of India intra Ganges).⁶³

A *mestiço* and a former student in the Jesuit college and seminary of St Paul in Goa—who was a scholastic and *frater coadjutor non incorporatus* in 1577, but dismissed by Valignano in 1584—Erédia was a talented artist.⁶⁴ From the signed treatises and maps, in his post-Jesuit life, we know that he considered himself a *cosmographo* and *matemático*. What he really desired, however, was to be a *discoverer*, the fact of which would, he thought, confirm his noble status.⁶⁵ His obsession with discovering the 'Golden Island' and the continent south of Java that he called 'India Meridional' was an on going affair that made him write letters to the King, to the Pope, and to the Jesuit General. Manuel Godinho de Erédia's conviction was so strong that he took his own inventions for truth.⁶⁶

Although mostly looked down upon by the viceroys and governors in Goa whom he petitioned incessantly for funding and honours, Erédia's cartographic and artistic talents were recognized.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether he had collaborated with Amaro da Rocha, the author of the *Amphiteatro Oriental*, to whom we have referred to in the Prologue, and who was his contemporary. If nothing is left of Amaro da Rocha's work, more than 210 maps and plans are known to be from Erédia's hand, some of which were the result of his expeditions to the hinterland (*sertão*) of Melaka, environs of Goa and the gulf of Gujarat. Others, on the other hand, traced his imaginary, wishful thinking, geographical spaces. Thus, in his

⁶³ Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Suma de Árvores e Plantas da Índia intra Ganges* (1612), eds J. G. Everaert, J. E. Mendes Ferrão, and M. Cândida Liberato, (Lisboa: CNCDP, 2001).

⁶⁴ *DI*, vol. XIII, pp. 746.

⁶⁵ He concocted his noble genealogy himself. It is known that his father was Spanish (Aragon) and his mother from a 'noble' Makassar family. Manuel Godinho de Erédia, *Suma de Árvores*, pp. 21–3.

⁶⁶ Erédia, *Suma de Árvores*, pp. 62–6.

⁶⁷ Diogo do Couto made him refurbish the portraits of the armadas. He is also the author of the 'caricature' portrait of Francis Xavier.

Discurso sobre a provincia do Industan (Discourse on the Province of Hindustan) his geo-ethnographic descriptions glide easily into description of monstrous races.⁶⁸ The 'black and brown people with wings' on the island of Zanzi in Bengal even appear in a drawing in his *Tratado Ophirico*.⁶⁹ Across the ocean in Brazil, Fernão Cardim, in his treatise on Brasil described at the same time the *Igguipiára*, or sea monsters, a sort of cannibal mermaids.⁷⁰

And yet, Erédia's *Suma de Árvores* has nothing imaginary about it. The seventy-two pages of colour aquarelle paintings are minimalist in terms of details, but naturalist in the presentation of plants. The text that accompanied each picture is strictly medico-pharmacological, although some plants are simply edibles, with no references to any medical authority. As he explained in the dedicatory preface, he intended his drawings 'for the people to profit from these roots as remedies and for conservation of health and human life'.⁷¹ Again, the album was a gift to the Viceroy, this time Ruy Lourenço de Távora (1609–12) to whom Erédia had already dedicated an atlas of Portuguese forts in India.

Strictly speaking, this collection is not a natural history. It is a combination of apothecary's manual and picture-herbarium. The choice of plants shows that he was copying from nature the plants that grew in the gardens in and around Goa without asking a question of where

68 DUP, vol. 3, p. 141.

69 Jorge Flores, 'Distant Wonders: The Strange and the Marvellous between Mughal India and Hapsburg Iberia in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 49, no. 3 (2007): 575.

70 Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da Terra e Gente do Brazil*, ed., Ana Maria de Azevedo (Lisboa: CMCDP, 1997), pp. 140–2. His treatise 'Do clima e terra do Brasil e de Algumas Cousas notáveis que se acham na Terra como no Mar' was published in 1625 in London in the famous collection Purchas, his *Pilgrims* in the 'Seventeenth Booke'—'Voyages to and about the Southern America, with Many Marine Observations and Discourses of Those Seas and Lands by English-Men and Others'. The portuguese manuscript from the Public Library in Évora was first published in 1997. See also Carlos Ziller Camenietzki and Carlos Alberto de Moura Ribeiro Zeron, 'Quem conta um conto aumenta um ponto: O mito do Ipujiara, a natureza americana e as narrativas da colonização do Brasil', *Revista de Indias*, 60, no. 218 (2000): 111–34.

71 Erédia, *Suma de Árvores*, the first, unpaginated page of the manuscript facsimile.

they stood in the *Book of Nature*. Unlike Orta and Costa, who always begin with names, which they drew from or tried to connect to the classical erudition, Erédia trusted his eyes first and then his hands that imitated and reproduced nature.

Two pictures (66 and 75) have no name. Instead of a title, we read: 'It's a plant known in Europe' and 'it is a medicinal plant'. Nevertheless, even without names, they are easily identified as pomelo and crepe jasmine (or coffee rose). Unmistakably, the useful objects are important to Erédia, more important than names. In addition, his explanation on the back of the picture always contains a single name, often in Konkani.

Like Orta with his *Colóquios*, with the *Suma de Árvores*, Erédia was buying protection, favour, and patronage of the viceroy. According to J. G. Everaert, the manuscript was probably at one point deposited with the Jesuits in Goa before reappearing in the Norbertin Monastery in Tongerlo in Belgium in the early eighteenth century.⁷² The choice may not be surprising, not only because Erédia continued to nurture close relations with the Jesuits, but also because throughout the seventeenth century they were the most important naturalists and industrious agents of plant transplantation, bioprospecting, and pharmacological experiments in the context of the Catholic world.

MISSION AND NATURAL HISTORY

Probably one of the most important networks through which information and knowledge about Asian and New World plants and remedies circulated around the globe from the second half of the sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth century was in the hands of the Jesuits. The Jesuit personnel were not only well trained, they were also specialized in whatever trade or profession was considered useful for the mission of conversion and maintenance of the Catholic world. Manuel Godinho de Erédia was himself an alumnus of this institution and taught mathematics at one point in the Jesuit college of St Paul in Goa.⁷³

72 Erédia, *Suma de Árvores*, pp. 163–4.

73 Erédia, *Suma de Árvores*, p. 43.

Even if medicine was not part of the Jesuit educational curriculum, some medical training may have been provided in the Jesuit colleges in Goa and Macau. The importance of medical and pharmacological information was, as it rapidly dawned on the Jesuits in Asia, a crucial asset in the missionary field.⁷⁴ Hospitals and pharmacies were attached to the mission residences, colleges, and professed houses, often praised for their wonderful effect on the patients and 'pagans'. It is in this milieu that the knowledge on natural history was generated, experimented, and exchanged, often in secrecy if that was for 'the greater glory of God'. Recipes and plants, both medicinal and culinary, circulated among Jesuit colleges and missions with instructions, lists, and manuals.⁷⁵ While some of the inventories of hospital pharmacies (*pauta das mesinhas*) are available, the Jesuit archives, as well as the archives of other religious orders, contain much precious data on *materia medica*. Unfortunately, the documents are still unexplored and do not come in a series.⁷⁶ The Jesuit official annual letters and personal correspondence are dotted with comments on natural history, illnesses, epidemics, local medical cures, and ethnobotany, but the information can be elliptical.

The description of the region, the climate, diseases, and the basic flora and fauna was expected from each Jesuit newcomer to and traveller through the Torrid Zone. For example, Antonio Marta wrote a letter in 1584 to his Jesuit friend in Venice and included the description of the climate in Goa with a brief comparison with Italy, followed by comments on plants and natural products:

No cinnamon, neither cloves, nor pepper are grown here, but many miles away. But, Father, all this is bigger in the imagination than in reality, because, finally, the trees produce those things and after you've seen it the first time, the desire to see it again is gone, because it does not possess in itself other rare things.... The *Vino* is not produced on this coast and they all

74 Županov 'Drugs, Health, Bodies', pp. 1–45

75 Sabine Agnoliou, 'The International Transfer of Medicinal Drugs by the Society of Jesus (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries) and Connections with the Work of Carolus Clusius', in *Carolus Clusius*, eds Egmond et al., pp. 293–312.

76 J. H. da Cunha Rivara, 'Pauta das Mezinhas', in *APO*, f. 5, part 2, pp. 877–83. For Hospital del Rey in Goa in 1572, see also Walter, 'Simão Alvares e o seu rol das drogas da Índia'.

drink water or a European wine, 50 scudi per cask or more, depending on the value of the wine. From October until the beginning of March it never rains and the earth gets dry and it does not give any fruit without water from irrigation, nevertheless the trees are always green, and they do not shed all the leaves at the same time but little by little. Fish is eaten a lot and meat a little, because the gentiles adore the cow and think it is sacrilegious to eat it.... Inland, there are elephants and tigers and many lemon trees and cedars. The fig [banana] which is marvelous because a single branch produces some 60 [fruits] and not more, and the year long, and therefore we eat them all the time, but they are different than ours in quality and form. I would have written longer if I wanted to say more about what can be seen here, but let's leave something for the next year.⁷⁷

Antonio Marta's informal comments are crafted to both titillate his audience and to normalize the unfamiliar. This is why he refers to spices, plants, and animals that were well known but still preserved a tinge of the exotic. Either they were not 'there', displacing the site of desire further away on the horizon, or they were there but not quite the same (*trees don't shed leaves*) or only in name (*the fig*). He knew well that his learned friends were hungry for description of rarities and novelties because European imagination had for centuries viewed the East as a repository of marvellous and monstrous creatures. Without special predilection for natural history, Marta is observing nature as an empirical phenomenon that is both good for description and for consumption.

As we have seen, the utilitarian approach to nature was hardly a new thing, especially in the commerce-oriented Estado da Índia. What comes as a surprise is to what extent the Jesuits and other religious became involved in bioprospecting, commerce of medicinal drugs, and intercontinental transplantation of plants. The acclimatization gardens attached to the Jesuit residences and churches are yet to be studied in South Asia. More is known about Brazilian experiments such as the Quinta do Tanque that belonged to the Jesuit College in Bahía where they started cultivating cinnamon and pepper brought from Goa in the 1680s as soon as the Portuguese crown reversed more than a century and a half long ban on transplantation of the East Indian spices in the West Indies.⁷⁸ Personal intervention

77 *DI*, vol. XIV, p. 902.

78 Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, p. 153.

by António Vieira, the famous Jesuit, in a memorandum to Dom João IV and the instructions of how to transport the plants (as seeds and cuttings) by Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo are relatively well known.⁷⁹ The plants were also transplanted with written instructions from Goa, and in 1690 two Goan cultivators were sent to Brazil as a part of this technological transfer.⁸⁰ The history of plant exchange is probably the most fascinating chapter in early modern natural history, although the actors involved did not seem aware of the enormity of its impact, in terms of environmental consequences, but saw it as a pragmatic and, first of all, a commercial enterprise.

The principal reason why Jesuits and other missionary orders became worldwide pharmacological specialists and import-export entrepreneurs can be found in their social location and cultural intentions. Present at all levels—among the poorest of the poor and among the nobles and the kings—Jesuits had access to a wide variety of local knowledges in Europe and especially in the overseas colonies. Since conversion had been identified as spiritual regeneration, it was also associated with healing and medical expertise. While the missionaries identified therapeutic rituals and tried to suppress them or expurgate their 'idolatrous' content, they were also quick to notice the effects of the indigenous natural remedies. Of the fourteen locally grown medicinal plants identified by Fernão Cardim in Brazil, most of which were recorded in his *Do clima e terra do Brasil* (Of Climate and Land of Brazil) with their Tupi (or other Amerindian) names, one particularly potent and attractive plant was simply renamed as

79 Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, 'Observação sobre a transplantação dos frutos da Índia ao Brasil (Paris, 1675)', in Antonio Lourenço Caminha, *Obras inéditas de Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo* (Lisbon, 1817). José Alberto do Amaral Lapa, 'O Brasil e as Drogas do Oriente' (Sep. de *Studia*—Revista quadrimestral, no 18, August 1966) (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1966), pp. 7–40. Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo was born in Lisbon in 1618 and died in Alicante in 1680. He was a diplomat, economist, and an important thinker and writer, defending mercantilism in the Restoration period. Ana Maria Homem Leal de Faria, *Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo: Um Diplomata Moderno (1618–1680)* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Diplomática do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros, 2005).

80 Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, pp. 155–6. See HAG, *Livros das Monções*, vol. 51A, f. 25. (19 March 1685) and HAG, *Livros das Monções*, vol. 55B, ff. 348. (10 March 1690). Besides the quality of land and climate, economic viability was a factor deciding for or against cultivation.

erva santa.⁸¹ When exactly did the *erva santa* arrive to India—before becoming a commercial hit worldwide—is not clear. However, it is attested that Akbar accepted a gift of tobacco from his emissary Asad Beg returning from Bijapur in 1605. By the time Jahangir ascended the throne of the Mughal Empire, the addictive qualities of the substance were already amply observed. Hence, Jahangir was the first to declare a smoking ban.⁸²

Around the time when Antonio Marta entertained his Venetian friends with natural history vignettes and Fernão Cardim inquired about the flora and fauna of Brazil, those Jesuits who worked in the thick of the difficult missions in the tropical Indian south experimented with remedies for suppressing sexual desire. Henrique Henriques, a scrupulous missionary on the Fishery Coast in the Gulf of Mannar wrote to the general of the Society of Jesus, Diogo Laínez, inquiring whether to use or not the remedy, recommended by the yogis. According to Henriques, the excess of heath made the missionaries susceptible to sexual disorders.⁸³ The negative answer came much later from the pen of Francisco de Borja, the third general of the Society of Jesus, who maintained that sexual desire should be resisted by will, not by medicine.⁸⁴ What exactly was this remedy had never been mentioned. Perhaps for strategic reasons, just as the content of the *pedra cordial*, invented by a Florentine Jesuit Gaspar Antonio, residing in Goa, the recipe was kept secret.⁸⁵

81 Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, p. 155. Other products such as cocoa and 'country drugs' (*drogas do sertão*), indigenous gum benzoin trees and cloves were important revenue sources for the Jesuits.

82 Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, p. 173, Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), p. 62. Maclagan claims that Akbar asked the Jesuits for their opinion on tobacco.

83 H. Henriques to D. Lainez, Mannar, 19 December 1561, *DI*, V, p. 382.

84 F. de Borja to A. de Quadros, Rome, 29 November 1565, *DI*, VI, p. 526.

85 See Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire*, p. 179. See Ana Maria Amaro, 'A famosa Pedra Cordial de Goa ou de Gaspar Antonio', *Revista da Cultura*, 19, no. 22 (1988–89): 87–108. See also Ana Maria Amaro, *Introdução da medicina ocidental em Macau e as receitas de segredo da botica do Colegio de São Paulo* (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1992). See also, 'Regimento, e virtudes das pedras cordeas compostas, & primeiro inventadas na Índia pelo Irmão Gaspar Antonio da Companhia de Jesus—"folha volante"', in Martins Sousa, *A tuberculose pulmonar e o clima de altitude da Serra da Estrela* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, n.d.).

When John Fryer visited Goa in the late seventeenth century, he was much impressed by Jesuit pharmacy and by the revenues earned through the sale of this particular remedy.

'The Paulistines [Jesuits] enjoy the biggest of all the Monasteries at St. Roch; in it is a Library, an Hospital and an Apothecary's Shop well furnished with Medicine where Gaspar Antonio, a Florentine, a Lay-Brother of the Order, the Author of the Goa Stones brings them in 50,000 Xeraphins by that invention Annually'.⁸⁶

What Fryer was referring to is the fact that the Jesuits had monopoly over the production and export of certain much coveted remedies throughout the colonies and to Europe. For example, they were exporters of the 'fever bark' or 'Jesuit bark' (*Cinchona spec.*) from Peru.⁸⁷ It was the first effective remedy against malaria. The Jesuits not only put great hopes in this substance for the cure of the disease, they were also banking on it for successful conversion to Christianity. The healing scene, before or after conversion, is one of the topoi in Jesuit letters and reports. This is certainly what they hoped when they cured the Chinese emperor Kangxi in the late seventeenth century. The emperor proved to be grateful, but did not embrace Christianity.

The most important cash crops in India were tobacco, rice, and coconut trees, considered as valuable since the early sixteenth century, which lead to acrimonious disputes between the Jesuits regarding the possession and allocation of revenue from the lands on which they grew.⁸⁸ One of the most interesting Jesuit agronomical treatises, the *Arte palmarica*, reflects Jesuit economic approach to cultivation of coconut trees. Although the text survived in transcriptions from a later period, and given the ongoing Jesuit custom of 'improving' and 'updating' (or expurgating) their texts, it is a remarkable document of that particular moment in the late seventeenth century when the Jesuits

86 *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century* by Sir Thomas Roe and Dr. John Fryer (London: Trubner & Co., 1873; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1993), p. 373.

87 Another American medicinal product was the Jesuit tea (*Chenopodium ambrosioides*) or yerba maté and Jesuit balsam or kopaiba (Tupi) first mentioned by José de Acosta.

88 *Informação que se deu ao N. R. P. Geral sobre a fazenda de Assolona de Goa*, in ANTT, Armário jesuítico, maço 90, doc. 115. The archives are replete with documents produced by the dispute between the Malabar and the Goan Jesuit provinces over the ownership of the agricultural villages in Salcete (Ambelim, Velim, and Assolna).

espoused 'scientific' methods in farming, or at least this is what the *Arte palmarica* wants us to believe. This scientific experiment, in addition, was closely connected with commercial exploitation.

The *Arte palmarica* is an anonymous Jesuit manual on selecting, planting, and tending the coconut palm trees in order to obtain maximum fruits per tree. The divine intervention is absolutely absent from the text, except for a fleeting analogy between the coconut tree and the tree St John saw in the Apocalypse, because, the author claimed, those trees yielded twelve harvests a year and each time with 'a bunch of fruits'. 'And there are palm trees that produce fifteen or sixteen bunches (*cachos*) a year, as I saw, and in a single harvest gave 196 coconuts, all good and well grown.'

The utility of this plant is then described in detail before coming up with advice as to how to cultivate it, on which soil, how to protect it from vermin, how to choose the best seeds, what are the best species of coconuts, and so on. 'If they [the cultivators] observe the rules', he wrote, 'which I suggested here, there is no doubt that their farms will be very fruitful, moneymaking and that they would give fruit in a short time and they would be preserved (*vegetativa*) and would be known as good, as the experience showed me.'⁸⁹

And this is exactly the content of the book—the rules to be obeyed in order to have the best and the most ample crop of coconut. In the nine chapters, every aspect of cultivation is given with all necessary technical detail. However, for this Jesuit (a lay brother and temporal coadjutor) coconut-farm manager, local knowledge was neither sufficient nor appropriate. 'I was not guided in this matter', he wrote in the closing line of his booklet, 'by the customs of the natives but by the dictate of reason, based on observation and experience. God who is the author of all the good, has provided that everything succeeds with prosperity, for the major glory and the universal good for us all.'⁹⁰ There is no reason to doubt his assessment. As he stated at one point, he was the manager of a couple of Jesuit farms and had a larger

89 *Arte Palmarica escrita por um Padre da Companhia de Jesus* (Nova Goa: Imprensa nacional, 1918), p. 3.

90 *Arte Palmarica*, p. 36. In a similar claim he states: 'It is certain that I did not take into account the customs of the natives in these matters. I was only governed and govern myself by my own discourse, observations and experiences based on a good reason.' *Arte Palmarica*, p. 4.

sample for the observation than an individual cultivator. The question of entrepreneurial motivation or lack of it is another interesting question. The Jesuits, it seems, consolidated the plots and employed a type of bonded labour. The *mundukars*, as these were called, were tied to the land because of the small loans that they could not repay.⁹¹ What the *Arte palmarica* describes is a very labour-intensive work that required strict organization and surveillance of agricultural actors and materials.

This text gives us a taste of the Jesuit style of economic management—in this case, of an agricultural farming. From this point it may be easier to imagine the type of order that reigned in the Jesuit pharmacy and in hospitals administered by the Jesuits. For one of the hospitals, the most famous in Asia, the Royal Hospital in Goa, for which the Jesuits—who first accepted and then were compelled to be in charge of by the viceroys and governors at the turn of the seventeenth century—wrote a *Regimento* (a rule book).⁹² More than medicine, it was order that ruled in the hospital where the art of curing was in fact the art of managing the patients.⁹³

Establishing order in a situation of a plethora of perceived disorders (social, religious, spiritual, medical, etc.) left less time for Jesuit scholarly work and literary pursuits, except beyond the limits of the Portuguese 'empire' where well-crafted information about the mission was as important as the mission itself.

Such was, for example, the mission in Beijing for which the Jesuits selected the best mathematicians, scientists, physicians, and mechanical arts specialists. However, these learned Jesuits were often under pressure to produce scientific treatises in Chinese, mostly on astronomy, mathematics, and geography, and they were also involved in building scientific instruments. Had Johann Schreck (b. 1576,

91 Charles Borges, *The Economics of Goa Jesuits, 1542–1759: An Explanation of Their Rise and Fall* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1994), p. 82.

92 APO, f. 5, vol. 3, pp. 1006–66.

93 Two basic principles underscored the social conditions of healing, according to *Regimento*: the smooth repetitiveness of medical or paramedical gestures inscribed in time (every morning, every day, every week, every year) and a strict division of tasks and offices among the hospital personnel. A French traveller Pyrard de Laval wrote in admiration about its 'good order and supervision' in 1609. See, Županov, 'Drugs, Health, Bodies', pp. 40–1.

Bingen; d. 1630, Beijing,) a botanist and astronomer, a former member of the Academia dei Lincei, stayed in Goa where he arrived in 1618 and started writing his *Plinius Indicus*, an unfinished botanical and zoological encyclopaedia, the natural history of South Asia may have had another Orta!⁹⁴ Jesuit manuscripts and albums of paintings met a difficult future, even when they were recopied and transmitted through the international channels. They were either blocked by the Jesuits in Rome—such were the practices of the hailed Athanasius Kircher—who never published them, or went into other hostile or even friendly hands.⁹⁵ Such was the case of Georg Joseph Kamel's volume of pen-and-ink drawings and descriptions of Asian plants entitled, *Descriptiones Fruticum et Arborum Luzonis*, which ended in John Ray's publication, *Historia plantarum* (1701), and in James Petivier's *Philosophical Transactions*.⁹⁶

What missionaries brought with them into the given field, such as medical expertise acquired prior to entering the religious order, or a talent for drawing and painting, was often useful and used for mobilizing local knowledge. If the Jesuits were more successful, they were not the only missionaries in South Asia with a penchant for natural history. The Discalced Carmelites sent by the Propaganda Fide, not without friction with the Portuguese Padroado, to the mission in Kerala among St Thomas Christians were both rivals and successors of the Jesuits in the region. Their interest in natural history is attested in still largely unstudied documents and printed books produced in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo mentioned a *hortus siccus*, a herbarium with

94 Schreck worked in Rome on the publication of Francisco Hernández's *Rerum medicarum Novae Hispaniae thesaurus* as a member of the Academia dei Lincei experts. It was published in Rome in 1628 by Federico Cesi. It has been suggested that he annotated Hernández's work in the same way as Clusius annotated and commented Orta's. See Sabine Agnoliou, 'The International Transfer of Medicinal Drugs by the Society of Jesus', *Carolus Clusius*, eds Egmond et al., p. 307.

95 Athanasius Kircher was one such Jesuit 'operator' who used other people's work and hid or misplaced their manuscripts in the archives.

96 Kamel wrote *Herbarium aliarumque stirpium in insula Luzone Philippinarum* (Herbs and Medicinal Plants in the Island of Luzon, Philippines) with 260 drawings. Parts of this work on oriental plants were published, but not the drawings, as an appendix to the work of a British botanist, John Ray (*Historia plantarum; species*

dried specimens (*Erbario Malabarico*) with descriptions of simples by Vincenzo di Santa Caterina da Siena deposited in the Library of the Missionary College of S. Pancrazio in Rome.⁹⁷

Since this collection seems to have disappeared, perhaps during the sack of the College by the French or Garibaldi's army, the already mentioned work by Matteo di San Giuseppe (Pietro Foglia), *Viridarium Orientale*, is the most important witness of Discalced Carmelites' bioprospecting efforts. However, Catholic missionary manuscripts seemed to dissolve into anonymity as soon as they were incorporated into Protestant or simply 'secular' books and frameworks. It is well known that Matteo di San Giuseppe inspired Hendrik Adriaan van Rhee de tot Drakenstein's *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* and contributed his knowledge of Malabar plants and his talent as a draughtsman, in addition to information provided by the three Gouda Saraswat Brahmins and an Ezhava physician and herbalist, Itti Achuden.⁹⁸

From Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo's *Viaggio* and the boxes of his papers in the archives in Rome, we can glimpse how vigorous was the research in natural history in Kerala throughout the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. He mentions manuscripts by 'Father Giovanni Alvarez, Father Antonio Gomes, Mr. Queiros, Mr. Ambrosio Lopes and Vapu; all these are native Malabar botanists

hactenus editas insuper multas noviter inventas & descriptas complectens) in 1704, and in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*. Georg Joseph Kamel or Camellus (1661–1706), who established the first pharmacy in Manila, is also famous for naming *Fabae Sancti Ignatii* (St Ignatius Bean), the poisonous but medicinal seeds of a plant native to the Philippines. Carolus Linnaeus named the genus *Camellia* in honour of this learned Jesuit botanist.

⁹⁷ Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 362.

⁹⁸ Ray Desmond, *Great Natural History Books and Their Creators* (London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2003), p. 40. Giuseppe Olmi, 'Lavorare per i libri degli altri: Padre Matteo di S. Giuseppe, medico, botanico e disegnatore di piante, "qui nomine suo nihil edidit"', in *Belle contrade della memoria: Studi su documenti e libri in onore di Maria Gioia Tavoni*, eds Fredrica Rossi and Paolo Tinti (Bologna: Pàtron editore, 2009), pp. 53–79. One copy of his *Viridarium Orientale* is preserved in the Muséum de l'Histoire Naturelle in Paris. We have also consulted the one in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', Monoscritti e rari, Fondi Minori, Santa Maria della Scala, Varia, 178 and the quite amazing copies in Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, Ms. Redi, 186 and Ms. Mediceo Palatino, 29 (1–8).

and doctors'.⁹⁹ Moreover, Giovanni (João) Alvarez, an Indian priest, was a translator of a Sanskrit text on *Medicina Brahmanica* (Brahmanical Medicine), enlarged by a learned Jesuit, Johann Ernst Hanxleden. Paulinus also boasted of owning a few *olai* (palm leaf manuscripts) and drawings of plants made by a Malabar physician and annotated by a certain countess of Salms.¹⁰⁰ Unfortunately, none of these medico-botanical documents seemed to have survived. It does not mean that they were unimportant.

Richard Grove made an effort at putting back into natural history the Malayali physicians and Ezhava herbalists who worked on the *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* and whom Van Rhee de included in the paratexts of the printed book. However, he did not notice the subalternization of the 'Catholic' missionary knowledge, mainly because Indian colonial and post-colonial history, constructed in a Protestant intellectual framework, continues to perceive Catholic missionaries as pre-modern, 'medieval', fanatic, and 'inauthentic'.¹⁰¹

If documents about bioprospecting in Portuguese Asia are fragmentary compared to archives of other imperial 'green gold' diggers, perhaps because they were also part of what Ramada Curto calls 'the culture of excerpt',¹⁰² the efforts and intentions were far from unsystematic. The communication networks being what there were, dangerous and slow, between Indian Ocean, Africa, Brazil, and Portugal, the plants, texts, and people continued to travel in a sustained endeavour by the Crown officials and by individual merchants and missionaries to settle the land, extract riches, populate. Each new land, from afar, held a promise of an Edenic garden, none lived up to the expectations, but some, and especially Brazil in the seventeenth century came close to the mark.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 367. See Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist', p. 86.

¹⁰⁰ Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist', p. 99. Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 355.

¹⁰¹ Richard H. Grove, 'Indigenous Knowledge and the Significance of South-West India for Portuguese and Dutch Constructions of Tropical Nature', in *Nature and the Other* eds Richard H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran, and Satpal Sangwan (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 187–236.

¹⁰² Curto, *Cultura escrita*, p. 99.

¹⁰³ Luísa Borralho and Mário Fortes, 'Do Jardim de Éden às Terras de Vera Cruz', *Episteme*, 15 (2002): pp. 71–93. Abreu, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*, p. 30: 'There is no lack of authors who want to affirm that earthly paradise is situated in these regions.'

The encounter with tropical nature in India that incarnated both fertility and danger charted a particular way in which colonial botany and natural history came to be organized in the early modern Portuguese Asia. It was closely associated with colonial and mercantile expansion, and somewhat haltingly, reinforced and linked up with 'scientific' experiments. It was, however, through the writings of natural history, from plants' lists, apothecary's receipts, various 'excerpts' to botanical albums with texts in prose or dialogue that the Portuguese expressed a combination of the desire to possess, and the delight and awe before the 'theatre of nature' that they considered given to them by the Divine Providence. They never forgot that they were the first to 'discover and conquer' India through heroic deeds and sacrifices of their men brandishing arms, letters, and crosses. As Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo lamented, 'finally we discovered the passage to India, by which Dutch went in and became powerful and rich at our loss'.¹⁰⁴ He also proposed the explanation of why this 'right' to India turned into 'rightful' loss of India. Reminiscent of Francis Xavier's warning in the early sixteenth century, 'what is the profit of gaining the whole world and losing one's soul',¹⁰⁵ Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo and a legion of Portuguese literati, such as António Vieira with whom he exchanged letters as well, conjured up a moral and divine reason for the loss of permanence in the Asian tropics. Riches corrupt and nations lose what they possessed because 'God gives riches merited by virtues and by honest use of them; and he sends other nations to snatch them away, when he wants to castigate vices'.¹⁰⁶

In the long run, more permanent than nature is a 'dead' nature. In 1781, The Academy of Sciences in Lisbon published a booklet 'Short Instructions to Correspondents of the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon Regarding the Consignment of Products and Accounts of Natural

¹⁰⁴ *Obras ineditas de Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo*, p. 142.

¹⁰⁵ Francis Xavier quoted the New Testament, Matthew 16:26 in one of his letters to João III. 'Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur animae vero suae detrimentum patiat?' Joseph Wicki, 'La Sagrada Escritura en las cartas e instrucciones de Francisco Xavier', *Manresa*, 24 (1952): 259–64. EX, vol. 1, p. 421.

¹⁰⁶ *Obras ineditas de Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo*, p. 142.

History in Order to Create the National Museum'.¹⁰⁷ Besides detailed rules on how to compose texts that had to accompany each item, most of the instructions were about how to flay, dry, embalm, stuff, and mount animal carcasses, in addition to drying and preserving plants and minerals. In the Museum cabinet, the members of the Academy of Sciences hoped to inaugurate the hard scientific work of standardizing and classifying nature—reduced to specimens and samples.

The first efforts at classifying and understanding the diversity of people and institutions encountered in South Asia, and the provisory solutions offered in particular by the Jesuit missionaries is the subject of our next chapter.

¹⁰⁷ Anonymous, *Breves instruções aos correspondentes da Academia das sciencias de Lisboa sobre as remessas dos productos, e noticias pertencentes à historia da natureza, para formar hum Museu Nacional* (Lisbon: Na regia Officina, Typografica, 1781).

Part II

Catholic Meridian

Religion and Civility in 'Brahmanism'

Jesuit Experiments

Missionary ethnologizing in Portuguese India in the sixteenth century and the seventeenth century was as labour intensive, dangerous and as complex as botanizing. The two tasks were, moreover, based on the same set of expectations and principles. The diversity of forms had to be compiled, mapped, and compared with those already known in the classical sources, and when they did not match the known they had to be explained by way of morphological comparisons, analogies, and historical and philological arguments. Finally, when nothing worked, providential or demonic intervention was summoned to fill in the blanks.

In addition to being an epistemic problem, the classification of societies—which usually followed, with some variations, the grid of medieval distinctions between laws, customs, and rites, corresponding to the title of Johannes Boemus's work published in Augsburg in 1520—required an urgent soteriological solution. The Portuguese and the Spanish long and violent experience of dealing with Jews and Muslims as enemies within and enemies fought in wars provided blueprints for the encounters in the Indian Ocean after the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope.¹ Simultaneously, on the other side

¹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Conversos and Novamente Convertidos: Law, Religion, and Identity in the Portuguese Kingdom and Empire', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 15, no. 3 (2011): 255–87.

of the globe, according to John Elliot, the confrontation with Islam rendered the Spanish encounter with the Amerindian cultures violent and unintelligible.²

In the Indian Ocean and beyond, the enmity and competition with Muslims, Jews, and 'heretics' simmered all through the early modern period. For political reasons, however, it was often subdued, while the most important target of descriptive and missionary activity were those who, in the medieval classification, were called 'pagans' and 'idolaters'. In the second chapter we have followed the logic of production of information about territory and local religious practices from the point of view of the Portuguese administration. In this chapter we turn to missionary optic and the way it confronted and tried to solve the problem of idolatry and paganism.

The European encounter with the global idolatry in the early modern period has recently been intensely studied by historians and anthropologists. 'Many languages of idolatry', according to Jonathan Sheehan, were in circulation, often without clear-cut ideas of how the idols actually 'worked' in the world, but with urgency to eradicate them at all costs. Idolatry was also an accusation hurled between enemy camps, as attested in religious wars in Europe and in their ramifications overseas. In the sixteenth century, moreover, idolatry inhabited both the present and the past. While the first was obviously threatening wherever found, the idolatry of the Greeks and Romans was seen as built into the origins of Christianity itself and it inhabited Catholic imagination without apparent contradiction.

We chronicle in this chapter the way in which 'Indian' idolatry confronted Catholic missionary conversion efforts and how it forced the rethinking of some of the basic analytical tools such as the concept of religion and civility. As elsewhere, the term religion was not yet used in its contemporary, 'reified' meaning and the missionaries started with the observed ritual practices, branded as superstitions, idolatry, and witchcraft rather than the questions of belief. Even if the early modern taxonomy, deeply ingrained in Christian European discourse, divided the nations of the world into Christians, Jews, Mohammedans, and the Gentiles, and thus nolens volens limited the

² John H. Elliot, *The Old World and the New: 1492-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970).

official semantic scope in which to develop ideas of religious plurality, concepts such as 'sects' opened the space for specific distinctions. However, from the missionary (and Christian) point of view there was only one 'true' religion or law and all others were thus compared with it negatively and by degrees of falsity, error, inadequacy, monstrosity, diabolic imitation, and so on.

A series of 'Indian' episodes and historical actors involved in this process, on which we will be focusing, were a node in the network of intellectual communities, all engaged in global rethinking of the relationship between knowledge and faith. Missionary ethnological observations, linguistic acquisitions, emphasis on philological approach to texts, and the consequent growing sense of historicism, were the basic foundations for comparing religions. They became both inspiration and resources of the fully fledged Orientalist works and discourses, supported by British imperial structure, in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

MISSIONARY TASKS: DESCRIPTION AND CONVERSION

It is well known that the Jesuits, the major protagonists of this chapter, were one of the most important missionary actors in the Estado da Índia from the sixteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century. Part of their success in historiography, in spite of an unceremonious end and expulsion from Portugal and Portuguese colonies in 1759, are their well-kept, prolific, and accessible archives. Yet, chronologically they were neither the first nor the last of the religious orders to arrive and labour in Asia under the Portuguese royal Padroado. In the first decades before the Jesuit arrival, there were several dozens of Franciscans in India. They already had two provinces in 1629 and their numbers grew to six hundred in 1635.³ In the chapters five and seven, we provide reasons for and argue that the extent to which the Franciscans were engaged in missionary and knowledge gathering work has been largely overlooked in historiography.

³ Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India: From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Seventeenth Century (1542-1700)*, vol. 2 (Bangalore: Theological Publications in India, 1982), p. 6. See also Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação anual das coisas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões nos anos de 1600 a 1609*, vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1942: 1), pp. 67-77.

To this list of Portuguese Padroado missionaries, we have to add Dominicans who arrived in 1547 and Augustinians in 1572, active in Goa and other Portuguese enclaves with less experience in the missions.⁴ The last Padroado missionary order confirmed only in the early eighteenth century was Congregação do Oratório de Santa Cruz dos Milagres, staffed by the Catholic Brahmans from Goa who became both missionaries and precocious Orientalists in Sri Lanka.⁵ Other orders such as Discalced Carmelites, Capuchins, and Theatines were sent directly by the Propaganda Fide and were both cooperating and in competition with the Padroado missionaries.⁶ As latecomers and successors to Jesuits after their expulsion, they profited from knowledge already collected in the field. In fact, the Discalced Carmelite library in Verapoly preserved some of the precious Jesuit works and collections, among which is the Sanskrit grammar by Johann Ernst Hanxleden.⁷

4 Thekkadath, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 7. Carlos Mercês de Melo, S. J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India: An Historico-canonical Study* (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), p. 45.

5 Ines G. Županov, 'Goan Brahmans in the Land of Promise: Missionaries, Spies and Gentiles in the 17th–18th Century Sri Lanka', in *Re-exploring the Links: History and Constructed Histories Between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, ed. Jorge Flores (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz and the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 2006), pp. 171–210.

6 The *Propaganda Fide* missionaries, mostly Italian and French, but also recruited from various nationalities in the Holy Roman Empire, usually simply defined as 'Germans', set up their missions in territories at a safe distance from the Portuguese official settlements (except the Theatines who negotiated their place in Goa) such as Tibet, Patna, Surat, Verapoly, and Madras. For the Patna (Betiah) mission, also called Tibetan because the missionaries settled there after being expelled from Lhasa in 1745, see David Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Banaras: Missionaries, Orientalists, and Indian Scholars', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65, no. 1 (February 2006): 115–43. On Jesuit-Capuchin rivalry in Tibet, see Michael J. Sweet, 'Desperately Seeking Capuchins: Manoel Freyre's Report on the Tibets and Their Routes (*Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum*) and the Desideri Mission to Tibet', *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies*, 2 (August 2006): 1–33. See also Trent Pomplun, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to Eighteenth-Century Tibet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

7 Toon Van Hal and Christophe Vielle, *Grammatica Grandonica: The Sanskrit Grammar of Johann Ernst Hanxleden SJ (1681–1732)* (Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 2013).

The Jesuits who started arriving in the early 1540s invested the biggest part of their intellectual energy and practical expertise in trying to understand religious practices and beliefs which they were called to dismantle. The world of paganism and idolatry was an enigma they came to solve, all the while working on its total destruction. From the late sixteenth century onwards, after a testing period in which violence and persuasion were used intermittently, the Jesuit proselytizing platform included collaboration with the local literati and relentless search for authentic and antique documents to be read with philological precision. No doubt that this kind of Orientalist expertise was initially and mostly developed as a practical knowledge to be applied in their soteriological project of converting the pagans and the infidels to Catholicism, but it acquired a life of its own: that is, the Jesuits, as well as other missionaries, learnt more and differently than they expected. The first lesson was, and it was confirmed in the New World by writers such as José de Acosta and Bartolomé de las Casas, that religious intuition was universal and may be detected in idolatrous practices.⁸

As a consequence, the study of the nature and the origin of idolatry in vivo and in action, and, most importantly, in the missions beyond the reach of Portuguese colonial support, forced the missionaries to reinvent and reformulate categories and distinctions that would later, in the eighteenth century, be taken for granted. Not only did they separate religion from civility, as a result of the Malabar (and Chinese) rites quarrels, but they also conceptualized religion in plural. Moreover in 1616, a Jesuit missionary in Madurai

8 Guy Stroumsa argues that this amounted to 'broadening idea of religion'. Recognizing that non-Christians have a religion, although the concept was not yet stabilized in its modern signification, may mean broadening in a sense of 'universalizing', but at the same time what was considered religious diminished, since its social and cultural aspects were defined as 'indifferent' or 'adiaphora'. Having omitted discussion on accommodationist missions in India, Stroumsa was not aware of this particular aspect of accommodationist experiment. Moreover, his casual mention of the Chinese rites quarrel is misconstrued, and his use of a concept of 'civil religion' is anachronistic. See Guy Stroumsa, *A New Science: A Discovery of Religion in the Age of Reason* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 20–2, 145–59. For a different view, see Ines G. Županov, 'Le repli du religieux: Les missionnaires jésuites du XVIIe siècle entre la théologie chrétienne et une éthique païenne', *Annales HSS*, 6 (1996): 1201–23.

mission gave the first name to the unified Brahmanical religion as '*bramanismo* (Brahmanism)', while a century later the French Jesuits lamented that their own Christian religion was seen by the Tamils as *Pranguinisme*.⁹

It was by the end of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century that the pagan and infidel surface began to move under the apostolic feet of the European Catholic missionaries. Before the missionaries arrived in situ, Indian paganism was already well known in Europe from classical texts and medieval travel reports as a monstrous and diabolical invention. As Partha Mitter's unsurpassed work on Indian-inspired iconography in Europe showed, by the time the Portuguese arrived in Calicut in 1492, pictorial representations of Indian gods were already assembled in a way that they appeared identical to the devil and anti-Christian demons.¹⁰

Through the sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century most of the European travellers continued to rely on these early templates in their own descriptions. According to Joan-Pau Rubiés, while ethnographic and geographic protocols of description in this period were crafted through analogies with European realities and concepts, the analysis of religious practices remained a problem.¹¹ On the one hand, the parallels drawn between pagan idols and Christian concepts were possible. Such was the case with 'Indian trinity' which through the centuries attracted the attention of the travellers and the missionaries alike. The insecurity about the correct meaning, on the other hand, persisted and it became clear that an expert knowledge of Indian gods, their qualities, and agency was required.

9 In the mirror of exchanged gazes there was no more a zero ground for absolute truth. There were only contrastive representations while Christianity continued to be perceived as a religion of the *Paranguis*, or foreigners, with a century of negative significations attached to it. The term *Parangui* or *Firangi* (Frank) in various phonetic transcriptions was attached to the Europeans in Asia from the time of the Frankish medieval crusades. In South India, it became a term designating the Portuguese and the Christians. The stigma of impurity attached to this term was a result of a mixture of Portuguese violent political actions in the region and their personal hygiene and habits.

10 Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters: A History of European Reactions to Indian Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

11 Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology*.

Unlike travellers, missionaries were immediately interested in capturing in precise terms the local religious world, as will be discussed in detail in the next chapter on missionary linguistic texts. It is not surprising, therefore, that the study of sin of which idolatry and paganism were made, became a major part of the Jesuit epistemological and cultural project in the overseas missions. It was clearly based on first-hand observation and experience, prompting Francis Xavier to claim that 'the dead written books', may not contain useful knowledge for '*frutificar* (making fruit)' in the souls.¹² The dead books in question, we can presume, were those ranging from classical and medieval authors describing the Orient as well as Christian theological and ecclesiastical works. Of course, the authority of the *Sagrada Escritura* and the 'examples of the saints' continued to be a medicine against 'vices and errors' that the non-Christians in Asia or the Jesuit 'living books' contained.

The Jesuit missionaries in India, therefore, grounded their particular ethnographic instincts not only in the existing corpus of texts and images of the Orient in addition to visual impressions, as was typically the case with travellers, merchants, and imperial administrators. Most of their descriptions were products of the extended and extensive face-to-face interaction and negotiation with the Indian literati, religious specialists, and important people, some of whom became Christian converts. Their investment in affinitive social relations, elective affinities, and interpersonal experience made them, in the long run, the most knowledgeable about the cultures and societies they dealt with, but equally 'vulnerable' to manipulation of their informants and to espousing local, 'indigenous', or emic points of view, since relationality presumes fluidity and change. This is why, as the Jesuits refined their tools for collecting strategic, 'useful' knowledge about the culture, society, and religious beliefs of their converts and of other non-Christian inhabitants on the Indian subcontinent, both their methods of conversion and their understanding of 'paganism' changed.

Ironically, the most 'useful' knowledge they thought they found was in the Brahmanical texts that they finally managed to acquire partially together with their Brahmanical teachers. It was the wisdom of

12 EX, vol. 2, pp. 97-9.

the Brahmans that opened, for the Jesuits, the gap between religious beliefs and social ethic. Where there was once an inseparable synergy of the religious and the social, one enclosing another, appeared a fissure that only continued to grow in the centuries to come. This was in fact a major epistemic shift that prepared the ground for the cultivation of the modern European Orientalism, comparative religious studies, and anthropology. And, yes, the secular modernity as well.

PAGAN TEMPLES AND PAGANISM: DESCRIPTION AND DESTRUCTION

One of the first visible signs of the presence of idolatry was the temple, or, as it was called in the sixteenth century Portuguese documents, a *pagode*. Early in the century, it was identified as a 'house of prayer', a 'house dedicated to the devil', a 'house of idols', a pagan 'church', and a 'mosque'.¹³ Unfortunately, there are very few visual data for this period and the representations from the *Casanatense* manuscript are not sufficient.

The prime purpose of this structure ranging from a palm tree hut to a massive rock-cut temple was to harbour an idol, also called a *pagode*, and to provide a sacred space for idolatrous and diabolical ceremonies.

The destiny of all temples in Portuguese Asia is told and attested in the *Registers* and *Charters* discussed in the second chapter. The temples had to be destroyed not only because of the menace of its presumed demonic *potentia*, but more importantly because they were the centre of local sociability, a memory archive of social distinctions, a collective treasury, and the seat of the village authority. Moreover, the special place (symbolic and territorial) of the temple was immediately marked out as a special place for a church, while the tax-free land and revenue allocated for the temples was, with some hesitation and after negotiations, attributed to the churches built in their place.¹⁴

¹³ Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (Coimbra: Empresa da Universidade, 1919), p. 132; Castanheda, *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*, p. 183; Friar João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental*, vol. II (Évora: Manuel da Lyra, 1622), p. 82.

¹⁴ The demolition of the cultic places started with mosques and continued in the 1540s before acquiring 'heroic' proportions in the Jesuit letters of the late 1560s.



Figure 12. 'Gentile' sacrifice and the 'church' or *pagode*, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variae ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 80

What preceded the act of annihilation was a hard look into the object of violence. For example, the temple in a village near Bassein in the Northern Provinces was pulled down around 1550 by Melchior Gonçalves who remarked of its importance as a pilgrimage centre since many people from Cambaya (Gujarat) used to come to 'worship' the idol.¹⁵ With some amazement and a load of disgust he remarked that it was filled with paintings of three gods, *Ispes*, *Bramaa*, and *Vismaa* 'by which they try to fool those who are ignorant, saying that they also have a Trinity'. The huge stone cross was planted on the top of the rubble heap.

Some seven years later, another missionary in the same region provided a somewhat more complete and nuanced picture of this 'valorous' moment of temple smashing. First of all, the temple came into Portuguese possession through purchase of a depopulated village in its vicinity. The Jesuits then established a Christian colony with newly converted agriculturists most of whom were survivors of a long

¹⁵ *DI*, vol. III, p. 184.

and deadly famine.¹⁶ Although in 1551 Melchior Gonçalves boasted of destroying the building, in 1558 Gonçalo Rodrigues found the structure still standing and admirable in certain ways. 'It was a sumptuous *pagode* the most elaborated of the Roman works that I have seen in these parts in which they used to adore a false trinity of the gentiles, scilicet: *Visnuu*, *Maesu* and *Bramma*, painted in one effigy with three faces and one body. In the past (*antiguamente*), the demon used to be venerated inside.' As can be seen from these and many other examples, the missionaries faced a plethora of local gods and with no clear idea of taxonomies. Even the identified 'false trinity' was recorded in a variety of names.¹⁷

Rodrigues's statement betrays perhaps more than his own visual appreciation. This and similar temples that existed on the island of Salcete in the north of today's Mumbai have already been seen and talked about among the Portuguese.¹⁸ João de Castro, the humanist viceroy especially interested in architecture, gave a detailed account of the Salcete temples, as well as of another famous rock-hewn temple which contained pagan idols on the island of Elephanta southeast of Mumbai.¹⁹ He was also convinced that these temples were constructed in Roman style and he made the measurements in order to understand how the work had been designed.²⁰ Strictly speaking, most of these cave temples in Kanheri were Buddhist and long forgotten and

¹⁶ On the history of Trindade colony see Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, pp. 373–9.

¹⁷ *DI*, vol. IV, p. 100.

¹⁸ Walter Rossa, 'Bombay before the British: The Indo-Portuguese Layer', in *Mumbai Reader: Urban Design Research Institute*, 1 (2006): 262–9. Paulo Varela Gomes and Walter Rossa, 'O primeiro território—Bombaim e os Portugueses', *Oceanos*, 41 (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000): 210–224. Sidh Mendiratta, 'Uncovering Portuguese Histories within Mumbai's Urban History', *Mumbai Reader*, no. 6 (Mumbai: UDRI, 2011).

¹⁹ See Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 36. João de Castro wrote about it in his navigational diary *Primeiro roteiro da costa da Índia: Desde Goa até Dio*.

²⁰ Perhaps, even before Castro, Garcia de Orta, one of the main protagonists in the third chapter, admired these structures, some of which were 'underground' or cave temples, but attributed their craftsmanship to the Chinese whom he admired and who, he was persuaded, used to visit the Indian shore in the past. Orta, *Colóquios*, pp. 340–2, 346.

unused before the first Franciscan missionaries discovered them and turned one of them into a church dedicated to Saint Michael.²¹

The 'sumptuous' temple seen by Gonçalo Rodrigues did not seem to have been demolished but rather redecorated and enlarged to fit the requirement of housing a church for some five hundred Christians. It is possible that those rock-hewn temples were not easily destroyed as was the case with others made of cut stone or lighter materials. It is also possible that the Jesuit missionaries recognized—as João de Castro had already done—the affinity of these spaces with the classical Roman and Greek architecture which also confirmed their growing feeling that the Indian idolatry was in fact the same as the idolatry of the pagan Europe.²² From across the ocean, the Amerindian idolatry was also repackaged into Greco-Roman framework, in what Serge Gruzinski called a '*Lascasasian grid*'. The famous Dominican friar, impressed deeply by the theories of another Dominican, Thomas Aquinas, reinterpreted by way of analogical perspective the Amerindian religious practices as another antique paganism, also preparing the ground, from the Atlantic world, for comparative study of religion.²³

However, if we return to the mid-sixteenth century Goa comprising the territories of Ilhas, Salcete, and Bardez, we find no admiration for the pagan temples. In 1567—in the same year when the *Registers* of that region were collected—Gomes Vaz wrote to the members of the Society of Jesus in Portugal about the successful campaign

²¹ Another impressive cave temple, Mandapeshwar, also became a church, and the wall sculptures that Orta found horrible were hidden away without being destroyed. See J. Gerson da Cunha, *Notes on the History and Antiquities of Chaul and Bassein* (Bombay, 1876; reprint, New Delhi: AES, 1993), pp. 190–2. Couto, *Da Asia*, decade 7, book 3, chapter 10, p. 246.

²² Jesuit descriptions and those of other travellers all the way to the early eighteenth century continued to elaborate on connections between Indian monumental temples and European architecture and history. On Pietro Maffei and Du Jarric describing the temples in Elephanta and Salcete, see Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 34.

²³ Carmen Bernard and Serge Gruzinski, *De l'idolatrie: Une archéologie des sciences religieuses* (Paris: Seuil, 1988). See also Sabine MacCormack, 'Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67 (2006): 623–47. On the importance of and comparisons with Roman empire in Spanish America, especially for explaining the empire of the Inkas, see Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

ordered by the Viceroy to destroy all the temples.²⁴ While Bardez was in the hands of the Franciscans, in the Salcete region the destruction was executed by Captain Diogo Fernandes and by the Jesuits with the local Christians and the gentiles who converted later on. The temple structures were burnt and demolished stone by stone. All usable material went into church building. The wood used in the construction of the Sancoale village temple dedicated to Santeri (Lakshmi)—the most important Goan goddess—was given by Diogo Fernandes to the church of St Lourenço of which remains today only a beautiful baroque façade since the rest of the church disappeared much later in fire.²⁵ The idols of Darô (Dhaddô), Pormandô (Paramamedá), Naranâ (Narayana or Viṣṇu), Baguaonte (Bhagavati), Hespôrô (Ishvara or Śiva), Ajocinî (Azzossini), and Chrastacemai were also burnt, beaten into pulp, and thrown in the river apparently causing much distress. 'A guru (guru of the temple is the gentile who cleans the temple and sweeps it, who decorates it and adores its idols; he lives next to the temple and eats the offerings) cried so much as it is possible to cry for the death of the good king'.²⁶ The idols made out of metal were melted and used for church ornaments such as chandeliers and similar items. All temples in fifty-eight out of seventy-six villages, and the remaining mosque in the village of Murmugão, were destroyed in the Salcete territory.²⁷ The number of big temples was estimated by the Jesuits at 280 while the small temples were 'innumerable'.²⁸ These numbers are slightly higher than the ones collected in the *Registers* (around 260 temples). However, as we showed in the second chapter, finding proper names and even appropriately describing local religious dynamics was extremely difficult.

Violence was a matter of negotiation in which Goans provided the missionaries with their own blueprint for the appropriate action.²⁹

²⁴ See Chapter 2 for the discussion on the *Charter of Salcete* of 1567.

²⁵ *DI*, vol. VII, p. 393.

²⁶ *DI*, vol. VII, p. 394.

²⁷ *DI*, vol. VII, p. 397.

²⁸ *DI*, vol. VII, p. 391.

²⁹ According to Indian legal texts such as *Ārthasāstra* and in the daily practice, royal violence was an essential prerogative of the king by which he maintained both social and cosmic order, the dharma. Ideally, the king's duty was protection in times

The destruction of the temple, similarly, became the founding moment of the community in which ritual order and social hierarchies had to be respected. This is why the 'leading gentiles' of the villages in Salcete complained to the Jesuit 'brother' for failure to demolish in person their own village temples. Gomez Vas rightly concluded that what was at stake was the question of 'honours': 'They were more in pain for their honors than for their gods'.³⁰

This relation between Portuguese royal power and their Goan subjects based on an older regime of 'honours' emerged as a core experience of the Portuguese colonial society and configured all other relations of power. It also structured the language of everyday mutual interactions and the acquisition of knowledge that interests us here and that we call 'Catholic Orientalism'.

Destroying temples and replacing them with churches as centres of sociability and prestige required physical, managerial, and economic strength and skills. But this was only a first step in the conversion process.

PAGAN 'PRIESTS'

Interior conversion, a true conversion of the heart which would inevitably lead to a complete cultural conversion was impossible for the time being, wrote Alessandro Valignano in 1579. In the Asian Jesuit province, except the Japanese and the Chinese, all the inhabitants were black in colour because of the heath and 'universally speaking what all these [very different] people have in common is their lack of perfection and capacity, and it seems as Aristotle said that they are born by nature to serve'.³¹ In this first paragraph of the chapter 'On the Diversity of People, Kingdoms, Habits and Languages of This Province', which is actually mostly a one long sentence, Valignano zigzags between the general and the particular which modifies, even contradicts, the general. Thus, some Indians have subtle minds

of war and 'distribution' of honours in times of peace. The same relation between the king and his subject is mirrored in the relation between God, and the temple, and his devotee.

³⁰ *DI*, vol. VII, p. 396.

³¹ *Documentação*, vol. 12, p. 475.

(*entendimiento*) for the things 'that relate to their interests', most are poor, but some are very rich, most are black, but some are more black, some are almost naked, but others are covered in cloth, etc.

Concerning the question of religion, his indictment was almost as violent as the material destruction of the temples. They were 'ignorant about their own sects', they 'do not know what they believe', and their 'consciousness' was ruined because of their 'perverse' lives. In spite of opinions that recognized the wisdom of the Brahmins, for Valignano 'the natural light had been extinct' among Indian pagans.³² None of them, claimed Valignano, can be converted through 'interior motion of spirit' or 'by reason'.

One of the reasons for Valignano's harsh judgement was his project of conquering Japan and China, a dream he shared with his most famous predecessor Francis Xavier. By portraying Indian Christians as a lower quality Christians, he was also able to assign for them lower quality missionaries, while siphoning off resources and the most talented and learned missionaries, many of them Italian, for the Chinese and Japanese missions.

Valignano's text only stated what was already accepted by many as a fact: that Indians were ignorant of their own 'laws' and that their cognitive and spiritual capacities were blinded by 'unnatural' customs.³³ The topos of 'native ignorance' was useful to all European colonial actors in India and it was—as is well known—inscribed into the heart of the scientific Orientalism in the early nineteenth century. It followed an ingenious logic of dispossession: the knowledge about themselves that the natives did not 'really' possess could then easily be taken away from them.

For the missionaries and the Portuguese colonial administrators in the second half of the sixteenth century, more than native, it was

³² *Documentação*, vol. 12, p. 476.

³³ This is an Augustinian argument about impaired cognition of the pagans due to sins. This cognitive error is also discussed by Thomas Aquinas, followed by his co-religionist Bartolomé de las Casas with a somewhat different twist. 'No difference exists between offering sacrifice to the true God or a false one if he is held and understood to be the true God. The reason is that conscience that is in error binds us as much while it remains uniform as does the conscience that is not in error.' Quoted in, McCormack, 'Gods, Demons, and Idols in the Andes', p. 633. This argument reappeared in the polemical writings of Roberto Nobili discussed further on and in Županov, *Le repli du religieux*.

their own ignorance that they were decidedly aware of. In particular, they wanted to know how the gentiles and the new converts thought and what they believed, since even after conversion they continued to act differently and stick to their customs. The nature of their difference could not be read from external signs. Their inner feelings and intentions had to be unwrapped and these were seen as integral part of their cultural system that trapped them in paganism. The only way to probe into this intimate space of the other was through language and with the help of the most learned local informers: the Brahmins and other religious specialists.

By the time Valignano arrived in India, some crucial changes were already under way. One impulse came from Europe in the wake of the Council of Trent which introduced new logic into the theory of salvation³⁴. Another was that by 1575, the missionaries in India understood all too well the importance of mastering local languages. Moreover, those missionaries who worked already for a few decades among the Christian converts living in areas with feeble Portuguese presence along the Malabar and the Coromandel Coast, had already learnt Tamil, written grammars, and catechetical works and formed the first generation of devoted Christians helpers. We discuss this in detail in the sixth chapter.

Just like temples, a social category identified as gentile 'priests' was targeted with weapons of destruction. Brahmins were singled out early on as the priestly caste, and a figure of a Brahman became a centrepiece and a key to Indian idolatry invested with ambivalent affects and expectations. The attitudes towards Brahmins can partly be explained with the long tradition, since late Antiquity, of ambivalent attitudes towards generic pagan religious specialists and intellectuals. They were both seen as either proto-Christian in their thinking or as the servants and the instruments of the Satan.³⁵ According to Raf Gelders, it was the success of Varthema's *Itinerario* and the interest of

³⁴ Rubiés *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 311.

³⁵ Justin Martyr claimed that Abraham and Socrates were Christians born before Christ. Justin Martyr, 'The First Apology of Justin', in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to AD 325*, eds Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), p. 178. Catherine Weinberger-Thomas, 'Les yeux fertile de la mémoire: Exotisme indien et représentations occidentales', *Puruṣārtha*, 11 (1988): 17–19.

Protestant antiquarians that turned Brahmans into 'cunning priests'.³⁶ In this way the concept of a Brahman helped Protestants in creating confessional boundary and distinction from Catholicism.³⁷

At the same time, in the missions both in the Americas and in Asia, the perfidious priests were an integral element in the theory of diabolic imitation ('the ape of god', or *simia dei*) applied to idolatry. Demonic power was seen as real, and had impact on human affairs, especially by way of cognitive illusion. Lack of virtue, sins, debauched life, and demonic agency were possible causes of erroneous imagination whereby a person can mistake an image for the thing itself.³⁸ The deceit of the Devil was therefore at work everywhere, in particular, according to the Catholics, in the Protestant world.

In India, a Brahman was perceived both as an appalling obstacle when inspired by demonic forces, and potentially an attractive agent of conversion to Christianity, responsible for the fabrication of ceremonies, rituals, honours, and purity rules of which, as António Quadros wrote in 1563, 'all the order of their republic' is made of.³⁹ The Brahmans were also the creators of social divisions. As João de Mesquita observed on the Pearl Fishery Coast in the Gulf of Mannar, 'the gentiles are divided into castes [...] and these castes do not touch each other'.⁴⁰ The discovery of a strict social hierarchy did not upset the

36 Raf Gelders, 'Genealogy of Colonial Discourse: Hindu Traditions and the Limits of European Representation', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51/3 (2009): 563–89. We do not subscribe to Gelders's principal argument that colonial forms of knowledge were more a result of 'cultural legacies' than the imbrications of power and knowledge. Gelders's genealogy of the perceptions of the Brahmans as diabolic priests is also one-sided. For Vathema, see Lodovico de Varthema, *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, translated from the Italian edition of 1510 by John Winter Jones (London: The Hakluyt Society 1863; reprint, New Delhi, 1997).

37 On the creation of Catholic-Protestant boundaries, see Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Co-existence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2005).

38 Sabine MacCormack, 'Demons, Imagination, and the Incas', *Representations*, 33, Special Issue: The New World (Winter 1991): 126.

39 *DI*, vol. V, p. 742.

40 *DI*, vol. IV, pp. 125–6. Duarte Barbosa's book and other texts from the first half of the sixteenth century already contained many descriptions of caste practices and their differences in different parts of India. See Ângela Barreto Xavier, "'O lustre do seu sangue": Bramanismo e tópicos de distinção no contexto português', *Tempo*, vol. 16, n° 30 (2011): 71–99.

Portuguese and rather delighted the Jesuits, since it was considered as a sign of a good government. It became a problem when it dawned on them that they were themselves included in the classificatory system, a heathen system at that, at a very low rank. The Portuguese were treated as 'untouchables' or *paranguis* in places where they had no political power.

For Francis Xavier, Brahmans were the most odious of all idolaters. 'In these parts there is a lineage (*generación*) among the gentiles called Brahmans (*bragmanes*); they support the whole gentility. They take care of their caste and of their idols; these people are the most perverse in the world'.⁴¹ When Xavier wrote these words from Kochi in 1544, he had been in India for just over a year and it was his first description of the Brahmans. This opening value judgement is followed by his equally derogatory visual appreciation of their ritual and social practices. Thus their idols were ugly and looking at them 'generated terror'. In fact, all his senses were offended by the idolatry as he visited the temples along the Pearl Fishery Coast with their black idols smelling of rancid butter.⁴²

However, even Xavier had to admit that the Brahmans were people endowed with natural reason. They were also curious and interested in salvation. In the discussions he enacted along the way in different temples, he discovered that they jealously guarded books written in a language 'which is like Latin among us' containing secret doctrine resembling Christian message in that it recognized only one God and the Creator.⁴³ Part of the Brahman appeal, which also impressed both missionaries and lay observers, was that their virtues and ethos seemingly resembled those of the missionaries. Especially those Brahmans who lived as ascetics, as opposed to those who were merchants and administrators, were admired from a safe distance of a cautious narrative.⁴⁴ The anchorites, as they were often called, practiced poverty, expounded the pagan law, and acted as priests. This is obviously the model of piety that the Jesuits embraced themselves and could not help but admire this particular ethnic version. However,

41 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 170.

42 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 172.

43 *EX*, vol. 1, p. 173.

44 *DI*, vol. X, pp. 983–4.

another type of local penitents, not necessarily Brahmans, the yogis, were also both esteemed and abhorred by the missionaries.⁴⁵ In fact, in the famous *Casanatense* pictorial collection, the yogis, Brahmans, and Muslim ascetics (*qualandars*) are called 'gentiles' (*jintios*) without clear 'religious' distinction (Figure 13).

As we have seen, in spite of the 'official' denigration, missionaries took learned Brahmans very seriously and listened to their advice. It is from the group of the Brahman converts with whom the missionaries established close ties of friendship and trust that they learnt first-hand about religious beliefs and practices of the 'heathens' in India. This particular knowledge, which grew in complexity and engendered internal contradictions as the missionaries diversified their field to territories beyond Portuguese administrative reach, was the main



Figure 13. Yogis and Qualandars, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 84

⁴⁵ Luís Fróis, a famous Jesuit missionary writer, distinguished two types of yogis: one type live in poverty and walk from one place to another and recite their laws. Yogis of the second type live in caves, practice abstinence, and avoid conversation with people. See his description of an anchorite living in meditation and penitence on the Anjediva Island. Jesuits were impressed with their poverty and their way of life. *DI*, vol. IV, p. 801.

building bloc of the Catholic Orientalist anthropology of religion. Each European Orientalist had his 'Brahman' informant. This tradition worked well in the sixteenth as well as in the twentieth century. Brahman converts were, in addition, coveted not only for their learning but also for their elevated status among other castes. As an 'honorable caste' they were allowed to 'preach' among all lower castes. However, only one Brahman, Pero Luís Bramane, who converted at the age of fifteen, joined the Jesuit order. By the end of his life he bitterly and lucidly complained about the Jesuit discrimination of 'native' Christians.⁴⁶

PAGAN BOOKS

Informants such as Pero Luís Bramane and other converts mentioned in Jesuit sources were certainly crucial in teaching vernacular languages and guiding the missionaries through the maze of indigenous cultural practices.⁴⁷ One of the first discoveries made were the existence of 'native' religious books. Considered as containing nothing but idolatry and magic, they were often collected in order to be burnt, especially during the first decades of the sixteenth century in Goa. With learned Brahman converts, the Jesuits realized the strategic importance these books may have in their apostolate.

The first reports of a Brahman engaged in decoding the sacred books for the Jesuit missionaries in Goa were recorded during the 1550s, a decade after the arrival of Francis Xavier. Manuel d'Oliveira was, according to a young talented Jesuit writer, Luís Fróis, a very learned young Brahman from Tiswadi island, who not only became a fervent Christian and exegete of the gentile 'law' but also helped Jesuits hunt for the 'authentic', written books. In 1559, he thus lead an

⁴⁶ See Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005), p. 260. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Jesuits in Goa considered for a while to accept the Goan Brahmans from the old converted families, but finally decided against it and instead supported their demand for a separate order, which materialized as *Congregação do Oratório de Santa Cruz dos Milagres*. See also Županov, 'Goan Brahmans in the Land of Promise'.

⁴⁷ Henrique Henriques reported in a letter to Simão Rodrigues (Cochin, 12 January 1551) of a *ioghe* from Vernbar whom he converted and who took the name of his godfather as Manuel Coutinho. *DI*, vol. II, p. 161.

expedition with three 'honorable men' to steal books from a Brahman living on the *terra firme* and, therefore, technically outside of Portuguese Goa. The whole operation took place at night and among the captured 'treasures' were eighteen books of Vyāsa's *Mahābhārata* and Namdev's *Ananda Purana* written in Marathi (14th c.).⁴⁸

The books that were stolen had an immediate purpose of enabling the Jesuits to publicly refute theological points. Fróis gave an account of how the Jesuits used it for preaching and for the instruction of the Goan Brahmans who were compelled to be present at the Sunday catechism classes.⁴⁹ The preacher would first read a chapter or a '*pedaço de sua ceita* (paragraph from their sect)' translated by Manuel d'Oliveira and then pronounce a sermon refuting it.⁵⁰ Sunday after Sunday, the Brahmans and the Jesuits discussed these texts through an interpreter, a *canarim* priest, André Vaz, who was incidentally a student of the Jesuit seminary and the College of St Paul and became the first Indian ordained as *Padre de missa*.⁵¹ Although born in a Brahman family, he may not have been well versed in Brahmanical learning since he was placed in the seminary as a child, but he was a native speaker of Konkani or Marathi. This is why for the finer points in the discussion, Manuel d'Oliveira was needed again to corroborate the arguments of the missionaries. For example, he had to find exact passages contradicting themselves and display them to the Brahmans in 'their' own books.⁵²

The official Portuguese policy, enshrined in the decrees of the Goan Provincial Councils, showed no mercy to 'infidel' and

48 *DI*, vol. IV, pp. 334–35.

49 The fragments of translation of these texts can be found in ARSI, Goa 46 I, 348r–94v, and in Biblioteca Pública, Évora, CXV-2-7, n. 42. These texts have been identified as Namdev's *Ananda Purana* written in Marathi (14th c.). See Gonçalves, Sebastião, SJ, *Primeira Parte da História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da Índia Oriental [1614]*, vol. 1, ed. Joseph Wicki (Coimbra: Atlântida Editora, 1962), p. 104. Parts of *Mahābhārata*'s *Bhagavadgītā* in Marathi adaptation by Jñāneśvara were found in another piece of d'Oliveira's translations. *DI*, vol. IV, p. 802.

50 *DI*, vol. IV, p. 336.

51 *DI*, vol. IV, p. 358.

52 The books stolen from the learned Brahman were probably in Sanskrit and Marathi, since he was, according to Fróis, working on the 'translation' for the past eight years.

'sectarian' books.⁵³ They were to be confiscated and burnt. Even the merchants who passed through Goa were to have their books taken away at the custom checkpoints. It was the extreme 'veneration' given to their religious books by, for example, Muslims that appeared blasphemous to Catholic Portuguese. Worshipping an object, a thing instead of the creator, was what idolatry was all about. Not only pagan and Muslim books were targeted by the official legislation, but also Christian books found among the 'ancient' Christians of St Thomas in Kerala. The Third Provincial Council of Goa ordered in 1585 corrections and rewriting of the books in Chaldean and Malayalam used by the community, but it was not before 1599 that the actual act of literary extirpation took place with a public burning of heretical books.⁵⁴

It is obvious that in Goa neither pagan books, nor any other unorthodox Catholic texts was allowed to be publicly read and circulated. Even curiosity, casual contact, or 'mystical conversation' with infidels was proscribed. This was, of course, difficult to enforce at all times, but the prohibition remained. In the short and in the long run, however, it proved to be impossible to control the books in their material form since in India in particular they perished anyway due to elements and required to be regularly copied anew. Moreover, the most important Brahmanical works were learnt by heart and orally transmitted, as were other Puranic stories and epics in Sanskrit and in the vernaculars. It was impossible to destroy the whole cultural memory by simply burning it on the pyre.⁵⁵ Still, the only place where missionaries and other travellers were allowed to touch and discuss

53 *APO*, f. 4, pp. 7–28.

54 This task fell on Jesuit shoulders since Valignano accepted the mission in the late 1570s. The spectacular Synod of Diamper (Udayamperur) in 1599 in which Frey Aleixo de Meneses, the Archbishop of Goa, tried to 'reduce to obedience' of the Church of Rome or rather to the Portuguese Padroado the community of St Thomas Christians in Kerala, issued a decree (no. 14) specifying title after title all the books that had to be corrected or burnt. See Cunha Rivara, *APO*, vol. 4, pp. 328–37. Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 74.

55 István Perczel proved that St Thomas Christians managed to preserve their Syriac liturgical and other types of books from the Udayamperur's fire. István Perczel, 'Have the Flames of Diamper Destroyed the Historical Patrimony of the Saint Thomas Christians' (unpublished lecture, Warburg Institute, London, 25 May 2012).

indigenous non-Christian books was outside Goa. The product of these exchanges was then imported officially into the Estado da Índia in the form of official reports, missionary correspondence, historical texts, and treatises and then disseminated to Portugal and to the rest of the European world.

Transformed into texts (*escripturas*) and information (*emformação*), these literary mixtures acquired life of their own and were readily picked up by other authors. This is the case of the text entitled '*Das opiniões, ritos e cerimoniaes, de todos os gentios da India* (Of Opinions, Rites and Ceremonies of All Gentiles in India),' attributed to Agostinho de Azevedo, an Augustian friar, who included it in his report to the royal council of Philip III in Lisbon in 1603.⁵⁶ His account of gentile religious practices and doctrines was probably one of the first efforts at constructing a coherent system of what would two decades later be called the 'machine of Brahmanism'.⁵⁷ Although he did not learn properly any Indian language during his stay, his account opens in an 'Orientalist' fashion by identifying antique and authentic books written 'in their Latin which they call Geredão (Grantha or Sanskrit)'.⁵⁸

What Azevedo, in fact, managed to acquire or glimpse, were relatively detailed descriptions of the major doctrinal and liturgical texts in Sanskrit and, probably, in Tamil as well. 'These three books are divided into bodies, members, and articles and they originate in those books that they call Veados (Vedas), which are divided into four parts. These [were divided] into other fifty-two parts in this manner: six are called Xastrà (*śāstras*), which are bodies, eighteen they call Puranà, which are members, twenty-eight are called *Aganeon* (*Āgamas*) that are the articles.'⁵⁹ Augustinian's knowledge of each of these classes of texts was obviously not deep, nor did he have a clear idea of what they

⁵⁶ He wrote his report upon return from India where he spent on two separate occasions approximately nineteenth years. There are two copies of this report. One is in the British Library and another in Madrid. Both are published in *DUP*, vol. 2. See Rubiès, *Travel and Ethnology*, p. 227. On identification of authorship of these documents see, Georg Schurhammer, SJ, *Francis Xavier, His Life, His Times, India (1541-45)*, vol. 2, trans. from the 1963 German edition by Costelloe, J. SJ (Rome, 1977), pp. 214-20.

⁵⁷ Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, *Tratado do P.e Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso sobre o Hinduísmo*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1973).

⁵⁸ *DUP*, vol. 2, p. 133.

⁵⁹ *DUP*, vol. 2, p. 133.

contained.⁶⁰ To supplement his lack of precise knowledge of the texts he enumerated, he filled in his own speculations and appended snippets of textual, ethnographical, and anecdotal material. Immortality of the soul, the metempsychosis, cow worshiping, pilgrimages to important temples, the custom of throwing oneself before the processional chariot, and the hook swinging are only some of the items on the list of 'aberrations' and curiosities often repeated in reports all through the sixteenth century.⁶¹ Gory details may vary from writer to writer and it is often hard to say whether the descriptions of the events such as hook swinging were a first-hand experience or lifted from other texts, or even images. Various pictorial representations starting with the one in the *Casanatense* collection became in the course of time, especially in the nineteenth century, spectacles of cruelty and barbarism which continue to entice European gaze (Figures 14 and 15).

Variants of these practices were reported all through the sixteenth century by those writers who also directly or indirectly claimed that they actually witnessed them. Azevedo, on the other hand, makes us think from the outset that he both read about these ceremonies in the authoritative indigenous texts and saw them being performed with his own eyes. It is this particular claim—that he had access to Indian doctrinal texts—and his eagerness to show off his ocular expertise that makes his interpolation into the report on the Estado da Índia affiliated, at least in spirit, to the texts that were being put together at the same time or slightly later by the Jesuit missionaries. However, the Jesuit production was a direct result of their missionary requirements, as well as of their intense language training and experience in situ. Moreover, Alessandro Valignano asked Everard Mercurian, the General of the Order, for the permission to allow the missionaries in Asia to study pagan doctrines in order to refute them in controversies.⁶² The permission was granted.

⁶⁰ Incidentally, there are twenty-eight Śaiva Āgamas which means that he did not know about existence of Vaiṣṇava and Śākta Āgamas as well. Also, strictly speaking Āgamas are not part of the Vedic tradition. Klaus K. Klostermeier, *A Survey of Hinduism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 62.

⁶¹ On hook swinging, see *DUP*, vol. 2, p. 138.

⁶² See *DI*, vol. X, pp. 268-9 for the question formulated during the Chorão (Goa) meeting of the Indian Province (6 and 18 December 1575), and *DI*, vol. X, pp. 334-5 for the answer that reached Goa in 1580.



Figure 14. Local sacrifices (hook swinging), Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 88



Figure 15. Brahman sacrifices, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae Variæ ... in lingua lusitana*, MS. 1889, c. 86

KNOWLEDGE TO REFUTE IDOLATRY

It has been argued that the reason for a sudden increase in missionary texts dealing with gentile religion between 1580s and 1640s 'was related to the sense of lack of [evangelizing] success amongst the gentiles of India' and was thus a 'response to the problems of missionary methodology'.⁶³ It may well have been so; however, at the same time the demand for detailed knowledge of Oriental customs, laws, and religion was growing in Europe and steadily fed into disputes between Catholic and Protestant theologians. Idolatry that used to be a cuss word in Jesuit missionary correspondence became by the mid-seventeenth century a key concept in the study of the origin of Christianity. In fact the search for the roots and nature of idolatry were the founding moments in the emerging science of religion.⁶⁴ It was in responding to the wider European audience, which increasingly drew the information from other sources and relied on more sophisticated interpretations that the Jesuits were forced to react in their own treatises on Indian gentile religion. In a word, travellers and missionaries were creating the demand that they were not able to satisfy neither by collecting more information nor by ordering and interpreting them.

Early missionaries and ethnographers in the New World, according to Sabine MacCormack and Carina L. Johnson, had a penchant for fitting 'idolatry' into the category of *prisca theologia*, or natural religion, coming from neo-Platonists and earlier medieval theologies, but realized that they needed a different hermeneutics in order to root out 'idolatry' that persisted unabated into the seventeenth century. A failure of a missionary nerve, just like in India, and the pressure from Protestant antiquarians created a new epistemic territory where comparative and historical approaches were applied to rituals and religious practices.⁶⁵

In addition, in order to enforce monopoly over the missionary field in Asia, the Jesuits needed to cultivate and advertise their

⁶³ Joan-Pau Rubiès, 'The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism: Antonio Rubino's Account of the History and Religion of Vijayanagara (1608)', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte*, 3 (2001): 227, 210–56. See also his *Travel and Ethnology*, pp. 315–17 in which the author gives a more nuanced elucidation of the development of the Jesuit Orientalist knowledge.

⁶⁴ Stroumsa, *A New Science*, p. 3.

⁶⁵ See Carina L. Johnson, 'Idolatrous Cultures and the Practice of Religion', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 67, no. 4 (2006): 597–621.

exclusive linguistic and epistemological expertise.⁶⁶ The challenges were nevertheless coming from all sides by the end of the sixteenth and became impossible to contain in the seventeenth century. Agostinho de Azevedo is a good case in point. Although he knew no Sanskrit and had no extensive missionary experience, he was able to put together a compilation of data on Indian classical literary tradition that was exceptionally well informed for the period.

Obviously, the Jesuits were not able to put a lid on the knowledge production, but they left their mark on the textual configuration in which all statements on idolatry were to be safely sanitized. We can call it a 'discipline' of discourse, in a literal sense of 'whipping' the very utterance that speaks the truth of religious 'error'. Description of gentile beliefs and practices could not stand alone in the text but had to be accompanied with the 'critical' refutation. Jesuit individual letters were, of course, already structured as essentially dialogic spaces in which each gentile religious fact was immediately denounced or ridiculed.

Azevedo applied this missionary model of description with relative ease and skill in his report. What is most remarkable about the way he opened his refutation is by a compliment to the Indian literati. Their rhetoric was so powerful and pleasing that it must have been contrived by demon, he wrote, and so when a Brahman wanted to 'create a lie' he simply expressed it in 'verses' and in 'heroic and pompous words', and it would immediately acquire 'authority' and 'veneration'.⁶⁷ As we already mentioned, demonic plagiarism theory was commonly evoked to account for the 'degeneration' of the original monotheism and came in quite handy in the sixteenth century in India as well as in the New World.⁶⁸ Briefly, the religion of the non-Christians were lies (*mentiras*) and these came, all Catholic missionaries of the late sixteenth century agreed, from a satanic intervention but, even more importantly, they had a historical origin.

66 The Malabar rites quarrels were partly the result of the efforts by the Papacy and other religious orders to step into the missionary field. See Paolo Aranha, *Malabar Rites: An Eighteenth-Century Conflict on the Catholic Missions in South India* (PhD diss., European University Institute, Florence, EUI).

67 DUP, vol. 2, p. 134.

68 A famous Jesuit, José de Acosta, was of the same opinion regarding the 'superstitions' of Peru and Mexico. Bernard and Gruzinski, *De l'idolâtrie*, p. 50.

The location of the origin and the exact chronology of the idolatry remained a much discussed subject all through the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century. Since the past and the present idolatries were thought to be connected in some long forgotten originary moment, it was presumed that the way the primitive church spiritually conquered both Jewish and the classical pagan world could be re-enacted in the early modern cultural encounters.

Azevedo unhesitatingly identified the origin of idolatry in the ancient Egypt. It was a safe interpretation—evoked simultaneously in the Amerindian context—which came straight from the Old Testament (the book of Wisdom) and was inspired by humanist and Renaissance Neo-Platonist antiquarianism.⁶⁹ Espousing a diffusionist theory, which is built on the perception of similitude, helped Azevedo to both acknowledge the convertibility of the heathens on the basis of their biblical origins and their 'obedience' to reason. He also developed his major point: the role of 'malicious' Brahmans in perverting the 'simple' and 'ignorant' people.⁷⁰ If this, at the same time, was the point hurled against Catholic priests by the Protestants, in return it fitted well into Catholic view of pagan religious specialists.

The first argument of the diabolical origin of idolatry slithered therefore into denouncing a human agency of 'corruption' and 'impoture', key ideas taken up by deists and libertines.⁷¹ Through the knowledge of astrology (speculations on the nature of signs and planets) and divination, as well as witchcraft, and of 'other brutalities written in verses', the Brahmans preserved their authority among the

69 It was mostly from Jesuit sources that Lorenzo Pignoria assembled his proof for tracing back Indian paganism to Egypt and published it in his 1615 edition of Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini degli Dei degli Antichi* (1581). See Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 28. Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods: The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, trans. Barbara F. Sessions (New York, 1953; reprint, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1972, 1995), pp. 219–56.

70 DUP, vol. 2, pp. 134, 141, 142.

71 François Bernier attributes Brahmanical *fourberie* to their desire for material gain. F. de Tinguely, *Un libertin dans l'Inde moghole: Les voyages de François Bernier (1656–69)* (Paris: Chandeigne, 2008), pp. 304–306. According to the British deists A. Dow, J. Z. Holwell, and John Toland, the ancient *Brachmanes* were monotheists as opposed to modern Brahmans who fell into idolatry. These ideas were also widely disseminated in the work of Voltaire. See Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe: An Essay on Understanding* (Albany: State University of New York Press 1988), pp. 5–8.

kings and among the people.⁷² Since his report was addressed to the king rather than to the missionaries, Azevedo offered no advice on the method of conversion.

It was in the early decades of the seventeenth century that the missionaries who worked in the interior Indian missions away from Portuguese settlements and fortresses wrote, often anonymously, treatises in which they meticulously collated materials in order to generate arguments for a systematic attack on the ground. These were manuals of a sort for the generations of missionaries to come. The famous *Ezour-Vedam* that tricked Voltaire in believing that it was a piece of ancient deist wisdom came at the end of the line of these missionary *vademecums*.⁷³ The material that appeared in these larger, cumulative texts was freely exchanged and copied by the Jesuits. Factual data were thus taken on faith, unless contradicted by personal experience or new information. Authorship of these texts was clearly communal and probably perceived as such. However, the labour of writing is often mentioned in letters since it was part of one's professional curriculum vitae, which, from time, to time had to be justified.

In what follows we will discuss three Jesuit texts, representative of a specific genre in which some even more elaborate Jesuit texts would be produced by the middle and the end of the seventeenth century. In the same or slightly later period, the Franciscans, as learned and as well informed, were also in the process of constructing their own texts on 'paganism'. They will be discussed in the next chapter.

Jacomo Fenicio, Diogo Gonçalves, and António Rubino were Jesuits in southern India who left unsigned their treatises on Indian religion in the first two decades of the seventeenth century.⁷⁴ At the time of writing their texts, they were practicing missionaries faced

⁷² DUP, vol. 2, p. 143.

⁷³ For further discussion on *Ezour-Vedam* see Chapter 8. See also Ludo Rocher, ed., *Ezourvedam: A French Veda of the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, B.V., 1984).

⁷⁴ Among other texts studied recently by Ricardo Ventura in his PhD thesis—*Conversão e conversibilidade: Discurso da missão e do gentio na documentação do Padroado Português do Oriente (séculos XVI e XVII)* (unpublished, Lisbon, 2011)—were: 'Segue-se a lei dos Jentios e substancias do que elles cren e en que tem que esta toda sua saluação', Biblioteca Pública de Évora (BPE), cod. CXV/2-7, n.º 3. Only

with an increasingly difficult task of converting Indians who were not Portuguese subjects.⁷⁵ Their accounts do not follow any fixed or commonly designed plan or literary genre. Fenicio chose to write exclusively about sects, Indian gods, and mythology, while the other two entitled their pieces *História* (History) and *Relatione* (Account) by which they signalled their interest in geographical, political, and ethnographical issues. It is also possible that each author followed unselfconsciously their own informants' sense of ordering of the sources. What they do have in common, in spite of the differences, was the instant theological and moral condemnation of paganism.

In his opening chapter, Fenicio started with a direct attack on Brahmans. As Indian Philosophers and Theologians they invented their '*tão fora da razão* (unreasonable sect)' and buried the 'true doctrine that natural Philosophy and Theology teaches'.⁷⁶ By this initial act of inversion, the reader is admitted into the world in which Brahmanical truth is Christian error, the light of natural reason is 'obscurity and blindness of reason'. The sciences they teach at their

a few folios are preserved. Manuel Barradas, *Tratado dos deuses gentílicos de todo o Oriente e dos ritos e ceremonias que usam os Malabares* (1618), Biblioteca Pública, Évora, Manizola, cod. 29-2. Here also only a few folios extant. Anonymous, *Breve relação das escrituras dos gentios da Índia oriental e dos seus costumes* (s.d.), in *Collecção de notícias para a história e geografia das nações ultramarinas*, Lisbon, Academia Real das Ciências, t. I, n.º 1, 1812—wrongly attributed to Fernão Queiros. João de Brito, *Breve noticia dos erros que tem os Gentios do Concão na Índia* (s.d.), BAL, cod. 51-VII-27, *Miscelânea Ultramarina—Século XVII*, fols 81v-116r and AFCJ, Brotier 81, fols 1-65. Some of these texts had interesting afterlives in other books and compilations, some of which we discuss in the eighth chapter.

⁷⁵ In the years in which they wrote their texts, in the first decade of the seventeenth century, Fenicio and Rubino were themselves subjects to the native kings. Fenicio lived at the court of Calicut (in 1605-6 and in 1608-9) and Rubino was with the emperor of the rump Vijayanagara court in Chandragiri (1607-10). Gonçalves wrote his text in the Portuguese enclave of Kollam, but was well aware of the vast gentile regions that stretched beyond its borders. They were also versed in vernacular languages. Fenicio and Gonçalves spoke and read Malayalam and possibly Tamil, Rubino knew Tamil and Telugu.

⁷⁶ Charpentier, *Livro da Seita* p. 1. Charpentier transcribed Geologists instead of Theologians from the British Library manuscript. We thank Paolo Aranha for reminding us of Charpentier's misreadings of the original text and of the huge amount of paragraphs that he omitted in his published version of the text.

universities were nothing but 'dirty' and 'ugly' stories invented by a 'diabolic imagination (*ingenho tão diabolico*)'. Borrowing the words of St Paul, 'professing themselves to be wise, they became fools', Fenicio erected the strategic wall of protection between the authorial pitch of his text and that of his subject matter.⁷⁷ In spite of the precaution, however, the repressed eroticism, which Fenicio courageously fights in his text (and was further fought for him by Charpentier), erupts with more details and in more words. Every little detail in the pagan cognitive world is charged with sexual power. One of the idols, the 'Linga besides other things, means a genital part of a man'.⁷⁸

Antonio Rubino in his *Relatione* was, on the contrary, more interested in pagan imperial politics and how it could be used to enhance Jesuit and Catholic prestige and presence in South India. Just like Azevedo, Fenicio, and others, Indian paganism was for him a diabolic imitation, based on '*favole* (fables)' and administered by the Brahmins.⁷⁹ While Fenicio tried to grasp paganism from inside, from its cognitive world populated by 'Chimeras' and 'Metaphors' like those described in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Rubino's missionary imperatives were elsewhere. He was barely trying to survive at the court of a major political power in South India and he had one particular target in mind, the Vijayanagara king Venkata II.

Echoing Xavier's and Valignano's criteria for intrinsic rationality, and thus capacity for building civilization, the king was described as 'half white', 'curious', and 'feeling pleasure in hearing things about our holy faith' and especially seeing them in paintings.⁸⁰ Whether he desired it or not, Rubino was de facto treated at the court as a go-between and an unofficial envoy of the Estado da Índia. At the same time in the more southern Nayaka kingdom of Madurai, Roberto Nobili and Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso were allowed to keep their (de facto separate) missions for exactly the same reason. Unlike Fenicio, Rubino was not impressed with the sexual life of gods. What he saw was Brahman political power over kings and a generally favourable reception given to all religious specialists—a topos already present

⁷⁷ Charpentier, *Livro da Seita*, p. 1, [Romans, 1, 22].

⁷⁸ Charpentier, *Livro da Seita*, p. 5.

⁷⁹ Rubiès, 'The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism', p. 248.

⁸⁰ Rubiès, 'The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism', p. 246.

in Duarte Barbosa and João de Barros, for example. Instead of sex, the major lubricant of the idolatrous machine was money. Rubino's text is full of numbers: the revenues of the temples (Tirupati in particular), the number of learned Brahmins supported by the king, the duration of festivals, and the distances between the cities. Given his training in mathematics, astronomy, and geography it is no wonder that his *Relatione* begins with the discussion of the Hindu cosmological time cycles.⁸¹

THE INVENTION OF RELIGION

These early Jesuit missionary treatises on Indian religious beliefs and practices were organized, as mentioned earlier, on a bipolar principle of translation and refutation. Translation itself was a complex operation, which we address in more detail in the sixth chapter. As for refutation, it was not simply a mark of an intolerant post-Tridentine Catholicism, but it inadvertently stimulated description and the 'hermeneutics of the other'.⁸² The arguments continued to be limited within the system of neo-Thomist, rationalist propositions expounded by the Salamanca school of theologians in the early sixteenth century

⁸¹ Rubino wrote a geographical treatise in Telugu for the king Venkata II. All in all, the ill-fated Chandragiri mission at the Vijayanagara court was a failure from all points of view. It was a diplomatic disaster that ended in war between the rump Vijayanagara kingdom and the Portuguese, and with Rubino taken hostage for sixty-five days. In addition, the Jesuit Provincial Alberto Laerzio never approved to transform it into an 'accommodationist' mission on similar bases as the one in Madurai where Nobili was allowed to proclaim that he was a 'Roman Brahman' and not a 'Portuguese'. A lack of money to finance two or more missions of this kind was one of the reasons for refusing Rubino's demand. See Rubiès, 'The Jesuit Discovery of Hinduism', p. 255.

⁸² Missionary 'hermeneutics' has a long genealogy. Perhaps the first modern effort at conversion through teaching, logical dialogue, and by setting up a mission was that of Raymond Lull in the thirteenth-century Cataluña. In general, in the Iberian Peninsula Christian theologians from Lull to Alfonso de la Torre in the fifteenth century were deeply engaged with Jewish 'esoteric' ideas. The same quest for esoteric religious content continued into the early modern encounter with non-European religions. See Jonathan Ray, 'Whose Golden Age? Some Thoughts on Jewish-Christian Relations in Medieval Iberia', *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations*, vol. 6 (2011): CP1–11. J. John Tolan, 'Saracen Philosophers Secretly Deride Islam', *Medieval Encounters* 8, nos 2–3 (2002): 184–208. Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 221. For Jesuit esoteric quest in Japan and China, see App, *The Birth of Orientalism*.

and taken over by the Jesuits such as José de Acosta and others.⁸³ Thus, there was a hierarchy of 'barbarians' among the non-Christian pagans all of whom were perfectly amenable to the true faith by teaching them to discern the 'natural law.' The 'natural law', according to Francisco de Vitoria and his followers in Salamanca, bestowed by God, governed both natural and human world, and equipped all humans with instruments of cognition.⁸⁴

After half a century of mission work in India, Jesuits were sure that the Brahmans, the most learned among the Indians, lacked nothing in terms of intellectual intuitions. However, in spite of their adequate cognitive abilities, they defended the 'errors' and 'false doctrines' of their 'gentile sect'. 'Lies' and 'mistakes' were like 'tares' sowed by the Devil and his ministers, wrote Diogo Gonçalves in his *História do Malavar* (The History of Malabar).⁸⁵ For Sebastião Gonçalves, the author of the *História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus* (The History of the Religious of the Society of Jesus), the demonic worked through the souls of the gentiles (as well as Christians) by trying to make them forget the 'divine presence, which restrains us from committing shameful acts against its goodness'.⁸⁶

Satanic influence, especially meddling with pagan cognition, was a standard explanation for idolatry following Aristotelian psychology in its Thomist repackaging. José de Acosta witnessed in Peru how concepts such as Trinity and Virgin Birth were distorted by the Devil.⁸⁷ In India, missionaries and travellers had never failed to comment on all sorts of simulacra of Trinity. Some were actually quite impressive such as the massive stone sculpture in the temple on the Elephanta Island.

⁸³ See Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

⁸⁴ Francisco de Vitoria, *Vitoria: Political Writings*, eds. Anthony Pagden and Jeremy Lawrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁸⁵ Diogo Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1955), p. 111.

⁸⁶ Gonçalves, *História dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus*, vol. 3, p. 51. This history was sent to Rome in 1615 together with the right hand of Francis Xavier in order to be used in the process of canonization. See Ines G. Županov, 'The Prophetic and the Miraculous in Portuguese Asia: A Hagiographical View of Colonial Culture', in *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, ed. Sanjay Subrahmanyam (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁸⁷ Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, p. 175.

But it was not until the texts were found and translated explaining the nature and the creation of '*sua trinidad*' or '*falso ternario*' that the demonic traces were fully revealed.⁸⁸

The play of the light of reason (*lume natural*) in Indian representations of divinity and the downright spiritual blindness was one of the features of Indian idolatry noticed from the very beginning of the missionary work. It is in trying to impose their exclusive claim to truth that the missionaries identified one of their biggest problems. Complaints that the gentiles and Muslims listened enraptured to the preaching of the Christian message, especially when delivered in vernacular languages by the native catechists, and yet showed no interest in conversion were enervating. The Mughal emperor Akbar was one of those who appreciated many aspects of Christian doctrine, while his son Jahangir admired the aesthetic achievements of Christian art, but never showed any inclination to embrace the 'true religion'.⁸⁹ Diogo Gonçalves lucidly defined this problem as a peculiar belief of the non-Christians in India that 'there are many true and good laws, just as there are many good roads that we take on this earth. Some are more difficult than others, some are larger, some narrower: and if it is like that, we should not kill each other because one follows one law or the other, as long as the law that they follow is good'.⁹⁰ How spectacularly strange was the idea of religious tolerance to the Catholic missionaries in the early seventeenth century.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Gonçalves, *Primeira Parte da História*, vol. 1, p. 104. One of the first translations according to Gonçalves was the aforementioned *Ananda Purana* written by a Marathi medieval saint Nāmdēv. It was translated in Portuguese by a Brahman convert Manuel d'Oliveira in 1559.

⁸⁹ To leave out the Jesuit missions at the Mughal Court from our book was a difficult choice. We wanted to avoid a potted history from the secondary sources and we plan to take up a proper study in the near future. There is, however, no lack of recent doctoral dissertations and books on the Mughal Empire and its relations with the Portuguese Estado da Índia. See Jorge Flores, *Firangistan e Hindustan: O Estado da Índia e os confins meridionais do Império Mogol, 1572-1636* (unpublished PhD diss., New University of Lisbon, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities 2005). Subrahmanyam, *Explorations in Connected History*.

⁹⁰ Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, p. 112.

⁹¹ In a recent book, Stuart Schwartz argues for a much more tolerant early modern Spain and Portugal than what has been thought. Stuart Schwartz, *All Can be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008).

What the missionaries called 'false laws' or, less frequently, 'false religions' were sustained by '*sciencias mundanas* (mundane sciences)'.⁹² It is the elaboration of these 'mundane sciences' in which the Brahmans excelled that provided the key to the solution, or at least a plausible interpretation of Indian idolatry. According to the late sixteenth century typology of barbarians established on the basis of 'civilizational' achievements that included Brahmans among the highest 'barbarians', culture was perceived as inseparable from religion. Christianity was the highest civility. While in the Amerindian context in which the Hispanic monarchy established a territorial and political dominion, the theological debate turned into explaining and justifying the hierarchies in social orders, in the Asian context it took a somewhat different turn.

The highest type of barbarians according to Acosta lived in an organized political society subjected to the authority of the non-Christian king. They were literate, lived in big cities, possessed laws and magistrates and could be persuaded to accept Christianity through rational arguments and demonstration of the superior European/Christian sciences. The peoples of China, Japan, and, to a certain extent, of India were believed to correspond to this ideal type developed by Acosta.

The gap between ideal and reality, of course, was as wide as ever. Territories under the indigenous rulers were vast and mostly impenetrable, while the Portuguese 'empire' never grew into anything but a handful of small and scattered coastal settlements. For the Jesuits who were the missionary vanguard in the sixteenth and the seventeenth century, the real challenge had been to infiltrate non-Christian political structures and convert them 'from within' without the need of military support from the Estado da Índia. The conversion from within presupposed the existence of a civil wisdom comparable in depth and extent to Greek and Roman pagan splendour. In a word, everything had to be there in the culture, stored and ready, except the Revelation. Another theory, sporadically used and remixed with interesting results was the one that accepted the story of St. Thomas the Apostle's visitation and it was in particular created to encompass the unruly St. Thomas Christian community in the Malabar area.

92 Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, pp. 108, 112.

Jesuit missionaries, especially those who lived in the interior of the Indian continent—some like Antonio Rubino, Jacomo Fenicio, Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso were considered by the local political rulers as Portuguese envoys, while others like Roberto Nobili, Antonio Vico, João de Britto tried to play a different game, fashioning themselves as 'indigenous' itinerant preachers in permanent competition with other religious specialists such as *sufi pirs*, *fakirs*, *gurus*, and *sannyasis*—elaborated a new theory of 'religion' from which they severed the 'civil' or 'political' component. Fatally, on this point, they also bitterly disagreed and drew into the discussion the whole European theological think-tank.⁹³

The Malabar rites controversy, infinitely less studied than the Chinese rites controversy, sparked by the same missionary methods applied in China at the same time, was nothing less than an 'Orientalist' dispute.⁹⁴ It was one of the founding moments of the Catholic Orientalism as a 'science' of the other. Just as the other famous Orientalism attacked by Edward Said was mostly a European affair, reflecting and refracting European interests, Catholic Orientalism in India was a child of a struggle between various early modern imperial players whose survival was premised on the control of knowledge. The Orientalists in this central act of the story, which took place in the seventeenth century and ended in the eighteenth century, were Jesuit missionaries stranded between two European political predators in the Orient: Portuguese crown and its mostly inefficient and divided overseas administration, and the Papacy with its grand designs amounting to too little too late.

The controversy that started in a continental mission between two Jesuit missionaries, one a Roman aristocrat-theologian, Roberto Nobili, who preferred to present Catholicism as an inclusive cosmopolitism, and the other a former Portuguese soldier, Gonçalo

93 A still poorly researched history of the text *Breve notícia dos erros que tem os gentios do Concão da Índia*, a source used without acknowledgement by Niccolao Manucci, Charles Dellon, Tessier de Quérélay, De la Flotte, and many others has been definitely attributed to João de Brito by Paolo Aranha. It was one of the texts, Jesuits probably wrote for their internal use, but ended in the hands of Catholics and non-Catholics opposed to the Jesuit accommodationist method.

94 The name itself was given to this controversy only in the early eighteenth century.

Fernandes Trancoso, for whom being Catholic basically meant becoming Portuguese, was in the beginning a personal dispute. However, the method of accommodation which Alessandro Valignano favoured in the 1570s and 1580s against other Portuguese Jesuits for his mission in Japan and later in China had an interesting career before Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso denounced it in Madurai in 1610.

Accommodation was identified in India, even before the arrival of Alessandro Valignano, as one of the possible methods to be employed in converting pagan kings and in a situation of European political 'weakness'. In 1545, when the king of Tanor demanded to be able to preserve after conversion certain 'external' signs of his caste, such as the '(Brahmanical) thread', as well as other 'pagan' customs, the theologians of Goa were dismayed and puzzled. However, it was the Bishop, Juan de Albuquerque, a Franciscan, who furnished Biblical examples on behalf of such accommodating practices. 'Nicodemos and Guamaliel [Gamaliel] kept it inside their hearts, that is, the belief in Our Lord, and concealed it outside for fear of Jews.' The insistence on the split between inside (soul) and outside (society), private and public, combined with the conscious strategic maintenance of a certain illusion for the sake of later triumph, marked a new thinking, if not yet a policy, in the conversion of the 'gentiles'. Juan de Albuquerque projected, therefore, the early apostolic era, and thus the early apostolic methods, onto the contemporary Christianization of India.⁹⁵

Accommodation was also implemented in 1578 in the mission among the St. Thomas Christians who thrived in India for at least a millennium before the arrival of the Portuguese. It became clear to the Jesuits that although they were Christians, they followed ritual and social rules that resembled those of their immediate non-Christian neighbours. For the Portuguese theologians in Goa, this was a clear case of how Christian customs came to be 'corrupted' in the predominantly gentile society and without the guidance of the Catholic Church. But the problem was of course more complicated since St. Thomas Christians were, according to the early reports by Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries, also 'schismatics' who followed the 'Nestorian heresy'. However, they also claimed that they were converted by St. Thomas the Apostle and thus had an impeccable Christian pedigree.

⁹⁵ Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, p. 134.

The encounter between the Jesuits and the St Thomas Christians in the second part of the sixteenth century was for both sides a significant, if somewhat traumatic, opening to different cultural beliefs and routines. An important and understudied outcome of this encounter, documented on the Jesuit side, was the possibility of accepting religious plurality, at least within Christianity.⁹⁶

If the Jesuits in India and China opted for 'cultural dialogue' with a limited version of cultural relativism, it was because they had no other choice.⁹⁷ Not only were they forced to act from the position of a religious minority and in competition with other major or minor religious sects in non-Christian political structures, but also, very often, to hide their European origins.⁹⁸ It is in these circumstances in which the mirror of otherness was turned backwards that the theologically minded Jesuit missionaries decided that culture and religion were not one and the same thing. They also realized that the power of customs was directly related to the political system. This is why converting kings became imperative and when it proved impossible, the only alternative was accommodation attested by the *primitive church* during the Late Antiquity.⁹⁹ References to primitive Christianity acted as a foundational standard for reform or change all through the post-Reformation Christian history.

Roberto Nobili, famous for being the first explicit accommodationist in India, wrote a note in Tamil stating that he was not

⁹⁶ Ines G. Županov, 'One Civility, but Multiple Religion': Jesuit Mission among St. Thomas Christians in India (16th–17th centuries)', *Journal of Early Modern History*, 9.3–4 (2005): 284–325. Obviously, the parallel events taking place in Europe such as the Protestant Reformation, the religious wars and the Council of Trent (1563) intersected in many indirect and direct ways with this local Indo-Portuguese affair. István Perczel is studying Syriac documents that are beginning to shed light on the St. Thomas Christians' perceptions of the Jesuits and the Catholic Church in general in this period.

⁹⁷ Joan-Pau Rubiès, 'The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuit Method of Accommodation', *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, 74, no. 147 (2005): 237–80.

⁹⁸ In South India, as mentioned earlier, to be named a Parangui (Frangui) meant a Portuguese or a Christian.

⁹⁹ The appeal to the 'golden age' of the church in which human corruption was still minimal was typically used by the Protestant theologians and directed against the Catholic Church. In the missions, the Jesuits always acted by using different resources. Thus a good or efficient Protestant argument in a particular situation was simply assimilated into Jesuit apologetical and missionary texts.

a Parangui [Frangui], but a Roman Brahman from the caste of Roman Rajas (kings). His missionary colleague and the only other Jesuit in Madurai, Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso, wrote the first in a series of letters denouncing Nobili's behaviour as pagan and schismatic in 1610 that triggered the dispute and thus inaugurated, what would later be called the Malabar rites controversy. We will not go into details here because the story has been sufficiently told elsewhere.¹⁰⁰

What is important is that as a result of the dispute, a particular Orientalist tool was devised in order to come to grips with what has been initially amalgamated as 'opinions, rites and ceremonies of all gentiles in India' (Azevedo, Couto), 'superstitions and sects' (Diogo Gonçalves), 'very unreasonable sect [of the Malabars]' (Fenicio), 'idolátrias' (Sebastião Gonçalves). Under these variously descriptive terms, the missionaries meant what we call today Hinduism, a 'world religion', but also Jainism and Buddhism.¹⁰¹

Although the name Hinduism, designating a unified religion of the Hindus came into being in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century, it was a few centuries earlier that the Jesuits operated a major tectonic shift in conceptualizing 'pagan' religion.¹⁰² The

100 Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999).

101 On the construction of the concept world religion, see Katherine Young, 'World Religions: A Category in the Making?', in *Religion in History: The Word, the Idea, the Reality*, eds. Michael Despland and Gérard Vallée (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992), pp. 11–30. In this period, the distinction between Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism was not yet an operative tool in Indian mission. See also Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'the Mystic East'* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 98. On correspondence between the Jesuits in China and India concerning the life of Buddha, see Ines G. Županov, 'Jesuit Orientalism: Correspondence between Tomas Pereira and Fernão de Queiros', in *Tomás Pereira, S.J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World*, ed. Luís Filipe Barreto (Lisbon: Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Lisbon, 2010), pp. 43–74.

102 The debate on the construction of Hinduism consistently turned to the British contribution has made a lot of noise recently. See books by Brian K. Pennington, Jeffery Oddie, and many others. What they have in common is also a lack of interest in earlier missionary period. The exception is Will Sweetman, *Mapping 'Hinduism' and the Study of Indian Religions, 1600–1776* (Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2003).

end result of the battle of letters and treatises between Nobili and Fernandes Trancoso was the creation of the two master categories that became a routine epistemological distinction for the students of culture and society. One was *civility* encompassing customs, habits, and rituals and the other is *religion* referring principally to beliefs. In the early sixteenth century, culture was considered inseparable from religious beliefs based on the premise that natural law was the same as the divine law. It was precisely the Jesuits in their missions among highly 'civilized' nations that proposed this distinction in order to, as they believed, preserve social structure but destroy and replace idolatrous religious beliefs.¹⁰³

In the beginning of the dispute, both missionaries described the society in Madurai as divided into castes and sects. In such a segmented social order, Fernandes Trancoso clearly found a space and designation for his own flock of newly converted Parava Christians and a few Portuguese horse traders. 'There are in this town more than ten or twelve different sects among the Muslims as well as among the gentiles, and there are Portuguese Christians and the native Christians. Each sect and nation wears a different dress. In the same manner the Gurus and the Sannyasis [wear a dress] by which they are distinguished one from another.... The manner of dressing shows to what caste and sect one belongs.'¹⁰⁴ Fernandes Trancoso's black cassock was a sign of his own distinct position within the nomenclature of castes and religious sects.

Confronted with the same social and cultural diversity, Nobili, a sophisticated theologian, knew better than to take phenomena at face value. Armed with natural law, rationalistic arguments, appropriate quotations from St Thomas Aquinas's *Summa* and drawing on probabilism whenever on a thin ice of moral judgement, he proposed a different interpretation. Social divisions ran along a different fault line: between the high and the low. He identified, therefore, the Brahmans as the social group with the highest status among the four 'civil grades'.¹⁰⁵ The lofty position of this particular social group, Nobili

103 Županov, 'Le repli du religieux', pp. 1201–23.

104 Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso to Nicolau Pimenta, Madurai, 7 May 1610, ARSI, Goa 51, ff. 29–31 (3rd via); ff. 34–6 (2nd via), ff. 32–3, ff. 37–8. Županov, *Disputed Mission*, p. 53.

105 The normative fourfold varṇa distinctions: Brahman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra.

wrote, was ascribed to their '*Sapientia* (Wisdom)' and the fact that they were the teachers of 'sciences' and writers of books that command the highest authority among the Indians.¹⁰⁶ Thus there were three theological schools to be found in India, of which one is atheist (Buddhist), one monotheist (Vedanta), and only one is 'idolatrous' divided into various sects (Māyāvādīs, Śaivas, Vaiṣṇava, Tatvādīs, etc.).¹⁰⁷ However, most of the Indian theologians 'confine themselves strictly to what they can discover by the light of reason, though, deprived as they are of the light of faith, they are apt to fall into error here and there, each in his own way'.¹⁰⁸

Nobili's diagnosis of Indian, gentile society is clearly stated: 'These people have one civil way of life (*civilem cultum*), but multiple religion' (*religione vero multiplem*).¹⁰⁹ Therefore, all the objections raised by Fernandes Trancoso—the dress, the Brahman thread, the vegetarian diet, the tuft of hair, the abhorrence of communicating with low-caste people such as Paranguis—was part of the Brahmanical civility and was not mentioned in the 'religious laws' of various sects. As such, these were 'external' signs of nobility and they were morally 'indifferent'. The concept of *adiaphora* ('things indifferent') is one of Nobili's theological trump cards. It was also a perfectly 'Orientalist' card because only those who knew the inner workings and the inner meanings of the Indian gentile 'laws' were able to discern the quality of the moral precepts. Before condemning 'pagan' actions and signs, wrote Nobili, one had to inquire about the *finis*

¹⁰⁶ They did, nevertheless, mix in certain religious ideas, which is not in itself completely wrong since, Nobili wrote, 'Aristotle in his Politics severely censures those laws in which nothing is prescribed regarding sacred things, i.e., reverence due to the gods, sacrifices offered to the gods, on the plea that in every well and wisely ordered state it should be taken into account what concerns religion and sanctity', in *Roberto de Nobili on Indian Customs, Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis indiciae*, ARSI, Fondo Gesuitico, 721/II/2 and Fondo Gesuitico, 400/2 ff.43–83, 85–8, original and English translation, ed. S. Rajamanickam (Palayamkottai: De Nobili Research Institute, 1972), pp. 46 and 37. (Hereafter, Rajamanickam, *Informatio*.)

¹⁰⁷ Rajamanickam, *Informatio*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁸ Rajamanickam, *Informatio*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁹ S. Rajamanickam, ed., *Roberto de Nobili on Adaptation (Narratio fundamentorum quibus Madurensis Missionis Institutum caeptum est, et hucusque consistit)*, Latin text and English translation (Palayamkottai: De Nobili Research Institute, 1971). (Hereafter, Rajamanickam, *Narratio*.)

(end, goal, finality), since only human will or intention lends moral form to the act.¹¹⁰

For Nobili's nemesis, Fernandes Trancoso, theological distinctions made by Nobili were outrageous since 'Brahmanism'—and he was the first to use this neologism—was nothing but superstition and idolatry. What the Brahmans do and believe was thus part of a 'diabolical machine' that kept those 'poor gentiles' in 'darkness'. Moreover, he accused Nobili of falling under their influence and espousing their 'superstitions' instead of proclaiming the Glad Tidings.

The Pope and the Baroque Rome nodded to Nobili's theological resourcefulness because it opposed Portuguese spiritual 'nationalism' at the time when the Papacy and the newly established Propaganda Fide envisaged their own missionary enterprise in the East. Christianization was not necessarily (as Fernandes Trancoso and the majority of Portuguese prelates in Goa believed) adoption of Portuguese dress and customs. However, the split between religious and non-religious practices that worked so well to analyse Indian gentile customs and rites became a powerful weapon directed against Christianity in its Catholic version.

It was the excess of intelligence and theological flexibility of the Jesuits that pushed the limits of the Malabar (and Chinese) rites controversy and thus armed the enemies of the Church. By contracting the religious sphere, for the purpose of their accommodationist conversion methods, they invented societies, such as Confucian Chinese Empire and Brahmanical India that functioned perfectly, or almost, without religion.¹¹¹

Nobili's conversion method and in particular his scholarly methodology was taken up by Catholic missionaries in India all through the eighteenth century, especially those who continued the tradition of continental missions, away from the European coastal settlements.

¹¹⁰ He claimed that Indian customs, rites, and even liturgical objects were mostly 'indifferent'; that is, they were neither good nor evil and he 'proved' it by translating long quotations from the authoritative Sanskrit texts.

¹¹¹ The unintended conclusion of these debates was feeding into libertine and atheist arguments and undermining the credibility of the Catholic Church as a repository of religious and moral traditions. We discuss the last-minute defence of the Jesuit methods in the eighteenth century in the eighth chapter.

The scholarly methodology of the Catholic missionaries resembled that of the pioneering British Orientalists in Calcutta in everything except in their openly professed purpose of 'soteriological efficacy'.¹¹² However, in his newly acquired blind élan of imperial self-centredness, Jones rejected all that was written on Indian religion and literature prior to the first translations by his Orientalist clique in Calcutta: 'Let them begin with forgetting all that has been written on the subject'.¹¹³ He also managed to mask his own Christian bias under the banner of scientific, philological inquiry and religious tolerance. Even, an otherwise lucid and erudite, Wilhelm Halbfass would repeat the same qualification that it was the British Orientalists in Bengal who were the first to establish the tradition of exploring 'Indian thought in its original sources and contexts of understanding'.¹¹⁴ The context of this understanding was, ironically, as Thomas Trautmann argued, the need to save the Mosaic chronology and the common, Biblical origin of humanity.¹¹⁵

The superiority of European religion and civilization was in fact shored up in the process of studying and demolishing the early modern 'idolatries' in the overseas colonies. The concepts themselves were 'reified' in their theological frameworks and Christian in orientation.¹¹⁶ Probably the most important hint from the Catholic missionary Orientalism to be taken up by the British was the sense that religious past needs to be reconstructed in order to validate the account of the Bible. In the world of new 'paganisms' discovered all over the globe, it was necessary to excavate other people's pasts and customs in order to find the echoes of the events taken for granted such as the date of the Creation, the Flood, and the destruction of the tower of Babel. The Jesuit and other missionaries found traces of Egyptian, Chaldean, Jewish, and Greek roots in Indian mythology, in Sanskrit language, and in ritual practices of the Brahmans. The analogical thinking of the first encounters turned into genealogical

¹¹² Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 43.

¹¹³ Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 63.

¹¹⁴ Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 62.

¹¹⁵ Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*. The success of British Empire empowered all 'scientific' idioms that made it thrive and even those that opposed it.

¹¹⁶ Talal Asad, *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993).

'sciences' geared to determine the exact origins, migrations, and genetic connections. *Ex oriente idolatria* was a common presupposition in the seventeenth century and the Orient in question ran from the Mediterranean and the Middle East to India.

In a certain respect, religion in its modern version of the term also came from the Orient. When Nobili and other Jesuits who practiced accommodation strategically separated 'civility' from all other 'superstitious' and 'sectarian' customs, rites, and opinions, on the basis of what they defined as Brahmanical normative texts rather than ethnographic observation, 'religion' had to be reinvented in universal terms in order to be reattached to Indian civility. In a word, religion itself had to be denuded of human artefacts. The problem was that, with such a definition, religion became a matter of beliefs and fed into Catholic fideism and libertine movement in France, and stimulated the rise of deism. Hence, *ex oriente religio*. Religion became the matter of the heart, whose spiritual wounds and triumphs, according to Michel de Certeau, would be told through a distinct mode of discourse known as literature.¹¹⁷ Indology of the British Orientalists in the late eighteenth century was thus founded (we were impelled to believe, as a 'secular' intellectual gesture) on translations of Sanskrit 'literature' and 'legal texts'.

Let us consider now what was happening in the Franciscan world.

¹¹⁷ King, *Orientalism and Religion*, p. 18.

CHAPTER FIVE

Franciscan Orientalism

Two famous topoi in the Franciscan imperial writing appear in the *Systema Marcial Aziatico* (Asian Military System), by friar António da Purificação: 'Asia is the major part of the world because our Beloved Savior was born there and worked prodigious marvels as it is witnessed irrefutably in the Holy Writ', and 'God placed there the Earthly Paradise'. One of the important references in his book, and in general among the Franciscans, was Heinrich Niederdorff's *Generalis geographia* (1739).¹

Thinking in terms of the 'major part of the world' and looking for the 'Earthly Paradise' are woven through the Franciscan literary tradition and inspired Franciscans born in India, such as friar Paulo da Trindade, author of the bulky treatise the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (The Spiritual Conquest of the Orient) (1636), and friar Miguel da Purificação, who wrote among other books, the *Vida Evangelica de los Frailes Menores*, 1641 (Evangelical Life of the Friars Minor) and *Relação Defensiva*, 1640 (A Defense Report).² Like Noronha, they are also protagonists of this chapter.

¹ This book was published under the author's secular name: António José de Noronha (1720–76). António José de Noronha, *Systema Marcial Aziatico, Político, Histórico, Genealógico, Analítico e Miscelâneo* (Lisbon: Fundação Oriente, 1994), p. 13. See also Heinrich Niederdorff, *Generalis geographia cosmica, mathematica, naturalis, politica, cum speciali Sacri Imperii Romano-Germanici, et Sacri Romani Imperii Pontifici Hierarchia per totum orbem terrarum* (Wirceburgi: Typis Jacob Christophori Kleyer, 1739).

² Miguel da Purificação, *Vida Evangelica de los Frailes Menores* (Barcelona: Gabriel Nogues, 1641) and *Relação defensiva dos filhos da Índia Oriental e da província do apóstolo*

As we have already mentioned in the first and the third chapters, after the voyages of Vasco da Gama and Christopher Columbus, the location of the 'Earthly Paradise' became again the topic of discussion in Europe, haunting and titillating the institutional architects of the Spanish empire. Among the most well-known statements was the treatise *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo*, 1656 (Paradise in the New World) by António de León Pinelo, a Spaniard of Portuguese New Christian origin. Against the grain, Pinelo opposed the thesis of the Asian Paradise in favour of a New World location, in the line of a Spanish Franciscan, Buonaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, the author of *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo* (An Account of the Histories from the New World). And the same argument would nourish *Diálogo das grandezas do Brasil* (Dialogues of the Greatness of Brazil) attributed to Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, and *Noticias curiosas e necessarias das cousas do Brasil* (Curious and Indispensable News from Brazil) by the Jesuit Simão de Vasconcelos.³

Not very different from their Atlantic counterparts, the Portuguese established or born in Asia used the same stock topics to speak about their experience in an effort to shore up their own value and status within the empire. Apparently more than others, Franciscans represented this creole perspective.⁴

Nonetheless, the experience of these actors is barely known. We have discussed in the previous chapters, in quite some detail, the way in which the Jesuits crafted their Orientalist concepts and practices. This important body of knowledge cannot be complete without

S. Thome dos frades menores da regular observância da mesma Índia (Barcelona: Sebastião e João Matheva, 1640). Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, 3 vols (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, [1636] 1962–67).

³ Buonaventura de Salinas y Córdoba, *Memorial de las historias del nuevo mundo pirú* (Lima: Gernonymo de Contreras, 1630). António de León Pinelo, *El Paraíso en el Nuevo Mundo* (Madrid: Torres Aguirre, 1943, orig. 1656); Abreu, *Diálogos das grandezas do Brasil*; Simão de Vasconcelos, *Noticias curiosas e necessarias das cousas do Brasil* (Lisbon: Joam da Costa, 1668), Holanda, *Visão do Paraíso*.

⁴ Originally applied to pure-blooded descendants of European settlers in the Americas, this concept has been used differently by historians, including, in general terms, for the descendants of the 'colonizers', frequently of mixed blood.

looking into Franciscan 'Orientalist' experience and their role in the imperial construction of Portuguese India.⁵

How did the Franciscans proceed and what were their intellectual handles and heuristic instruments when facing other geographies than the *Respublica Christiana*?⁶ How did their 'medieval' Orientalism, developed during the long centuries of contact with the Asian world (near and distant), shape their later experiences?⁷ How did their earlier protocols of history writing resurface in the early modern travel literature, chorographies, chronicles, and local and universal histories?⁸ And did their 'ecological' spiritual vocation turn into interest for botany and natural history in the Eastern territories?⁹

5 The same line of inquiry should be applied to other religious orders such as Augustinians and Dominicans. On 'intellectual' relevance of Franciscan writing in Asia, see Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Itinerários franciscanos na Índia seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e de método', *Lusitania Sacra*, 2ª série, 18 (2006): 87–116 and 'Bibliothèques virtuelles et réelles des franciscains de l'Inde du XVIIème siècle', in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation de savoir*, eds Castelnau, Copete, Maldavski, and Županov, pp. 151–70 and Patricia Souza Faria, *A conquista das almas do oriente: Franciscanos, catolicismo e poder colonial português em Goa (1540–1740)* (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2013).

6 Bert Roest, *A History of Franciscan Education (c. 1220–1517)* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

7 From the thirteenth century, Franciscans had the Convent of Mount Sion in Jerusalem, and from 1342, Pope Clement VI entrusted them with the spiritual care of the Holy Lands, protected by the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre. This long experience was described in several texts that constituted a kind of Orientalist tradition, well known to Franciscan missionaries in South Asia. We may legitimately ask: What was the impact of Jacques de Vitry's *Oriental History*, staging disputes between Christians and non-Christians and popular among medieval mendicant orders, on their early modern writing about the Orient? See Jessalyn Lea Bird, 'The Historia Orientalis of Jacques de Vitry: Visual and Written Commentaries as Evidence of a Text's Audience, Reception, and Utilization', *Essays in Medieval Studies*, vol. 20 (2003): 56–74.

8 Bert Roest, 'Compilation as Theme and Praxis in Franciscan Universal Chronicles', in *Pre-Modern Encyclopaedic Texts: Proceedings of the Second COMERS Congress Groningen, 1–4 July 1996*, ed. Peter Binkley (Leiden, New York, and Köln: 1997), pp. 214–25 and *Reading the Book of History: Intellectual Contexts and Educational Functions of Franciscan Historiography* (Groningen: Regenboog, 1996).

9 From its early years, Franciscan mystics established a spiritual connection with the natural world, and thus stimulated intellectual interests of erudite Franciscans in natural history. One of the best examples is William of Ockam (1287–1347) and his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*. Even before Ockam, Bartholomeus Anglicus wrote a treatise called *De proprietatibus rerum*, mainly concerned with natural history. The

We will not address all these questions because they deserve a much longer and detailed answers. Nonetheless, our goal is to provide a guide to early modern Franciscan Orientalism, mainly between the seventeenth century and the eighteenth century.¹⁰ For the sixteenth century the sources are either too fragmentary or nonexistent.

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The life and work of António José de Noronha is an excellent case to start with.

Born to a family of Portuguese nobility established in Goa for a few generations, Noronha chose the ecclesiastic career as many of his peers. In the Goan setting, the sons from the 'good families' had a special predilection for Franciscan order. Like others, Noronha started his studies in the Convent of Saint Francis in Goa, the most important Franciscan convent in Asia, and the headquarters of the Province of St Thomas in India.¹¹

We cannot be certain that Noronha had learnt all or most of the different European and Indian languages he knew in this Goan convent. Most probably, some of his vast learning was acquired there.

treatise by Anglicus had 32 editions, in different languages, between 1474 and 1536. See, John M. Lehnart, *Science in the Franciscan World. Historical Sketch* (1924; reprint, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2003).

10 Friar Félix Lopes and Friar Achilles Meersman are the most important historians of Franciscan presence in Portuguese India. Lopes provided an inventory of the sources but also edited and published Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*. See Félix Lopes, *Os franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1584 a 1590* (Lisbon: CEHU, 1962) and Félix Lopes, *Colectânea de Estudos de História e Literatura*, 2 vols (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997). Meersman's works were specifically about the Indian experience: Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500–1835* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society Press, 1971); Achilles Meersman, *The Friars Minor or Franciscans in India, 1291–1942* (Karachi: Rotti Press, 1943); Achilles Meersman, *The Franciscans in Tamilnad*, (Schöneck: Nouvelle Revue des Sciences Missionnaire, 1962). Achilles Meersman, 'The Provincials of the Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60, 1967 (Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1967); Achilles Meersman, *Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans in India, 1713–1833* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1972).

11 Achilles Meersman, *Annual Report of the Portuguese Franciscans in India: 1713–1833* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1972).

Sent to São Tomé de Meliapore as a missionary, Noronha befriended Joseph-François Dupleix, representative of the French crown in Pondichéry, and became his diplomatic 'go-between'. He participated in the negotiations between the French, the Portuguese, and some Indian princes. However, it was during his presence in São Tomé de Meliapore, and to his regret, that this town was taken over by the British to become the important town of Madras. Noronha's preference for France explains his presence at the court of Louis XV around 1750, and his later nomination as a bishop of Halicarnassus, paid by the French East Indies Company. Returning to India, he got involved in diplomatic negotiations during the 1760s, especially on the Coromandel Coast, mediating the relations between the local principalities and European powers. Back in Portugal, he faced a political landscape that had changed dramatically during the few decades before his arrival to Lisbon. In addition to the earthquake of 1755, the Jesuits had been expelled from the kingdom four years later and a conspiracy against the king was uncovered and crushed, ending in the execution of the Duke of Aveiro and of the Távora, two of the most important Portuguese aristocratic houses. The Távora had been in Goa, as viceroys, around the time when Noronha was arrested by the British, after the fall of Meliapore. They certainly knew Noronha, and Noronha must have communicated and reported the events to the Marquis Francisco de Assis de Távora. However, when Noronha arrived in Lisbon, the Távora were already eliminated and almost all traces of their Goan past disappeared.

At the court, the religious configuration had changed too. Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, new religious orders sprung to importance, namely the Oratorians, the Theatines, as well as an old branch of the Franciscans, the Third Order of the Penitence (Tertiaries), while the older religious orders lost some of their former clout. At this period, the Oratorian Convent of Necessities and the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus of the Franciscan Third Order emerged as major educational centres. The later was famous for its library and because Manuel do Cenáculo, one of the great figures of the Portuguese Enlightenment, was associated with it.¹² Similar political and

social dynamics were taking place in Goa, where the Oratorians of Goan Brahman origin and the Reformed Franciscans became more and more visible, while the Observant Franciscans (to whom Noronha belonged) were facing declining status and power.¹³

In Lisbon, Noronha spent some time in prison, where he wrote his *Systema Marcial Aziatico* and other articles. The Marquis of Pombal finally recognized Noronha's importance, released him from prison and took him under his protection. Noronha returned to Goa and died in 1776, perhaps poisoned by his enemies.

During his lifetime, Noronha collected many documents concerning political negotiations with the Indian states and wrote several historical treatises and diplomatic 'position papers', and thus earned an important place among the eighteenth-century Portuguese Orientalists who combined erudition and experience.¹⁴

His *Systema Marcial Aziatico* was written around the same time when two well-known and more ambitious European books dealing with similar political and historical issues came out of press. The first is Abbé Raynal's four-volume *L'histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 1770 (A Philosophical and Political History of the Commerce and Settlements of the Europeans in the Two Indies, 1770), and the second is Adam Smith's *The Wealth of the Nations* (1776).¹⁵ Intellectual

Vida, 1987); Francisco da Gama Caeiro, *Concepções da historiografia setecentista na obra de Frei Manuel do Cenáculo* (Lisbon: Academia da História, 1977); Francisco António Lourenço Vaz, 'Os Livros e as Bibliotecas na obra de D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo', in *La Memoria de los Libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y America*, eds Pedro Manuel Cátedra Garcia, Maria Isabel Páiz Hernandez e Maria Luisa López-Vidriero Abello, vol. II (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura-Fundacion Duques de Soria, 2004), pp. 483-98; Francisco António Lourenço Vaz, Márcia Ferreira Oliveira, and Patrícia Monteiro, eds, *Os livros e as bibliotecas no espólio de D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo: Repertório de correspondência, róis de livros e doações a bibliotecas* (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2009).

13 Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, *Goa Setecentista. Tradição e Modernidade* (Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 1996), p. 171.

14 On the biography of António José de Noronha, see Carmen Radulet, 'Introdução', in António José de Noronha, *Systema Marcial Aziatico*.

15 Abbé Raynal, *L'Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 4 vols (Amsterdam, s. n., 1770); Adam Smith, *The Wealth of the Nations* (London: W. Strahan, 1776).

12 José Alberto Gomes Machado, *Um coleccionador português do século das luzes: D. Frei Manuel do Cenáculo Vilas-Boas, Arcebispo de Évora* (Évora: Publicações Ciência e

products of the French and British Enlightenment by two learned men who had never visited Asia, these books became privileged handbooks to understanding non-Europeans and the relations between the Europeans and other territories, nations, and peoples. In contrast, Noronha's less ambitious and locally embedded treatise remained in manuscript until 1994.

The different destinies of the three books—among many others—reveal the growing marginalization of southern European monarchies and the declining intellectual purchase of their agents of knowledge. The books of Raynal and Smith were already part of a new epistemological regime, ever since the centre of knowledge production migrated towards northern Europe.¹⁶ Noronha's treatise also aimed at a clearly pragmatic goal: to provide Portuguese decision makers with information about Asian polities. However, the Portuguese intentions in Asia were less 'global' than they had been in the sixteenth century. The fate of Noronha's book, circulating in manuscript and accessible only to a small audience, very different from the large dissemination of Raynal's and Smith's books, was the product of and a witness to the changing world. But it was also a testimony of the difficulties that Portuguese Franciscans had in 'marketing' their writing and making visible their intellectual world.

A visit to the remnants of early modern Franciscan libraries is helpful to start to dismantle this persistent invisibility.

LIBRARIES FOR PRAYER AND LIBRARIES FOR KNOWLEDGE

A survey of the contents of the libraries in the Franciscan convents in Portugal and in the Portuguese empire may offer a few helpful answers, and permit us to glimpse their intellectual landscape. Through them we can grasp what and how they studied, the kind of books they had access to, and what were their reading practices. A visit to the archival remains of the Franciscan convents in Lisbon reveals a religious order open to the world and perfectly adjusted to the dynamics of knowledge that were developing in Europe. Let us enter the library of the Third Order of Penitence in the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus in Lisbon.¹⁷ The library of this convent had been conceived

¹⁶ François Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité: Présentisme et expériences du temps* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2002).

in 1769 by the Franciscan friar Manuel do Cenáculo. Cenáculo was already considered 'the most perfect model of the enlightened Catholic prelate in Portuguese lands',¹⁸ a 'great reader' and a 'great collector of books', as well as an Anglophile who praised Locke and Newton and criticized Voltaire and Rousseau. In 1777, this library counted twenty-nine thousand books, assembling ten thousand books existing in the convent library prior to the Lisbon earthquake, in addition to several individual donations (among which was Cenáculo's).¹⁹ It is important to notice that Cenáculo supported other important Portuguese libraries—the Royal Public Library, Évora's Library, and the Library of the Seminar of Beja, all of them precursors of modern libraries.²⁰

In the library of the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus, important information about Franciscan Orientalist writings and practices can be found in the manuscript collection. For example, it contains Arabic manuscripts, Orientalist projects (such as those of the friar João de Sousa and Manuel do Cenáculo) and collections of documents about the Estado da Índia, organized by the friar Vicente Salgado. Salgado also made a catalogue of books in 'oriental languages', dated 1770, and was the author of a small treatise, *Origem e progresso das Línguas Orientais* (The Origin and the Progress of Oriental Languages).²¹

Printed documents are even more significant. The catalogue of the prints runs into thick nine-volume series, each volume more than five

¹⁷ As a part of the Academia das Ciências, this library is today an open access public library.

¹⁸ Evergton Sales de Souza, 'Catholic Enlightenment in Portugal', in *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, eds, Ulrich L. Lehner and Michael O'Neill (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 359–98, 391.

¹⁹ Francisco António Lourenço Vaz, 'Libraries and Books in the Life of Friar Manuel do Cenáculo', in *La Memoria de los Libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y America*, vol. 2, (Salamanca: Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura—Fundacion Duques de Soria, 2004), pp. 483–98.

²⁰ Vaz, 'Libraries and Books in the Life of Friar Manuel do Cenáculo'.

²¹ *Catálogo dos Livros das Línguas Orientais, que servem nas Aulas destes estudos, neste anno de 1770 and Origem e progresso das Línguas Orientais*, ACL, Série Vermelha (hereafter SV), n° 352. Here, we also find unexpected manuscripts such as those that contain the account list of tithes for the islands of Goa, Salcete, and Bardez after the expulsion of the Jesuits, as well as translations of the letters from local languages. ACL, SV, n° 285, Miscelânea; n° 286, 'Cartas Malabares e suas traduções em vulgar' and n° 287).

hundred pages long: of which two are on theology, one on jurisprudence, one on philosophy (with a large section on natural philosophy), two on humanities, and three on history. Rather than a theological library, this was clearly an almost secular library of the Enlightenment.

Was this library exceptional because the convent was located in Lisbon, or was it a symptom of a larger Franciscan world-view?

The historical notes written by Vicente Salgado about other convents of the Third Order reveal that collecting books was a Franciscan habit. Both small and big Franciscan convents owned well equipped libraries. The library of the Convent of Caria, a small village in the interior of Portugal, had received a private donation in 1625 that expanded 'the number of Authors, and of the Works in this Library' and carried four to five thousand volumes, which was the size of a respectable library. These are impressive numbers, especially if we consider how small the Convent of Caria was. The library of the Convent of São Francisco in Vilares, an even smaller settlement, also in the hinterland, 'abounded in Authors of Aristotelian-ecclesiastical topics, according to the system in the beginning of this century; with quite a few volumes on Religion and History'.²² In Salgado's opinion, it was the Convent of Santa Catarina in Santarém—an important town in Portuguese Franciscan history—that possessed the most significant library. As an educational institution from 1633 onwards, this convent had a library that received donations from several friars. According to Salgado, 'part of the books, the first editions of the patristic literature, *belles lettres* and history in the library of the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus' initially belonged to that convent.²³

However, thirsty as they were for encyclopaedic knowledge, these Tertiary Franciscans were scarcely involved in the evangelization of the empire. Their convents were well integrated into the metropolitan world and they had strong ties with the local elites.²⁴ In Lisbon, their main patron was the royal court.²⁵

22 'Memórias dos Conventos da Congregação da Terceira Ordem, Compostas por Frei Vicente Salgado', ACL, SV, n° 220, pp. 20, 25.

23 'Alvarás, doações e outras memórias dos conventos da Congregação da Terceira Ordem da Penitência de S. Francisco de Portugal colligidos por frei Vicente Salgado, chronista e geral da mesma congregação, anno de 1790', ACL, SV, n° 558, fls 1–14.

24 The manuscript 'Alvarás, doações e outras memórias dos conventos da Congregação da Terceira Ordem da Penitência de S. Francisco de Portugal colligidos

Nevertheless, the Third Order's erudition is useful to think with in order to reconstruct the Franciscan world imaginary, also because their type of knowledge practices was similar to that of the lay Orientalists who lived and worked in Portugal.

Different cases are those of the library of the Convent of Arrábida, the headquarters of the Franciscan Province of Arrábidos, one of the Reformed provinces that provided missionaries for the empire, as well as the library of the Convent of São Francisco of Lisbon, the headquarters of the Observant Franciscan Province of Portugal.²⁶ A quick examination of these two libraries confirms the impression that the Franciscan intellectual universe combined secular and religious contents in a quite balanced way. Briefly, the libraries of these convents carried more works on philosophy, history, and 'sciences' than on theology, and had at their disposal the latest literature concerning secular subjects.²⁷ A similar situation can be found in the Convent of Santo António in Varatojo, established by the king D. Afonso V in the fifteenth century as a way to solicit the friars to support his crusade

por frei Vicente Salgado, chronista e geral da mesma congregação, anno de 1790' (ACL, SV, n° 558) is a perfect proof of these linkages. See also 'Tratado sobre a fundação do Convent of Jesus de Setúbal por Justa Roiz Pereira, ama de D. Manuel', BNL, Cod. 7686; 'Convento de Santa Marta de Jesus, noticia da sua fundação', BNL, Cod. 139; 'Convento de Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Luz) Arroios, Livro de profissões, 1699–1865', BNL, Cod. 8051.

25 In 1763, according to the *Mappa de Portugal* by João Bautista de Castro, the Third Order had 17 houses of 235 male Franciscan houses that existed in the kingdom of Portugal in this period (without taking into account houses established in the imperial territory).

26 The books belonging to these convents are today mostly preserved in the National Library at Lisbon, and in the collection *Manuscritos da Livraria*, in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon.

27 When compared with European Franciscan libraries or Italian Franciscan libraries studied by Roberto Rusconi, 'I frati minori della Osservanza dopo il Concilio di Trento: Circolazione di libri e strumenti di formazione intellettuale (sulla base delle biblioteche conventuali e personali)', in *Identités franciscaines à l'âge des réformes*, eds, Frédéric Meyer and Ludovic Viallet (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Univ Blaise Pascal, 2005), pp. 385–407, Portuguese conventual libraries are equally rich. See also José Adriano Freitas de Carvalho, ed. *Da Memória dos Livros às Bibliotecas da Memória* (Porto: Centro de Investigação Universitária de História da Espiritualidade, 1998). José Adriano Freitas de Carvalho, *Da Memória dos Livros aos Livros da Memória*, vols 1 et 2 (Porto: Centro de Investigação Universitária de História da Espiritualidade, 2001–2).

in North Africa. Varatojo was one of the most prominent Franciscan institutions of learning between 1474 and 1680, later transformed, through the efforts of the friar António das Chagas (an important spiritual writer) into an Apostolic Mission Seminary. This means that its library had an important function in moulding Franciscan missionary imagination.²⁸

The case of friar José Maria da Fonseca e Évora (1690–1752), the bishop of Porto in 1739 and the member of both the Royal Academy of History and of the Roman academies, is another important example of Franciscan penchant for knowledge. Already studied by Angela Delaforce, the life of Fonseca e Évora is illuminating. Évora started his studies at the Convent of Varatojo before going to Rome in 1712. During his stay in Italy, Évora was in charge of overlooking the construction of several buildings, among which is a new library in the important Convent of AraCoeli, the seat of the General Franciscan Curia.²⁹ After Évora's work, this library had around twenty thousand volumes and was 'decorated with elegant bookshelves and many paintings' and was 'one of the most magnificent and numerous [libraries] that one

This is the case with the Convent of Viana do Castelo. See 'Mapa da Livraria do extinto Convento de Santo António desta vila de Viana', BNL, Cod. 7442 and Ponte de Lima and Caminha. See also António Mendes do Amaral, 'O Convento de Santo António de Ourém', *Sep. Boletim da Academia Portuguesa de Ex-Libris*, nos 48–50, Lisbon (1969): 20. Gérard Pradaliè, *O Convento de São Francisco de Santarém, Santarém* (Santarém: Câmara Municipal de Santarém, 1992), p. 37; M. Carvalho Moniz, *O Convento de São Francisco de Évora* (Évora, s.n., 1959), p. 39.

²⁸ See Friar Manuel de Santíssima Maria, *Historia da fundação do Real Convento e Seminário de Varatojo, com a compendiosa notícia da Vida do Veneravel Padre Fr. Antonio das Chagas* (Porto: Of. António Alvares Ribeiro, 1799–1800). On that subject, see Bert Roest, *Reading the Book of History*.

²⁹ He became General Minister of AraCoeli who reformed the teaching of philosophy, ethics, and theology. See Anonymous, *Collecção dos Applausos, em Prosa, e em Verso, Consagrados ao Excellentissimo, e Reverendissimo Senhor D. Fr. Joseph Maria da Fonseca e Évora, Dignissimo Bispo do Porto, na Chegada à sua Diocese, e Entrada que fez na Cidade, no dia 5 de Maio do anno de 1743* (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Sylviana, e da Academia Real, 1745); José da Cunha Saraiva, *Frei José Maria da Fonseca e Évora: Subsídios biográficos*, vol. 2, no. 22 (Lisbon: Arquivo Histórico de Portugal, reprinted in 1933) and Manuel Taveira da Silva, 'Dom Frei José Maria da Fonseca e Évora (1690–1752): O Religioso—O Diplomata—O Pastor', *Itinerarium*, LVIII, no. 203 (May–August 2012): 197–342.

admired in Rome'. It included books of different types, and was open to receive new books. In 1742, for example, Carolus Orazio de Castorano's Chinese books that he brought back to Rome in 1734 were bequeathed to this library.

These intellectual connections between Portuguese Franciscans and Rome—embodied in the figure of José Maria da Fonseca e Évora—had a long tradition and many expressions. It was from Rome that Évora continued publishing *Annales Minorum*, started by the most important seventeenth century Franciscan historian, Luke Wadding.³⁰

Born in Ireland in 1588, and sent to the Irish seminary in Lisbon in 1602, Luke Wadding later entered the Convent of the Reformed Franciscans of the Immaculate Conception in Porto where he took his vows in 1605. Wadding continued his studies in the Convent of São Francisco in Leiria, where he specialized in philosophy and theology of Duns Scotus, whose collected works he later published in Lyon in 1639. After Leiria, Wadding attended university studies in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Salamanca before settling down in Rome where he became one of the most influential Franciscans in the first half of the seventeenth century. His eight volumes of *Annales Minorum*, published between 1625 and 1654 are still a highlight of Franciscan intellectual encyclopaedic learning.³¹

These few exemplary cases of Portuguese Franciscans or Franciscans connected with the Portuguese metropolitan world encourage us to recover and systematize the body of knowledge produced and collected by the Franciscans who were directly or indirectly connected with the Portuguese empire.

³⁰ Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, p. 868. Arnulf Campos, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956–1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), p. 201; Manuel Taveira da Silva, 'Dom Frei José Maria da Fonseca e Évora (1690–1752)'. See also António Alberto Banha de Andrade, *Vernei e a cultura do seu tempo* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1966), p. 105.

³¹ Lucas Wadding, OFM, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a S. Franciscum Institutorum* 8 vols (Lugduni: Claudii Prost & I. Bapt. Devenet, 1625–54); Noel Muscat, OFM, 'A Famous Franciscan Historian: Fr. Luke Wadding OFM (1588–1657)' (<http://www.franciscans-fo.org/hland/Luke%20Wadding.pdf>), s. n., accessed on 14 October 2014.

WRITINGS FROM INDIA

If in Portugal, the Franciscan convents were especially attractive to the sons of aristocracy and the local elites, the same is true in the Asian territories where they became important institutions for the children of the Portuguese settlers.³² Franciscans in Asia not only were distinct from the metropolitan Franciscans, they were also socially and culturally different from the Jesuits in Asia, who were mostly born in Europe. The connections with local elites were also the reason why their interests were closer to those of the 'colonizers', whose spokesmen they easily became, frequently representing their anxieties and goals.

These distinctions are important for two reasons. One is that the friars born in Asia wrote most of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Franciscan works on India, which means that these works do not have the same epistemological status as those produced by metropolitan Franciscans. The second is that just as in Mexico and in Peru in the same period, a certain patriotic consciousness was expressed as pride in and appreciation of these territories and peoples. Among the producers of these narratives we find many creole clerics.³³ It is quite probable, therefore, that the intellectual disputes that took place in this period were associated with jurisdictional and institutional imperial dynamics, stimulating, for pragmatic reasons, a new perspective on local landscapes and people.

In fact, many of these narratives appeared when the Franciscan provinces established in India tried to shed the dependence from the

32 For the Goan case, see Francisco Xavier Vaz, 'Um manuscrito do convento de S. Francisco de Assiz, Goa. A Veneravel Ordem Terceira da Penitencia de Goa', *O Oriente Português*, 4, no. 6 (1907): 227–30; and *O Oriente Português*, 4, nos 7–8 (1907): 277–81 and also Friar Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*.

33 Francisco Morales, OFM, *Ethnic and Social Backgrounds of the Franciscan Friars in Seventeenth Century Mexico* (Washington, DC: Academy of American Franciscan History, 1973); John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Serge Gruzinski, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire. Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol, XVI–XVIII siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 1988); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World: Historiographies, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Portuguese provinces.³⁴ Their goal was to establish direct links with Rome, by-passing the Portuguese Padroado. It is not by chance that these efforts become visible around the time of the foundation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622. Clearly, the local Indian Franciscan provinces tried to profit from the tensions between the Padroado and the Propaganda Fide, in order to win more autonomy and to defend their position against the Crown officials.³⁵

These pragmatic goals were combined with a writing tradition and a tradition of publishing that had its roots in the previous century—and, perhaps, with a tradition of Franciscan intellectual practices with even longer and larger roots.

For example, the printing press, introduced in Goa rather early (1556), just two decades after it was established in Mexico (1539),³⁶ had in Archbishop D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira (founder of the Franciscan Custody of the Mother of God in Goa) one of its main promoters. Leão was the author of three of the six known books published by the Goan printing house of João de Endem—the *Compendio spiritual* (1563), the *Tratado que fez mestre Hieronimo* (1565), and the *Desengano de Perdidos* (1573)—sponsoring two others: *1º Concílio de Provincia de Goa* (1567) and *Constituições Synodales do Arcebispo de*

34 Augustinians and Dominicans had similar ideas. See the document concerning 'Frades Dominicanos mestiços', about a group of religious who tried to establish an 'independent' Dominican province in Goa and about 'the request ... sent to Rome to prevent it', in Lázaro Leitão Aranha, *Meza das tres Ordens militares. Da jurisdição da Ordem de Cristo por tudo o q/ toca o Ultramar. Tomo 3º Bullas, Decretos, Resoluções e accents desde a sua criação the o anno de 1731*, ANTT, Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, nrs. 302–06, vol. III, fl. 69.

35 On that, see, for example, 'Parecer dos Menores Observantes para corrigir os defeitos da evangelização do Oriente', ACPF, Congregazioni Generali, vol. 98, fls. 89–90v. 'Carta dos Capitulares Franciscanos de Goa', 19-3-1629, ACPF, Congregazioni Generali, vol. 98, fls. 103–104v, fls. 108–109). About the implantation of the Congregazione della Propaganda Fide and the tension it created, see J. Metzler, ed., *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum 350 anni a servizio delle missioni: 350 years in the service of the missions: 1622–1972* (Rome: Herder, 1972); Giovanni Pizzorusso, *Roma nei Caraibi: L'organizzazione delle missioni cattoliche nelle Antille e in Guyana (1635–1675)* (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1995).

36 Román Zulaica Gárate, *Los franciscanos y la imprenta en México en el siglo XVI* (Mexico: UNAM, [1939] 1991).

Goa (1568).³⁷ A sixth book printed by Endem in 1563 was the famous *Colóquios* by Garcia de Orta who appeared to have been on friendly terms with the local Franciscans, as we can grasp from the references to the friars.³⁸ Little is known about life in the Franciscan convents, but from this passage it is clear that already in the early sixteenth century they cultivated plants and produced their own medicines (and probably had their own 'botanical/spice garden'). In addition to the Archbishop, according to Miguel da Purificação, Indian Franciscans were also prolific writers, but had no money to publish their books. In contrast to other religious orders, the Franciscan vow of poverty made them more dependent on the alms provided by the local elites and the Crown. When Purificação payed visit to Phillip IV of Spain in Madrid in order to plead for the Province of St Thomas in India, he tried to persuade the king to sponsor the printing of Franciscan books in Indian languages, more efficient than manuscripts for the spread of Christianity.³⁹ In the same years, Paulo da Trindade was finishing his three-volume treatise *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* (The Spiritual conquest of the Orient), the most important chronicle about the Franciscan presence in Asia in the early modern period.

Born in Macau to a Portuguese family, Paulo da Trindade (1570–1561) joined the Franciscan order and started his studies in the Convent of Santo António in Bassein. He eventually accompanied to Goa a Portuguese born friar Manuel de Monte Olivete (d. 1635). Olivete was reader in theology, an expert in Duns Scotus (like Luke Wadding) and author of important treatises on the Franciscan rule, who came to India in the beginning of the seventeenth century. He later returned

37 Gaspar de Leão Pereira, *Compendio spiritual da vida christam* (Goa: João Endem, 1563), *Tratado que fez mestre Hieronimo, Desengano de Perdidos*, 1º Concílio de Provincia de Goa (Goa: João Endem, 1567), and *Constituições Synodales do Arcebispado de Goa* (Goa: João Endem, 1568).

38 For a detailed discussion of the *Colóquios*, see the third chapter. Orta, *Colóquios*, p. 12.

39 Frei Miguel da Purificação also went to Rome to vote for the General Chapter of the Order and to discuss issues concerning his Province such as conversion of the gentiles and the well-being of the newly converted Christians. He also offered himself to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide for any service in the missions, ACPF, *Congregazioni Particolari*, vol. 400, fls 16, 23 v. See Purificação, *Relação Defensiva*, fls 28–30v.

to Portugal to continue a successful ecclesiastical career. When these two men arrived in Goa, they most probably crossed path with friar João de São Matias, reader in the College of the Magi Kings, censor for the Inquisition, and writer of several books in Indian languages, with the prolific friar Gaspar de S. Miguel, and with friar Francisco do Negrão, who became rector of the college in 1621 and was the author of several works, unfortunately all lost.

In Goa, the urgent political issues of the period that also simmered in the background of Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* were those of defending and settling Sri Lanka and, from 1627 onwards, the anti-ecclesiastical policies of the viceroy of India, Count of Linhares.⁴⁰ And if in 1628, Trindade was a member (or *Definidor*) of the governing board of the Province of St Thomas, around 1630 he was almost expelled from the order for his rebellious spirit. After that, in a curious reversal of fortune, he was nominated General Commissary of India, and it is from this position of power that he wrote his important work. According to Barbosa Machado, at the end of 1650, Trindade was about to be appointed Inquisitor. He died before taking up the position.⁴¹

It was in the context of these political and jurisdictional disputes that Trindade's *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* should be analysed.⁴² As it was common among the missionaries, this book used earlier writings of the friars settled in India, such as Francisco do Negrão's more than four-hundred-pages-long treatise, the *Taprobana*. This treatise on Sri Lankan people and landscapes was intended to help the establishment of the Franciscans on the island. It is known that Negrão also wrote *Chronica da Provincia de São Tomé* (A Chronicle of the Province of Saint Thomas), probably commissioned from Rome

40 Zoltán Biedermann, *A aprendizagem de Ceilão: A presença portuguesa no Sri Lanka entre estratégia talassocrática e planos de conquista de territorial*, 1506–1598, (unpublished PhD diss., Lisbon, FCSH-UNL, 2006).

41 Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, p. 535.

42 The disputes were raging with the Jesuits and other orders in India. This explains, perhaps, the treatise written by Francisco Negrão on *Taprobana* (Ceylon). He was staking Franciscan claim on the territory, also disputed by the Jesuits. Very heated controversy took place between the Franciscans of the Province of Portugal and the Franciscan orders of Indian origin (like the Custody of the Mother of God) who coveted the affiliation with the Province of St Thomas.

in an effort to collect descriptive registers of the activities of different Franciscan Provinces. It disappeared as did the *Reliquiaria*, another of Negrão's text. Some excerpts from the *Taprobana* were fortunately preserved in quotations in *Promptuario de Diffinicoes Indicas* (A Summary of Indian Definitions) (1713), a book which we discuss in detail in the seventh chapter.⁴³ Trindade must also have used the manuscript works of other Franciscans of the Province of St Thomas to complete the descriptions of their mission territories in Asia. The palimpsest nature of all these works combined with feeble concerns for authorship obscure the provenance of the sources used in the construction of these narratives. For this reason many of those involved in collecting knowledge about India remain anonymous.

In addition, in elaboration of his interpretation, he evoked other contemporary works, from *Relação Defensiva* and *Vida Evangelica* by Miguel da Purificação, to books written by his co-religionists in New Mexico, Peru, and the Philippines around the same decade. The *Espelho de Bramanes* (Mirror of the Brahmins), written some time later, by Mateus de Castro, an Indian Christian Brahman who studied in the College of the Magi Kings, but was unable to join the Franciscans and went all the way to Rome to try his luck—also discussed in the seventh chapter—participated in the same argumentative field; and the same goes for several other treatises written by the Jesuits and other missionaries.

The pragmatic goals of *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* are visible from the first page onwards: Paulo da Trindade proposed an alternative synthesis of the Franciscan actions in India to the one that circulated in the Roman world. His book is an argumentative text.⁴⁴

In the 'Prologue to the Reader', Trindade explicitly stated that he 'desired for some years' to write something 'for the honor of this Holy Province of Saint Thomas', offering a counter-narrative to the 'book written in Italian and printed in Rome'. In his book he

43 Among many references to Francisco do Negrão, see Leonardo Paes, *Promptuario de Diffinicoes Indicas* (Lisbon: Antonio Galram Pedroza, 1713), p. 437.

44 The manuscript of the *Conquista Espiritual* travelled with Miguel da Purificação to Lisbon, Madrid, and Rome in order to have it published, since just like the *Ius Codex Lusitanae sanctitatis* (BA, Cod. 51-II-20, n° 11, fls 175–98) it consisted of life stories of the virtuous Franciscans. However, Trindade's work was first published in the twentieth century. In fact, in the 'Exhortation to the Reader' of *A Garden of Plants and Flowers*,

challenged the idea promoted by this Italian book that 'the friars of Saint Francis in India did not care about Christianization'. In order to achieve his goal, he chose 'only those things that provided competent and clear information, preferring to write less but certain than more but doubtful'.⁴⁵

Choosing competent and clear information and writing less, but certain, was a typically Franciscan concern and statement, a usual explanation for the fact that they were not as engaged in writing as were, for example, their Jesuit rivals. In fact, in addition to the external circumstances that surround this book, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* was also firmly grounded in the established and typical internal protocols of the Franciscan order.

This work was also commissioned from Rome, destined to be included into the history of each province with a view of putting together and constructing a larger, official memory of the Order.⁴⁶ Together with other chronicles, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* was absorbed into general histories. In a similar way, in the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth century works by Marcos de Lisboa, Francisco de Gonzaga, and António Daça were all incorporated into a synthesis of Franciscan writings from various provinces.

It is well known that from the thirteenth century onwards, Franciscan memory was mostly constructed from the reports from different regions in and outside Europe, collected in *Chronicles* written by General Ministers, of which the most famous was *Chronica XXIV Ministrorum Generalium Fratrum Minorum*, encompassing the

Jacinto de Deos mentioned that the *Crónica* by Negrão, and the *Conquista* by Trindade remained in manuscript and feared that 'both would end and disappear with the death of their Authors'. But he also hoped that 'the manuscript of *The [Spiritual] Conquest* exists in Portugal, with hope that it would be printed, and it would be fortunate not to lose such a treasure of ancient memory'. Jacinto de Deos, *Vergel de plantas, e flores da provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1690), pp. iii–iv.

45 In evoking this topos he reveals that the debates about the historical truth, i.e., the difference between narrating truth as opposed to fiction, between *ars historica* and *ars poetica*, were also present overseas. See Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual*, vol. I, p. 6.

46 Jens Röhrkasten, 'On the Problem of Communication in the Franciscan Order', in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars' Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, eds Michael Robson and Jens Röhrkasten (Münster: LIT Verlag, 2010), pp. 307–30.

first two centuries of the Order.⁴⁷ Consistent with this tradition was the encyclica that Benigno of Genova, the Minister General, wrote in 1619 to the whole order, in which he called for all Franciscan provinces to send documents related to their history to Rome.⁴⁸ According to Trindade, this was a difficult task because the Franciscans in India did not care about their own memory.

Trindade's Franciscan identity is unmistakable in the fabric of citations, encased in the rules of the canon law concerning the Order, its constitutions and major chronicles, both past and contemporary, as well as the principal Franciscan authorities—Saint Bonaventura, Nicholas of Lyra, and his beloved Duns Scotus.⁴⁹

This shared Franciscan institutional identity and writing modes, in addition to the repository of information about Asian social and natural world with which Franciscans were in contact from the medieval times is inscribed in Paulo da Trindade's treatise.⁵⁰ In fact, the

47 Michael Cusato, OFM, 'Talking About Ourselves: The Shift in Franciscan Writing from Hagiography to History (1235-1247)', *Franciscan Studies*, vol. 58 (2000): 37-52.

48 See the following chapter: Antonia Gransden, 'Mendicant Chronicles', in *Historical Writing in England: c. 550 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974). Bert Roest, 'Compilation as Theme and Praxis in Franciscan Universal Chronicles', pp. 214-25 and 'Memory and the Functions of History: Later Medieval Franciscan Chronicles', in *Historia: The Concept and Genres in the Middle Ages*, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Päivi Mehtonen, eds, *Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum* 116 (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2000): 101-17; Noel Muscat, OFM, 'A Famous Franciscan Historian: Fr. Luke Wadding OFM (1588-1657)' (<http://www.franciscans-fo.org/hland/Luke%20Wadding.pdf>, accessed on 14 October 2014), s. d., s. n.; José Adriano de Freitas Carvalho, ed., *Frei Marcos de Lisboa: Cronista franciscano e bispo do Porto* (Porto: Centro Interuniversitário de História da Espiritualidade, 2002). David J. Collins, ed., *Reforming Saints: Saints' Lives and Their Authors in Germany, 1470-1530* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

49 The same Scotus—whose work was collected and published by Lucas Wadding—was studied in the Franciscan colleges of India. The chronicles quoted or used in Trindade's work are the Lucas Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, Negrão's lost *Crônica* and *Reliquaria*, and probably, given constant references to Mexico and Peru, Juan de Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* published in 1604, or *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana* from 1596.

50 Mícheál MacCraith, 'Franciscan Echoes in a Prominent Early 17th Century Travel Narrative: A "Flight of the Earls" Miscellany', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, An. 102 (2009): 243-63; *Crônicas de viagem: Franciscanos no Extremo Oriente antes de Marco Polo (1245-1330)* (Porto Alegre-Bragança Paulista, EDIPUCRS, 2005).

Franciscans collected and exchanged information and texts transnationally, and forged links and historicized their own efforts. We can see that in New Mexico, in the books by Jeronimo de Mendieta and by Juan de Torquemada, as well as in the endeavour of the Irish friars in Louvain, at the Franciscan College of Saint Anthony, who collected books and manuscripts about Irish kings and saints that enabled them to write the first history of Ireland.⁵¹ Whether under orders from the superiors or continuing with former practices, it is clear that in the four parts of the world, the Franciscans were involved in collecting, studying, and writing (their own) history.

Unfortunately, Trindade offers little explanation about the method he used in constructing descriptions in his narrative, except for his approval of 'competent and clear' things. However, his citations indicate an encyclopaedia of knowledge (and libraries) to which Paulo da Trindade and the Franciscans in the Convent of Saint Francis in Goa had access to.⁵²

This universe was marked, from early on, by Portuguese production on Asia, and, more importantly, by a combination of metropolitan production—such as Barros's *Asia*, Damião de Góis's *Chronica do Ferlicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Chronicle of the Happiest King Manuel), Jerónimo Osório's *De rebus, Emmanuelis regis lusitaniae* (Of the Matters of D. Manuel), and Bernardo de Brito's *Monarchia Lusitana* (Lusitanian Monarchy)—and texts produced locally: João dos Santos's *Ethiopia Oriental* (Oriental Ethiopia), Diogo do Couto's *Décadas da Asia* (the Decades of Asia), and António de Gouveia's *Jornada do Arcebispo* (A Journey of the Archbishop).⁵³ His production is grounded also in classical literature such as Ptolemy's texts, Pliny's *Natural History*,

51 See Bernardette Cunningham, *The Annals of the Four Masters: Irish History, Kingship and Society in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010). E. Bhreathnach and Bernardette Cunningham, eds, *Writing Irish History: The Four Masters and Their World* (Dublin: Wordwell Books, 2007).

52 Xavier, 'Bibliothèques virtuelles et réelles des franciscains'.

53 Damião de Góis, *Chronica do Ferlicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (Lisbon: Francisco Correa, 1566-67). Jerónimo Osório, *De rebus, Emmanuelis regis lusitaniae* (Lisbon: António Gonçalves, 1571). Bernardo de Brito, *Monarchia Lusitana*, 1597-1609 (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1973-88). Friar João dos Santos, *Ethiopia Oriental* (Évora: Manuel da Lyra, 1622). Diogo do Couto, *Da Asia de João de Castro e de Diogo do Couto* (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1778-88). Friar António de Gouveia, *Jornada do Arcebispo de Goa Dom Frey Aleixo de Meneses Primaz da India Oriental* (Coimbra: Off. Diogo Gomes Loureiro, 1606).

Solinus's *Collection of Curiosities* and other more recent works such as *Historia General de la India Oriental* (The General History of Oriental India) by friar Antonio de San Román or *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Of Indian Histories) by Giovanni Pietro Maffei, in addition to, 'ancient and modern geographers' whom he did not quote directly.⁵⁴

Alongside these literary sources, Trindade included information by other Franciscan Orientalists, his contemporaries, whom he quotes in his book, about Asian devotional practices. They are also mentioned in *Vergel de Plantas e Flores* (A Garden of Plants and Flowers) by Jacinto de Deos, as those 'who went from preaching to writing many books in which they refute heathenism, and show errors and deceptions of idolatry'.⁵⁵

In order to do this, Franciscans claimed that they had four colleges in which they taught Konkani, and in the middle of the century they had thirty-two language teachers. Among them stand out friar Amador de Sant'Anna, author of a thousand-page-long *Flos Sanctorum*, published in 1607 (today in El Escorial in Spain while the manuscript copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), friar João de São Matias, censor of the Goan Inquisition for books in Konkani, friar Cristóvão de Jesus, who wrote in 1635 a Konkani grammar, and, most of all, friar Gaspar de São Miguel, author of thirteen works in that language, and who, according to Olivinho Gomes, mastered the most elegant Konkani.⁵⁶ Together with other friars—mostly Franciscans born in India and Trindade's contemporaries, such as Manuel Baptista, Manuel do Lado, or Pedro de S. Brás, they participated in the Franciscan subfield of Konkani literature, with works such as: vocabularies, grammars (*artes*), catechisms, primers, treatises for children, confession manuals.⁵⁷

In addition to this important (and mostly extant) Franciscan literature, Trindade must have also known the Jesuit texts on Indian

54 António de San Román, *Historia General de la India Oriental* (Valladolid: Luis Sanchez, 1603) and Giovanni Pietro Maffei, *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (Cologne: Typographia Birckmanica, 1589).

55 Deos, *Vergel de Plantas e Flores*, pp. iii–iv.

56 Olivinho Gomes, 'Medieval Konkani Literature', in *Medieval Indian Literature: An Anthology*, ed. K. Ayyappa Paniker, vol. 3 (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 1997), p. 271. Gaspar de S. Miguel wrote among other works in Canarin language, a grammar book, a dictionary, and the explanation of the creed with refutation of local rites and idolatry.

57 Deos, *Vergel de Plantas e Flores*, pp. 21–3.

religion that emerged in the early seventeenth century, some of which we discussed in the previous chapter. We do not know for certain if the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* (1609) by Jacomo Fenicio had a wide circulation, neither do we have sources on the reception of the *Tratado do Hinduismo* (the title given by the twentieth-century editor) by Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso who wrote it in 1616 in order to dispute Roberto Nobili's conception of Indian culture.

However, it is quite possible that the topic of 'Indian culture' was brought up regularly in the conversation between various ecclesiastical specialists residing in Goa, many of whom frequented the same institutional spaces, such as ecclesiastical committees (*juntas*), the tribunal of the Holy Office, the Provincial councils, and similar places.⁵⁸ For example, we know that the Jesuit Manuel Barradas came to Goa from Ethiopia in 1634, bringing with him his *Tractatus tres historico-geographici*, about the kingdom of Ethiopia, as well as his book, *Tratado dos deuses gentílicos de todo o Oriente e dos ritos e ceremonias que usam os Malabares*, which reproduces in part the treatise by Fenício.⁵⁹ Without the proof that the Franciscan Trindade and the Jesuit Barradas met each other, it is still safe to claim that they were both in Goa at the time when Trindade wrote his own book. Was there any dialogue between these books if not between the authors? How were they relating to each other's information and writings? Were they sharing it, creating thereby a 'scientific field of research' of sorts or, instead, were they concealing their data until they had been published?

Unfortunately, we are not able to answer these questions. We also know very little about Franciscan disputations with local literati.⁶⁰ Francisco do Negrão referred to these practices in his *Taprobana*. In Leonardo Paes's book, we read that in the early seventeenth century, Negrão conversed with a 'young Brahman', who had 'books of his

58 José António Ismael Gracias, *A imprensa em Goa nos séculos XVI, XVII e XVIII: Apontamentos histórico-bibliográficos* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1880), p. 46.

59 See a partial version of the treatise on Ethiopia in Manuel Barradas, *Tractatus tres historico-geographici* (1634): *A Seventeenth Century Historical and Geographical Account of Tigray, Ethiopia*, edited by Richard Pankhurst (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 1996).

60 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, p. 158.

grandfather in which he had information, five thousand years old, according to their time reckoning', concerning the truth of the history of Sagamo, the king of South India, contemporary of the apostle Saint Thomas, who converted to Christianity and ordered the construction of the temple in Mylapore. It is from this dialogue that Negrão compiled information about local religions for his Chronicle of His Order in India, which was quoted by Pietro della Valle in his *Travels*, and which nourished an important part (albeit untraceable) of the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*.⁶¹

In a way similar to what happened with most of the texts in the Orientalist corpus in the early modern period, in which historiography identified the protagonists—Dutch, English, and French travelers, and later the Jesuits—all of whom copied each other so that it is difficult to determine the origin of the information,⁶² the Orientalist writing of Paulo da Trindade also participated in the same knowledge regime and contributed to future texts. This is quite visible in what he offered on Sri Lanka—probably borrowed from Negrão's *Taprobana*—and the way in which this information was appropriated by the better known *A Conquista Espiritual e Temporal do Ceilão* (The Spiritual and Temporal Conquest of Ceylon) written by the Jesuit Fernão Queirós. This treatise, which is directly linked to the writings of Francisco do Negrão and Paulo da Trindade, was first published in the early twentieth century.⁶³

These multiple sources are visible in the index of the *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*. Most of the index entries follow a typical model of Franciscan chronicles with the inclusion of the heroic histories of the founders and miracles bestowing divine mandate to the order. However, the geographical/chorographical and ethnographical material attests to other Franciscan intellectual practices that from the medieval times considered the mapping of the world as the best way

61 Francisco do Negrão, *Taprobana* (P. I, L. 3, arg. 8, 437), in Paes, *Promptuario*, pp. 248–9; Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual*, vol. 1, p. 335, n.1.

62 See, still important work by Sylvia Murr, *L'Inde philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*, 2 vols (Paris: EFEO, 1967), but also reflections by Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*; See also Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist'.

63 Fernão de Queyro, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*, 3 vols (Colombo: A. C. Richards, 1930; reprint New Delhi: Asian Educational Service, 1992).

to extend human history ('because with it one can understand better what one writes').⁶⁴

Trindade opens his book with the Franciscan priority claim to presence in Asia, as a sign of possession, in order to argue, as Mexican friars did too, that it was the Portuguese who were elected to destroy Asian idolatry and inaugurate the coming of the Kingdom of Christ.⁶⁵ A similar argument had already been advanced by Negrão. In the *Taprobana*, he tried to explain the Christianization of India prior to the arrival of the Portuguese, defending the presence of the Apostle St Thomas in Goa, with which the Franciscans of the Custody naturally agreed.⁶⁶

The arrival of the Portuguese was the condition for reclaiming Asian marvellous territories replete with geographical and natural riches. In order to reveal these riches, various chapters ethonologized the 'Orient', while other chapters were also full of ethnographic examples. For example, three chapters in the first volume are devoted to geography and the riches that can be found in Asia, in addition to evoking or repeating this fact throughout the book.

However, since Asia was in the hands of idolaters and bad people, because 'this Orient is a part of the world where reign idolatry and other sins' it was not surprising that it was 'packed with fierce animals and venomous vermin': daring elephants, bold tigers, hungry lions, and other beasts 'thirsty for human blood'.⁶⁷ Among all poisonous vermin, the snakes—a recurrent *topos* in all the literature about these territories—were ubiquitous and appeared even inside the houses.

The interest in snakes was common to all who wrote about these regions, since it was directly linked to the Garden of Eden imaginary. In Trindade's work it also reflects a local experience of the Franciscans in Goa where snakes did enter convents and cells of the friars. There was at least one religious who had died from snake bite. With the same goal of survival—which also stimulated, as we have seen, the writing of Garcia de Orta and other botanists and physicians—Trindade

64 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 6.

65 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, 114; Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, c. 1.

66 Negrão, *Taprobana*, Parte I, livro 3, argumento 9, in Paes, *Promptuario*, pp. 70–2.

67 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 277.

provides detailed information about snakes present in Bardez (the part of Goa under Franciscan jurisdiction) and transliterated the names locally used to identify them. Besides 'pandorós', 'divarus', 'aguiós', 'nenantos', the vipers, and 'sancapallu', with their colours and behaviour and special effects of their bites, he also described snakes of 'huge size that hunt down deers in the forest and after breaking and disentangling their bones they eat them'.⁶⁸

In order to fight the effects of poison of these snakes, the Providence supplied, according to Trindade, many antidotes. That the Franciscans already knew about these antidotes a century earlier, is clear from the comment by Garcia de Orta in his 42nd colloquy about 'the snake tree (*pao de cobra*)' that Ruano presents as a good antidote against snakes and difficult fevers: 'Also they say that it helps with fevers that are difficult to cure, according to what a friar of S. Francisco, worthy of faith, told me, and that he gave it to a man who suffered from malignant fevers'.⁶⁹

Trindade also wrote about other antidotes and their provenance—a 'Sri Lankan root (*raiz do Ceilão*)', a root called 'eyes (*olhos*)', that existed on the island of Salcete, in the Northern Provinces, a 'certain stone the size of hazelnut, also known by the name 'snake stone (*pedra de cobra*)', a bezoar stone, a horn of unicorn, and so on. Trindade closes this chapter explaining that 'I leave out many other things, very healthy and medicinal, that the physicians use in their cures, because our intention is not to write a book of Medicine, but only give a brief information about the remedies the Author of the Nature furnished India against poisonous vermin that inhabit it and especially in Bardês'.⁷⁰

These statements show that the Franciscans were both interested in and had access to this kind of information, in spite of the fact that they never registered and repertoried them in a systematic form. Like the Jesuits, they also shared practical knowledge and *expertise* on nature and on local society, mostly as a result of collaboration with local erudites. In contrast to Jesuits, however, this *expertise* was not considered as an independent research activity.⁷¹

68 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, pp. 277–8.

69 Orta, *Colóquios*, vol. 2, p. 181.

70 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 281.

71 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 335.

Similar to other Catholic missionaries, Trindade also condemned paganism, theologically and morally, and organized his ruminations about India around the topic of Platonic light and blindness. For example, in this Franciscan seventeenth century opinion, the Brahmins who were otherwise considered as sharp-witted and rational, remained blind and ignorant as a punishment for their sins. Not surprisingly, Brahmanical devotions and worship were depicted as combining a mixture of sensible things (the sign of an earlier moment of virtue) and ridiculous acts (the result of their fall). These statements were part of the recurrent ways of synthesizing the hierarchy of relations between the Christians (those who could see) and non-Christians (those who were blind), a definition that would be secularized in the eighteenth century as an opposition between civility and barbarism.

We have discussed in the previous chapter the ways in which the Jesuits accumulated knowledge of religion. In the following paragraphs we focus on similarities and differences between Jesuit and Franciscan knowledge on these subjects. These will help us demonstrate that 'Catholic' processes of knowing were complex and varied.

Let us start with the external categories (already discussed in the context of Jesuit missions) that the Franciscans employed to identify local religion—temples, priests, ceremonies, funding—the same that were used when describing the religion of the Christians. With this comparative gesture, *avant la lettre*, Trindade is another contributor to the construction of the universal grid for the analysis of all the religions in the world, which engendered the relativization of Christian religion.

However, at the same time that he was able to apply analytical tools, Trindade framed them with metaphorical synthesis of idolatry by way of faculties connected to memory and vision. Still belonging to a world in which mystical hermeneutics was considered valuable, Trindade used the allegory of the prostitute of the Apocalypse of Saint John (in which the palm tree is the tree of Heaven, ubiquitous in India and, as we have shown in the third chapter, a major object of imperial desire) as a proof of the satanic origin of Indian idolatry.

The prostitute was represented as a woman seated on the red beast with seven heads and seven tails, richly bedecked and with a goblet full of abominations. According to Trindade, who transferred the

allegory of the apocalyptic time to the present time in Asia, the red beast was a demon to whom the 'pagan barbarians' offered devotion out of fear; seven heads evoked seven idolatrous Indian kings; the golden goblet signified the doctrine of various idolatrous sects and 'the infernal books they teach, some of which are read in public universities that the kings support with big revenues'; while the woman was a mirror of seduction framed by idolatry, whose ornaments were temple treasures, sumptuous festive decorations and solemnities of the priests.

Part of the seduction displayed by idolatry were the 'very soft verses', which were recited through singing, 'so that by entertaining the feeling of softness of the verse and melody of the song, the reason is prevented from judging as false that which is proposed to it'.

At the same time, Trindade was aware of the difference between written and oral texts, namely poetic oral texts, the ideal place for falsification, and for intentional deceit. Like Augustinians and Jesuits, a Franciscan Trindade summoned a battery of existing intellectual prejudices and traditions of his religious community as he started to analyse Indian devotions.

In order to support his arguments, and closer to Azevedo's and Rubino's discursive strategy than to Fenicio's, Trindade reported material aspects of the local devotions, starting with the magnificence of their temples.⁷²

As we have already seen in the second and the fourth chapters, the temple was not only one of the most visible signs of local religious structures, but a condition of its survival and reproduction, because it was the centre of local sociability. According to Trindade—perhaps using Azevedo's evidence—in the kingdom of Vijayanāgara there were at least 64 temples with the annual rent of 60,000 *pagodas*, while one of them received 260,000 *patacas*, in addition to alms.⁷³ Among the Vijayanāgara temples, that of Tirumvāle (Tiruvannamalai?) was the 'gem of idolatry', the feasts of which attracted more than 4,000,000 people (coming from 'all the nations of the Orient'), 300,000 to 400,000 horsemen, amassing incalculable wealth. On the Malabar Coast, in one particular space no bigger than one square 'league', left

⁷² Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, I, cap. 17.

⁷³ Pagoda was a gold coin used in Vijayanāgara and other Indian states. Pataca was an old silver coin.

unidentified, there were 140 temples and many priests, and it was so much more impressive because it was in one of the poorest regions. A temple in Cambay (Gujarat) had 9 cloisters, with 12 gods made in massive gold, some of whom were the size of ten-year-old boys. Some of the temples had 2000 dancing girls!

The same perspective is applied to the caves in Kanheri that the Franciscans knew very well because they had been transformed in the sixteenth century into a church by friar António do Porto, a Franciscan of the Province of Piety of Portugal, who was also interested in exploring them. The same is true of the temple on the Elephanta Island, to which Trindade dedicated two entire chapters in the second volume, directly glossed by the descriptions provided by Diogo do Couto in his *Decades*, who used, as already flagged by Sanjay Subrahmanyam, multiple sources, possibly some of the early Franciscan contributions.⁷⁴ (Figure 16)

In addition, some of the magnificent stone temples had their 'mobile' extensions in 'public and solemn processions performed with many triumphant chariots, some of them four to five storeys tall, with so many wheels on each side and on which there were at least two hundred people', a very well-known image since the discovery of the aquarelles in the *Codex Casanatense*.

In Trindade's view, these ceremonies were equally essential for understanding local devotions, especially the fact that people, in an excess of devotion, sacrificed themselves under the wheels of the chariots that transported the idols.⁷⁵

In the question of theology, the Franciscan concluded that in spite of the fact that local religions were organized around a series of divinities, they were basically monotheist. Thus the Trimūrti,

⁷⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'An Eastern El-Dorado: The Tirumala-Tirupati Temple-Complex in Early European Views and Ambitions, 1540–1660', in *Syllables of Sky: Studies in South Indian Civilization in Honour of Velcheru Narayana Rao*, ed. David Shulman (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 338–90. In the chapter devoted exclusively to Oriental idolatry, Trindade mixes together information about India, Japan, and China. He writes that in Japan there was a temple with more than 1,500 divinities, gilded and as big as men, while in Pocacer and Nanquim in China, there were 2,300 temples, and in Beijing 3,800. Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, pp. 84–5; vol. II, chapters 35 and 40.

⁷⁵ Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 85.



Figure 16. Procession, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae variae ... in lingua lusitana*, c. 1540, MS. 1889, c. 78

the equivalent to the Holy Trinity, was composed of Brahma, Viṣṇu, and Śiva, 'kings and rulers of the world', who received their own power from the supreme divinity (Parabrama/Parabrahma, Adimurti, Adirupa), who was 'the supreme unique God, spiritual, immense, eternal, immortal' and to whom Indians deny 'a true adoration'.

After this initial classification, perhaps a product of a dialogue with Indian theologians of the Vedanta school, it was from this Trimūrti (Figure 17)—'their Trinity', 'although in fact they do not confess this'—that other particular divinities proliferated, among which the most famous were Viṣṇu's *avatāras*.⁷⁶ Much earlier, therefore, than Protestant missionaries such as Ziegenbalg, and their learned supporters such as Mathurin Veyssiére de la Croze, and more than a century and a half before John Zephaniah Holwell's and Voltaire's defense of Indian monotheism, some

⁷⁶ Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, pp. 336–8. The monotheist thesis was commonly held by travellers and missionaries of this period, with some exceptions such as Diogo do Couto.

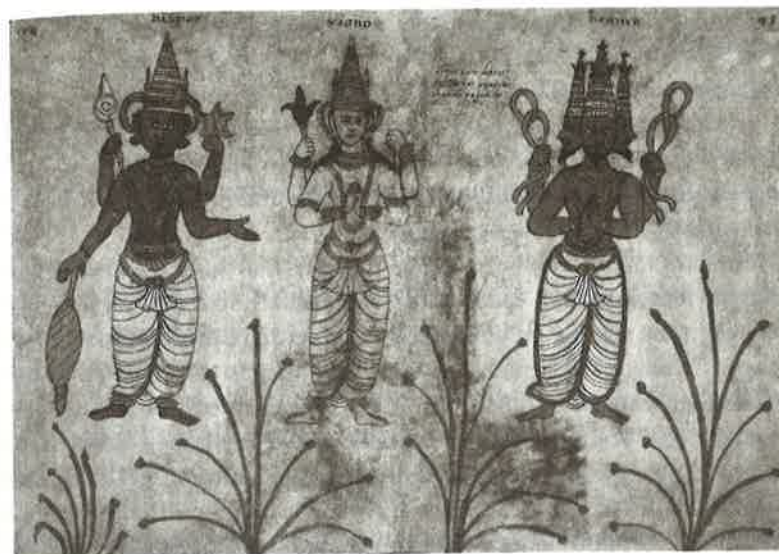


Figure 17. Trimūrti, Biblioteca Casanatense, *Figurae variae ... in lingua lusitana*, c. 1540, MS. 1889, c. 92

Jesuits and the Franciscan Trindade held opinions that the Indians were monotheists and resembled Christians.⁷⁷ From these original branches, it was believed, derived other deities. Among these divinities, there were 'idols/gods (*pagodes*)', 'who are new inventions and cannot be found in their [books], and they rather despise them by calling them Bhuta Pretá, as can be read in some places in the book *Crusmarcherita*'.

Was Paulo da Trindade referring to Dandin's *Dashakumaracharita*, which recounted the history of ten princes, embedded in the context in which demons and various divinities interacted in the terrestrial world, of which there may have been versions circulating in Goa? Or was he referring to *Krishna Charitra Katha*, a work written by Krishnadas Shama, in 1526, from Keloshi (Quelossim), and transcribed by the Portuguese?⁷⁸

⁷⁷ For relations between Agostinho de Azevedo's text and Diogo do Couto's *Décadas*, which became one of Holwell's sources and on the 'discovery' of Indian monotheism, see App, *The Birth of Orientalism*, chapter 2.

⁷⁸ The manuscript of this work was discovered by Prof. Mariano Saldanha in BPB in Portugal (first 130 pages of codex 773, Marathi MS, Roman script).

Trindade also explains that each village had five idols—the *Panchadevata*—a village and lineage deities, the deity of the territory, a village guard, and a local hero.⁷⁹

In this way Trindade tried to systematize territorial demarcation enacted through local devotion and worship, by hierarchizing and differentiating two distinct categories: temples and idols, both called at that time by the same name, 'pagode'.⁸⁰

He maintained in an analogous manner that Indian sacred texts were divided into four Vedas written in Sanskrit: the first on judicial astrology, the second on ethics, the third on rites, and the fourth on magic. Trindade explained that each Veda consisted of six *Shastras*, books that focused on divinities, but also contained moral precepts in eighteen *Purāṇas*, and these, finally, could be broken down into twenty-eight *Agamas*, the 'most consulted and common in the whole of India'. This paragraph mostly reproduces Diogo do Couto's statement, who certainly borrowed from Agostinho de Azevedo's text.⁸¹ To this set of texts, which Max Müller and other prominent Orientalists considered the core of Hindu thought,⁸² Trindade added other important books, such as the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Bhagavadgītā*, which became Indian intellectual and cultural reference text as soon as it appeared in Charles Wilkins's English translation in 1785. He also mentions *Thori Mandora Malem* (probably *Tirumurai*, since his knowledge of *Śaivism* must have been based on the South Indian variety), which according to him was the book most read and taught in all the schools that follow the doctrine of *Rudra* (i.e., *Śaivite* schools).⁸³

79 Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. I, p. 339.

80 See our second and fifth chapter.

81 App, *The Birth of Orientalism*, pp. 330, 336.

82 King, *Orientalism and Religion*, p. 128. Jeanne Hein and V. S. Rajam, *The Earliest Missionary Grammar of Tamil Fr. Henriques' Arte da Lingua Malabar: Translation, History, and Analysis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

83 The *tēvāram* (God's garland) refers to the first seven volumes of the *Tirumurai*, the twelve-volume collection of Tamil Shaivite devotional poetry. V. M. Subramanya Aiyar, J. -L. Chevillard, and S. A. S. Sarma, *Digital Tēvāram: Kaṇiṇit Tēvāram*, Collection Indologie, n° 103, IFP/EFEO, 2007, CD-ROM. See Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, pp. 345–6.

Like other European writers, Trindade's description of Indian idolatry had an inbuilt literary and literacy bias since he was unable to conceptualize Indian religions without reference to their sacred books.⁸⁴ For Indian born Franciscans, grasping the difference differently was not yet possible. Therefore, for Trindade the division into minor and major deities and into major and minor texts derived from the Vedas resulted in the division of the local worship into three major sects from which proliferated multiple other religious branches. Following Trindade, in all these sects the Brahmins acquired prominence, although among the Vaiṣṇava, this prominence was the most visible.⁸⁵

Trindade concluded these chapters by stating that he knew much more about local idolatry but preferred to provide a synthetic version and thus omitted many details in favour of a general picture. This rhetoric of elision had a comparable effect to the rhetoric of oblivion that would characterize texts written by Goan Oratorians some decades later in their writing about Asian territories where they were sent as missionaries.⁸⁶ They claimed that they knew, but would not let us access their knowledge. In the case of Oratorians, from Goan Catholic Brahmin families, one of the reasons behind these choices was their unwillingness to represent religious alterity in their descriptions and to show 'too much' intimate knowledge about it, lest their orthodoxy be questioned.

In spite of the fact that it is clear that one of the sources for these parts of his work was Couto's *Decade V*, Book Six, published in 1612,⁸⁷ Trindade's systematization was independent of Couto's text. Just as Couto—who accused João de Barros and Damião de Góis of not understanding the basis of gentilism—because they had not spoken 'to Gentile Theologians as we did', Trindade had direct access to Indian

84 On the 'literary' bias in conceptualizing foreign religions, see Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion*.

85 See chapter 2, p. 27, figure 9: the cult of Narayana, a Viṣṇu avatar, was the main male cult in Salcete, a region where Vaiṣṇava Brahmins were dominant.

86 Županov, 'Goan Brahmins in the Land of Promise', pp. 171–210.

87 António Coimbra Martins, *História de Diogo do Couto e dos seus livros* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, s. d.), p. 85.

theologians who had many and different interpretations on the subject of Indian 'idolatry', and these interpretations also speak through his book.

Another variety of Indian Franciscan writing on India is the treatise called *Viagens pela India* (Travels through India), written in the last quarter of the 17th century, by an anonymous Franciscan of the Province of Mother of God in India, who combined an impressive erudition and a real fascination for the spaces, for architecture in particular, and for the people. Like António José de Noronha, this Franciscan reveals an erudition that he either acquired from the Franciscans with whom he had studied or in his family.

In fact, he described himself as a son of a 'well-known' aristocratic family of Portuguese origin, but established in India. However, he expressed critical judgements about the beliefs and practices of the locally established Portuguese. 'It is a common opinion in India that those who are born here do not want to leave', he wrote, in order to explain that he would not follow 'common opinions', and that he was able to live in the worst countries in the world, 'and to feel there as well as in my homeland'. This cosmopolitan virtue explained why he even considered living in Europe 'which is not disagreeable', albeit at a 'great cost of health and forces'.⁸⁸ This is an interesting observation because it mimics and reproduces criticism-in-reverse of cosmopolitan travellers born in Europe and settled in India. The durability and permanence of the Portuguese presence in Indian territories allowed this inversion: the Portuguese born in India, who possessed and shared multiple identities, developed a sense of at-homeness in Asia, and a sense of belonging—what we called, previously, creole identity—that made their writings different from narratives of other colonial actors.

The only known manuscript copy of *Travels through India*—in a very bad state of conservation—is divided into four parts, of which the first and the last are the descriptions of travel, while the middle parts provide a history of India.⁸⁹ In the beginning of the second part among his eighteen chapters there is

88 Anon., *Viagens pela India*, BNL, Cod. 846, fl. 263v.

89 *Viagens pela India*, paper added between the folios 80v–81.

a portion that pertains to Indian gentiles, that is: all their castes in general, and many in particular, their customs, dresses, food, arms, rites, predispositions, occupations, and professions with information about what they do, what is cultivated and what is produced by the land, about the tallest tree, about the most simple herb: about the most arrogant animal, about the bird that flies high in the sky; even about an insect; or a caterpillar, about the most miserable place, all woven through with some other curious information.

In addition to the obvious extraordinary ambition of the work, the list of chapters allows us to understand that the Franciscan friar was most interested in social and economic aspects that we study today as cultural questions. Each chapter occupies six folios signalling that there was a coherent system of exposition of knowledge behind the apparent informality of just another travel narrative.

Let us glimpse the index of the chapters in the second and the third part.

In the second part, we find the description of castes and the questions of economic production. The first six chapters are about castes: chapter 1, 'of Gods of the Indian gentiles, their idolatries, their castes...'; chapters 2 and 3, only partly readable, about Brahmans, their occupations, food, clothes, hair, rites, the use of the thread, of ashes, the meaning of *Pancha*; chapter 4, 'in which we continue with the same topic concerning the division and the origin of the principal castes'; chapter 5, 'of three principal trunks or branches of nobility, their divisions and their occupations...'; chapter 6, 'of other three principal trunks or branches and their divisions'. Chapters 7 to 15 are dedicated to agriculture, from the distribution of land between different agricultural products, with rice as the most important, but also flowers, plants, herbs, roots, and fruits. Chapters 16 to 18 offer the description of Indian flora.

In his observations on the origin of castes he promotes the theory according to which the caste distinctions were the result either of occupation or of 'nation' (defined by birthplace), and he insisted on the differences between the Brahmans from the North and from South India. For example, the friar shared opinion (which also circulated in Goa in this period) that the Charodos and the Prabhus were of Rajput families. He supports his thesis on the basis of a kind of 'comparative philology', a device that was widely used among the

Portuguese in Goa, and a method he also applies in his considerations about Vaixias.⁹⁰

The information on agriculture is extremely valuable because it takes into account the distribution of land among the villages, the agricultural products and their use in culinary preparations, etc. His economic eye is also sharp and he included two pages on the type of coins that circulated in these territories.

Part III returns to the question of caste, but this time directly linked to concrete occupations of the members of each caste and other aspects associated with it. The last chapters, finally, address specifically the religion of the Indians. While chapters 1 to 8 describe castes, occupations, and similar (chapter 1, 'of other castes among peoples of India, in particular of *bandarins* with all that characterizes them'; chapter 2, 'of palm trees'; chapter 3, 'of sailors, fishermen ...'; chapter 4, 'of boats, ships and their designs'; chapter 5, 'of fish and shells'; chapter 6, 'of *amaes* and other castes'; chapter 7, 'of *balagats*, persians, *gatuas*, canarins in India'; chapter 8, 'the names of the gentiles; decorations, ornaments, games'), chapters 9 to 12 are entirely dedicated to beliefs of the Indians—chapters 9, 'what do gentiles of India believe'; chapter 10, 'Vishnu'; chapter 11, 'Brahma and inferior gods'; chapter 12, 'of other rites, superstitions, pacts, remedies, antagonism among different sects.'

Here, as well, the information provided is of major importance for the social and economic history of India. If in the first part, it was agriculture that concerned our anonymous author the most, in the second part it is fishing. He was, in particular, interested in the logistics of this activity.

The index of this treatise is sufficiently revealing about this friar's interests and what he considered important to be included into the history of India. Unlike Trindade, the anonymous Franciscan was not obsessed with the question of idolatry, although he probably knew a great deal about local practices. His *narrative template*, in fact, was

90 *Viagens pela India*, fl. 85v–106. Since the early Portuguese presence in India, the similarities between different languages, as well as speculations about their common roots, i.e., with Egyptian, were remarked. However, these efforts were more impressionistic than systematic, compared to those developed by William Jones in the eighteenth century, and by comparative philologists in the nineteenth century.

much closer to that of Linschoten and other lay travellers, even Portuguese travellers in the beginning of the sixteenth century such as Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, more interested in mapping the riches and people than inquiring about their beliefs. His socio-economic perspective also helped him capture less common information or estimates, such as the idea that by the end of the seventeenth century one-fourth of the population in India was Muslim, Jewish, or Christian. He endeavoured, too, to describe in detail Muslim population that he encountered in Surat and Ahmedabad—towns he appreciated a great deal—as well as Indian population.⁹¹

With a strong sensibility for philology, architecture, social, and religious aspects, the anonymous Franciscan tried to systematize local diversity. He was clearly aware of regularities that allowed attribution of order to the diversity and his project was not only to heap knowledge on knowledge, but to systematize the available information. However, travel made it necessary to include updates. It seems that the second book was supposed to be dedicated to castes and agriculture, but his experience of the local reality obliged him to spill over this topic into the third book as well.

From reading this treatise, it is evident that he chose *Azia Portuguesa* (Portuguese Asia) by Manuel de Faria e Souza as a *template* for his inquiries in Asia. He considered this metropolitan book an excellent work but insufficient, which he proposed to complete. Moreover, he focused on alternative explanations of somewhat curious and paradoxical events and situations that he encountered in India. Just as Trindade, this anonymous friar wrote for an imagined audience, while at the same time entertaining the conversation with various other books that constituted his encyclopaedia of references. As opposed to Trindade—who was restrained by the pragmatic goals of his book—this Franciscan was much closer to academic discussion. Instead of describing India because of pragmatic goals (political or religious), he was truly interested in contributing to the advancement of knowledge.

The writing of this anonymous historian of India is more than an individual effort. Since he used Manuel Faria de Souza's *Portuguese Asia*, published between 1665 and 1668, it is almost sure that he wrote

91 *Viagens pela India*, fl. 83v.

his book after 1668, the period when the visibility of the Franciscans from the Reformed Province of the Mother of God in the Estado da Índia was growing compared to the decline of the Franciscans of the Province (Observant) of Saint Thomas. Sociological and political reasons for this growth and decline are yet to be understood, but the quantity and quality of writings of the Reformed Franciscans such as this anonymous author is a symptom of this change.

These examples show us that these friars, albeit all Franciscans and all born in India from Portuguese parents—that is to say, all of them creoles—had very different intentions. They belonged to different ‘imagined communities’ of knowledge, targeted different audiences, and aimed at different goals. Rather than discerning set patterns and scriptural models, we find multiple forms of thinking and thematizing Indian experience.⁹²

However, in spite of some methodological innovations and crossings-over, both in terms of sources and authorial claims, from other cultural worlds, these histories were not rooted in comprehensive theoretical relativism.⁹³ In fact, the nexus established between Orientalism and Portuguese imperialism made their discourse dependant on the designs and demands of power.⁹⁴

Regardless of their limitations and achievements, the majority of these narratives had been discarded from the second half of the eighteenth century, for not being credible, or by simply falling into oblivion.⁹⁵ For example, while a Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavigero incorporated into his book, *Historia antigua del México*, 1780 (The Ancient History of Mexico), a book by a Franciscan Juan de

92 On the Spanish writing patterns at the same period, see Steve J. Stern, ‘Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics’, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24 (1992): 1–34.

93 On the emergence of the concept of theoretical relativism, see Zachary Sayre Schiffman, ‘An Anatomy of the ‘Historical Revolution in Renaissance’, *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42, n° 3 (Autumn 1989): 507–33 and ‘Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered’, *History and Theory*, 24, n° 2 (May 1985): 170–82.

94 Diogo Ramada Curto, ‘Orientalistas e cronistas de Quinhentos’, in Curto, *Cultura Escrita*, p. 119. Charles Boxer, ‘Three Historians of Portuguese Ásia, Barros, Couto e Bocarro’, in *Boletim do Instituto Português de Hong-Kong*, vol. 1 (1948): 3–32.

95 See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra’s opinion on these regimes of truth in his *How to Write the History*, chapter 1.

Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, 1615 (The Indian Monarchy),⁹⁶ with all the necessary eighteenth-century philosophical readjustments, the texts by the Franciscans in India, such as those by Negrão and Trindade were not integrated into the Asian part of the Friar Manuel dos Anjos’s (1595–1653) *A Historia Universal do Mundo* (A Universal History), first published in 1651, and a widely read reference manual in the Portuguese-speaking world.⁹⁷ Apparently, the oblivion of these previous sources was mainly due to Franciscan deficient channels of communication and careless attitude to institutional memory!

BACK TO THE CENTRE OF THE EMPIRE: THE UNIVERSAL HISTORY BY MANUEL DOS ANJOS

‘All you desire to know, or to inquire by your own eyes, or in the books where those who knew, and saw things, noted them down, and communicated to the world.’⁹⁸

Manuel dos Anjos’s theory of knowledge is outlined in the ‘Prologue to the Reader’ where he tried to justify before his audience the manner in which he gathered information indispensable for knowing ‘things that happen in the Universe’.⁹⁹ According to him, it was ‘impossible to acquire perfect knowledge by data acquired through experience, because they are almost infinite, and it is not possible to travel, and to go, to all the regions where they occur’.¹⁰⁰

96 Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom*, p. 115. On the dispute between Clavigero and the important historian of the Scottish Enlightenment, William Robertson and author of the *History of America* (1777), see Silvia Sebastiani, *I limiti del progresso. Razza e genere nell’Illuminismo scozzese* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008), p. 253.

97 Friar Manuel dos Anjos, *A Historia Universal do Mundo em que se descrevem os Impérios, Monarchias, Reynos, e Províncias do Mundo com muitas cousas notáveis que há nelle* was first published in Coimbra in 1651, then in 1702 and 1735. For quotations, we use the version published in 1702. Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. 3, p. 179.

98 Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, p. * 2.

99 Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, p. * 2.

100 In that sense, Anjos belonged to that community of writers that was persuaded that the intellectual distance from the physical object of knowledge allowed a better angle of analysis. On the British experience of writing the empire, see Catherine Hall and Sonya O. Rose, eds, *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2006).

It is not easy to unravel why this Franciscan historian distrusted the validity of information from experience for the acquisition of universal knowledge, in a period characterized by upsurge in various types of empiricism: the model of knowledge in which experiential evidence and vision played a central role in authenticating descriptions; the Aristotelian empiricism, which nourished Jesuit and Dominican knowledge experiences; and the paradigms that were being developed by Francis Bacon and others in England and elsewhere.

In other words, it is not clear how well informed was Anjos of the novelties that were changing in the most decisive way the dominant epistemological patterns in the European space. Since he rejected them, he may have chosen to follow only the Franciscan empiricist intellectual tradition, which originated in the work of Roger Bacon. In that sense, his was not an anti-empiricist, but combined empiricism and bookish knowledge, considered as the most certain guide to develop good synthesis. For Anjos, to know and narrativize 'the things that are happening in the Universe' was only possible by books, by contemplation, by selection and by induction.¹⁰¹

Hence, to write *A Historia Universal*, Anjos was lucky enough to encounter 'most of the Authors', 'ancient and modern and the most authentic ones'.¹⁰²

Born near the village of Pinhel in the interior of Portugal, Friar Manuel dos Anjos, took religious vows in 1615. He studied in the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus, in Lisbon, and became a minister of the Convent of Our Lady of Hope, close to Belmonte, in the same

101 On the historiographical debates in which Manuel dos Anjos did not participate, see *L'Histoire en marge de l'histoire à la Renaissance* (Paris: Éd. Rue de l'Um/Presses de l'École Normale Supérieure, 2002); Hans Baron, 'The Querelle of the Ancients and the Moderns as a Problem for Renaissance Scholarship', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 20, no. 1 (January 1959): 3–22; Donald Kelley, *Faces of History, From Herodotus to Herder* (New Haven-London: Yale University Press, 1998). Schiffman, 'Renaissance Historicism Reconsidered' and 'An Anatomy of the Historical Revolution'. Jacob Soll, 'Empirical History and the Transformation of Political Criticism in France from Bodin to Bayle', *Journal of History of Ideas*, 64, n° 2 (April 2003): 297–316.

102 Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, 1702, p. * 3. He also wrote *Triunfo da Sacratíssima Virgem Maria Nossa Senhora concebida sem pecado* (Lisbon: Lourenço Craesbeeck, 1638) and *Politica Predicável, doutrina do bom governo moral do mundo* (Lisbon: Officina Miguel Deslandes, 1693), published after his death. These two treatises were also official commissions.

region as Pinhel. It was while staying in Belmonte that he wrote his own version of the universal history. It is highly probable that he consulted these books in the library of the Convent of Our Lady of Jesus in Lisbon, in which we can still find most of the authors he quoted. These included Herodotus, Strabon, Quintus Curtius, Suetonius, Pliny, Paolo Orosio, Marco Polo, but also Jean Bodin, Giovanni Botero, Bartolomé de las Casas, Abraham Ortelius, Jan Huygen van Linschoten, Antonio de San Román, Anthony Shirley, Pietro della Valle, Jean de Laet, Giovanni Pietro Maffei, or, among the Portuguese, João de Barros, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Pedro Teixeira, Nicolau de Oliveira, etc. In addition, Anjos quoted authors from non-European territories: Arabic authors such as Ben-Casen, a physician who had written about the history of Arabic medicine and was well known in the early modern scholarship.¹⁰³ He also cites Abu'l-Fida (known by early modern Europeans as Abulfeda), a medieval Kurdish historian, geographer, and politician, author of several treatises such as *Mukhtaṣar ta'rīkh al-bashar* or the *Taqwīm al-buldān*, which Anjos certainly knew in translated versions.¹⁰⁴ Briefly, his sources were texts 'written by the Chroniclers and Geographers concerning the Universe', 'from which I collected what served my purpose'.¹⁰⁵

At the same time, as he tried to extend his corpus of references to well-travelled international authors, and given that he always privileged narratives by the 'natives'—William Camden for England, George Buchanan for Scotland, Anders Bure for Sweden—he ended paying less attention to Jesuit prints and Franciscan manuscripts circulating in the Portuguese empire, in America, and Asia. Judging from Anjos's citational range, which reveals a preference for narratives written by laymen, did he perhaps think that the texts by missionaries and friars from India were not good enough for the

103 M. S. Houdart, *Histoire de la médecine grecque depuis Esculape jusqu'à Hippocrate exclusivement* (Paris: Chez J.-B. Baillières, 1856), pp. 40–1.

104 Farid Ibn Faghūl, Carl Ehrig-Eggert, and E. Neubauer, eds, *Studies on Abul-Fida' al-Ḥamawī (1273–1331 A.D.)* (Frankfurt am Main: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1992). In the eighteenth century, while Abulfeda was still a reference, his work appeared in print: *Abulfeda Tabula Syriae cum excerpto geographico ex Ibn ol Wardii Geographia et historia naturali, arabice nunc primum ed., latine vertit notis explanavit* (Lipsiae: Litteris Schönermarkii, 1766).

105 Anjos, *Historia Universal*, 1702, pp. * 3–4.

advancement of knowledge? How secular was the writing of Anjos compared to other secular treatises?

Anjos did not explain clearly the hierarchy of the books he used. We have no indication as to whether he followed the work of Sabellicus, a standard model for the writing of universal history in the late medieval tradition, which had been translated into Portuguese and published as *Crónica Geral* (A General Chronicle) in 1550 and 1553.¹⁰⁶ One thing is certain: he does not quote the more recent *Histoire universelle du monde* (A Universal History of the World) by François de Belleforest, and the enlarged translation of *Cosmographie Universelle* (A Universal Cosmography) by Sebastian Münster.¹⁰⁷

In reading his *A Historia Universal*, it becomes evident that the paradigm used to organize information (the structure of the chapters and contents) was geography. Expressions such as 'the easiest style, currently practiced that the Geographers always obey when writing about the regions in the Universe' are frequent. At the same time, we also notice his nominalist sensibility, present from the beginning of the book, in the reflections on who invented the names of the continents: 'It is not known when or who gave them the name, long time ago and which they preserve today.'¹⁰⁸

Divided in three parts (I: Europa, II: Asia, III: Africa), and privileging geographical units against chronological continuity, Anjos's book focused mostly on European history, of which the history of the American continent was considered as one of the parts.¹⁰⁹ In order to explain this division, Anjos uses the common thesis of Noah's sons and descendants, affirming that, in spite of having attributed the major part, which was Asia to his oldest son Sem, God 'gave the best, which is Europe to the one he loved the most (Japhet)'. At the same

¹⁰⁶ He did not use the *Cronologia* by Nicolau Coelho do Amaral, published in the same year and in use by the Franciscans, and the following work: Antonio de Leon Pinelo, *Epitome de la Biblioteca oriental i occidental, nautica i geografica* (Madrid: Iuan Gonzalez, 1629).

¹⁰⁷ On Belleforest, see Edith Bissat, *Edition critique et etude litteraire de l'Histoire Universelle du Monde par Francois de Belleforest* (Nancy: Universite de Nancy, 2005).

¹⁰⁸ Anjos, *Historia Universal*, 1702, p. 2.

¹⁰⁹ This is the case with the *Bibliotheca Universalis* by Conrad Gesner and with the *Cosmographie Universelle* by Münster, whose organization was imitated by later works with the same encyclopaedic intention.

time, Anjos had no doubts that the Deluge was the referential marker of universal chronology, seemingly insensitive to or ignorant of the debates that questioned its universality.

Anjos's book belonged to the same discursive field as Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's *Discours sur l'histoire universelle*, dedicated to the French crown prince. This narrative started with the Biblical genesis followed by the universal Deluge, in the year 1656 after creation, which is highlighted as a key event in the subsequent history of humanity.¹¹⁰

Concerning geographic hierarchies in Europe, Spain (still designating the whole Iberian Peninsula, which suggests that Anjos started writing his book before 1640) was in the first place, 'because Geographers usually start with her in their descriptions and treatises'. The geographers that he was referring to were Pliny and Ptolemy who called Iberia *finis terrae* (the end of the world), which by inversion could be taken to mean—as Anjos did—the beginning of the world. In the chapter on the 'Provinces and Islands Subjects to Portugal', Anjos writes about Asia, starting with territories settled by the Portuguese. Here he assembled and compared information by European and Asian geographers: for example, he wrote that Hormuz was named by the Persians and Arabs, Gerum. And concerning Estado da Índia, he preferred to use Linschoten instead of João de Barros.¹¹¹

In the Book II, dedicated to 'Asia, its Empires, Monarchies, Kingdoms and Provinces', his immersion in Asian history is more intense.¹¹² He bolstered certain images that circulated about Asia, and quoted a plethora of authors whom he considered authoritative references for those who desired information on universal history. In that sense, he belongs to the immense group of authors who nourished the European Orientalist encyclopaedia.

However, contrary to what he had written earlier—that Europe was a chosen place—in the Book II, Asia is presented as the part of the world with 'major dignity'. In the same years Antonio de León Pinelo was arguing the exact opposite, while Anjos stood by his other

¹¹⁰ Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, *Discours sur l'histoire universelle à Monseigneur le Dauphin pour expliquer la suite de la religion et les changemens des empires* (Paris: S. Mabre-Cramoisy, 1681), p. 5.

¹¹¹ Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, p. 25.

¹¹² Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, p. 249.

Franciscan brothers in Asia who extolled it as a stage of the divine history.¹¹³ An additional supporting argument was that Asia was also full of empires: the Ottoman, Persian, Mughal, and Chinese.

Let us briefly delve on his narrative strategy concerning the description of the Ottoman Empire. First of all, Anjos used three different authors, none of whom were Portuguese. Starting with the territorial description, he claimed, quite rightly, that the Ottomans ruled almost all countries that were once part of the Roman Empire, a statement that was not often found in contemporary historiography.¹¹⁴ However, if in the five chapters dedicated to the territories that once belonged to the Roman empire, Anjos proved a great deal of objectivity, in his chapter on Islam, he is clearly biased. Just as in Trindade's approach to Asian religions, the epithets Anjos uses to describe Islam are emphatically negative: 'vanity', 'superstitions', 'damned sect', 'folly', 'perfidy', 'misery', 'blindness'.¹¹⁵

In contrast, Manuel dos Anjos shared and expressed openly his enchantment with China. China was a kingdom with more people than the whole world, fabulously diligent population, no idle people or vagabonds, because all had an occupation. The same type of admiration is visible in chapters concerning the Mughal and Persian Empires.

Once more, a Saidian type of Orientalist attitude should not be taken for granted in the mainstream Portuguese early modern historiography. There was rather a diversity of perspectives among the Portuguese Orientalist writers. In fact, Anjos's opinions about China are quite similar to those who used China as a platform for criticizing Europe. As we have already mentioned, Anjos excluded many Portuguese sources. This is a significant fact given the wide impact that *A Historia Universal* had on both readers and writers in the Lusophone world.

In contrast with the previous period, when the flexibility of the writing protocols was more visible, these seventeenth-century narratives should be analysed while keeping in mind a series of questions that refer to the building and formalization of a tradition, namely the

differences and similitudes, ruptures and continuities between the texts produced by laymen and religious, and between texts produced in the colonies and in the metropole. We should also consider the place allotted to the voices of the colonized, their chronology and their functions.¹¹⁶ And last but not least, we have to understand how Greco-Roman and Christian roots of their world imaginary operated in their texts.

Also in contrast to the writers of the previous period—or the lay writers of the seventeenth century born in Portugal, such as Diogo do Couto—the writers born in India, such as Trindade and the anonymous author of the manuscript *Viagens pela Índia* were less known. It did not matter that their knowledge was possibly more accurate than that of those who were born or lived in the metropolitan world. Apparently, the peripheries were excluded at the very moment when they started 'to speak for' their own history.

The questions of the language and of translation are crucial for understanding how these efforts at 'speaking for oneself' or for others succeeded or not. In the next chapter we try to disentangle early modern linguistic predicaments and the critical role the missionaries played in both the 'grammaticalization' of pagan languages and the 'relabelization' of the world.

¹¹³ Another example, Portuguese and Franciscan, of these opposing images of Asia emerged in the *Relação Defensiva* by Frey Miguel da Purificação.

¹¹⁴ Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, pp. 251, 255.

¹¹⁵ Anjos, *A Historia Universal*, pp. 274–81.

¹¹⁶ These attitudes were explored in the context of the British imperial experiences in the exemplary study by Christopher A. Bayly, *Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003). For the Spanish case, see Cañizares-Esguerra's, *How to Write the History*.

CHAPTER SIX

Portuguese Linguistic Empire

Translation and Conversion

When the first Franciscan friars arrived in India and encountered a multiplicity of 'gentile' languages, their own Portuguese idiom had no official grammar. Nonetheless, it was not long before it would be put to use as the language of an expanding empire with a double objective: to conquer, trade, communicate, and mediate between different peoples and, perhaps most importantly, to Christianize gentiles and infidels. This double role—as those who were called to chronicle these triumphal linguistic events believed—endorsed and validated Portuguese direct material and symbolic connection with the Roman Empire and with Latin.

In this sense, as we insisted in the first chapter, the Portuguese Antiquity turn coincided with the phenomenal imperial expansion overseas, and served as its epistemological, political, and poetic prop. Poetical licence, however, allowed for exaggeration and public flattery, but the linguistic competition with other vernacular languages was real and waged on the ground around the globe. In the process, the Portuguese and their colonial partners—with Portuguese language flying high on the banner—improvised new communication techniques crucial for the construction of the early modern transnational empire.

Far from Europe, the encounter between Portuguese language, 'a companion of the empire' and the Indian vernaculars turned out to be a lexically and epistemologically transformative

experience.¹ The transformations were, however, not symmetrical for both sides and they followed different chronologies, depending on actors, their intentions, and institutional and political contexts.

Powered by colonial desires and political power, Estado da Índia never succeeded in annihilating Indian languages in favour of Portuguese, although it did try on a few occasions in Goa, its largest territorial unit in Asia. Unlike the situation encountered in Brazil, the colonial administration discovered very early on that it was Portuguese that went on defensive and massively borrowed words from Asian languages in order to command, persuade, or entice their speakers. Certainly, Portuguese language framed a particular epistemological and political space in India through translation and other grammatical and lexicographical instruments, but it remained at all times only a small part of a much larger linguistic, social, cultural, and political galaxy.²

In spite of his praise of the two-way linguistic borrowing, João de Barros warned in his *Grammática* (Grammar) that it is better to leave a word, such as *mercadoria* (merchandise) in India than take the word *beniāga* back home.³ The sign of 'victory', added the grammarian, was to disseminate Portuguese words and 'good customs' and plant them like memorial stones (*padrões*) until all Indians, Ethiopians, Persians, and those beyond the Ganges spoke 'our language' which is the 'best, the most elegant and the closest

1 The concept of companionship, famously proposed by Antonio de Nebrija in 1492 for the other Iberian idiom, was rephrased for Portuguese by João de Barros.

2 Groundbreaking work by Sheldon Pollock on Sanskrit cosmopolis and the emergence of vernacular literary cultures in India is a useful background for understanding linguistic and political changes on the Indian subcontinent before the arrival of the Portuguese. Ronit Ricci's extension of the discussion to Southeast Asia and an 'Arabic cosmopolis' that came into being by overlaying formerly Sanskritized cultural traditions, and the encounter between Arabic and Tamil, Malay and Javanese is also helpful for thinking with the history of the Portuguese language in Asia. The latter was, in many ways, a very different story and has not yet been properly told. Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of God in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture and Power in Premodern India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006). Ricci, *Islam Translated*.

3 Barros, *Grammática*, p. 171.

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³ Barros, *Grammática*, p. 171.

to Latin'.⁴ In 1572, at the zenith of the Iberian imperial expansion in Asia, Luís Vaz de Camões sang praises to his national tongue by making the goddess Venus almost mistake it for Latin.⁵ Ideally, while mercantile riches were to be siphoned off from Asia, what was exported to the overseas colonies as 'charitable' ballast was the language and, under the heading of 'good customs', Christianity. This linguistic imperial dream, which started 'innocently' as trade and soteriological compassion, worked itself out in complicated ways. If Portuguese managed to become a transnational and trans-ethnic language of commercial contacts, it failed as a transnational language of conversion.

In this chapter we will try to disentangle various strands of this linguistic encounter by chronicling the history of initial success and ultimate failure of imperial Portuguese idiom in India, and by looking into complex relationships and networks in which various political actors, Indian and European, defined strategies and clashed over linguistic blueprints in the early modern period. The process of 'grammaticalization' of Indian languages—on the basis of Portuguese and Latin grammatical rules—which inaugurated translation of Christian doctrine and extraction of useful information was far from an innocent intervention.⁶ In Goa, where the secular arm supported Portuguese linguistic and religious imperialism, the identity framing of the new converted subjects by way of translation to and from Konkani was in many ways fraught with tensions and

4 Barros, *Grammática*, p. 163.

5 Portuguese could be mistaken for Latin by an 'inventive mind', wrote Luís Vaz de Camões. Camões, *The Lusíads*, p. 9.

6 On 'grammaticalization' of European vernaculars in the fifteenth century and sixteenth century according to Latin rules see Sylvain Auroux, *La révolution technologique de la grammatisation: Introduction à l'histoire des sciences du langage* (Liège: Mardada, 1994). 'Grammaticalization' of languages encountered in the Portuguese overseas colonies was mostly the work of missionaries who created grammars of new languages by analogy with the Latin grammar. A hugely popular grammar of the Jesuit Manuel Álvares, *De institutione grammatica libri tres* (Lisbon: 1572) may have been one of the models for the 'grammaticalization' of other languages. Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *A Galáxia das Línguas na Época da Expansão* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992). See also Rogelio Ponce de León Romeo, 'Gramaticografia e lexicografia em Portugal durante o século XVI: do Latim ao Português', *Limite*, 3 (2009): 45–65.

violence.⁷ However, the 'translation instruments' created by imperial agents worked both ways: they objectified, classified, and ordered reality to facilitate Portuguese administration, but they also gave Indians a handle to inscribe their own redefinitions, and to express previously unthinkable thoughts and desires.⁸ In this way, Western 'reflexive modalities' became invaded by unusually powerful and insinuating images, metaphors, and lexical components belonging to the non-Western world.⁹ This is also a moment in which the distance was reduced or even forgotten between imposed colonial translation and spontaneous aesthetic appropriation.

By the time the British arrived and settled down on the shores of the Indian Peninsula, before enthroning their own linguistic order, missionaries working under Portuguese royal patronage and, from the late seventeenth century, those who were sent by the Roman Propaganda Fide had already mapped a dozen or more of Indian and Asian languages with the intention of 'converting' them.¹⁰ In some parts they embarked on improving their alphabets or devising appropriate transliteration rules in Latin script. They introduced precocious printing presses to Goa, Kochi, and Kollam and to places such as Punnaikayal and Ambalacatta (Ambazhakad) and produced the first printing types of Tamil alphabet. Even more impressively, some exceptional missionary writers did more than translate Christian texts into Konkani and Tamil, but even reformed the language

7 According to Alexander Henn, the semiotic destruction through language of conversion was geared at words as much as at things and bodies. Alexander Henn, 'Jesuit Rhetorics: Translation versus Conversion in Early-Modern Goa', in *The Rhetorical Emergence of Culture*, eds, Christian Meyer and Felix Girke (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp. 210–24.

8 John M. Monteiro, 'Traduzindo Tradições', in *Os Índios, Nós*, ed. Joaquim Pais de Brito (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia and Comissão Nacional para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000), pp. 36–45.

9 See also Cláudio Costa Pinheiro, 'Words of Conquest: Portuguese Colonial Experiences and the Conquest of Epistemological Territories', *Indian Historical Review*, 36, no. 1 (2009): 37–53. According to David Mosse who studied a Catholic community in Tamil Nadu in the long durée, 'Catholic mission opened a space for certain form of social self-awareness', in David Mosse, *The Saint in the Banyan Tree: Christianity and Caste Society in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), p. xi.

10 See Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI* (Lisbon: Instituto de Cultura e Língua Portuguesa, 1983).

orthography and introduced new literary styles.¹¹ *Paramārta kuruvin katai* (The Story of the Guru Simpleton), a 'folk' story written by a Jesuit Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi, was according to Stuart Blackburn, the first example of Tamil prose fiction.¹² The first philological insights necessarily followed these early linguistic encounters. From offhand analogies between Italian, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit by Filippo Sassetti and Thomas Stephens in the 1580s, by the middle of the eighteenth century, Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux brought the similarity between these languages closer to the Indo-European hypothesis, later associated with the British Orientalists in Calcutta and Franz Bopp's comparative linguistics.¹³

In his most influential article on how and why British learnt the vernacular languages in India in the colonial period, Bernard S. Cohn laconically claimed that 'the British appear to have been ignorant' of Portuguese, German, Danish, and Dutch grammars and dictionaries when they embarked on their own properly speaking Orientalist campaign.¹⁴ This blanket dismissal of earlier linguistic and philological engagements by the Europeans in India is the result of the neglect with which the dominant British imperial and postcolonial historiography treated other historical actors and languages, often considered peripheral and unimportant.

In India, Portuguese as the language of empire was surely less successful than English, but it was precociously invested with similar intentions.

11 It is well known that the Jesuit Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi introduced changes into Tamil orthography by introducing the distinction between long and short 'e'.

12 Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003), p. 45.

13 See Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, 'Réponse au mémoire de M. L'Abbé Barthélemy (c. 1768)', Bibliothèque National, Paris, NAF 8871. It was published in *Supplément* to Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron's, 'Le premier fleuve de l'Inde, le Gange, selon les anciens, expliquée par le Gange, selon les modernes', *Mémoires de littérature, tirés des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions des Belles Lettres*, vol. 49, 1784–93 (A Paris: De l'Imprimerie impériale, 1808), pp. 674–712. For Thomas Stephens, see Georg Schurhammer, 'Der Marathidichter Thomas Stephens, S.I., Neue Documente', in *Orientalia*, ed. László Szilas (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1963), pp. 377–91.

14 Cohn, *Colonialism and Its Forms of Knowledge*, p. 33.

The rise and fall of Portuguese as the language of communication and conversion in India is one side of the coin that we want to address in the following pages. The other side is the anthropology of the encounter between Portuguese and Indian vernaculars that 'served' as languages of conversion.¹⁵ Catholic missionaries were directly responsible for Christianizing Indian vernaculars through translation of catechetical literature. In the process they learnt at least two important lessons: that conversion need not depend on the aid of Portuguese language and that the languages are convertible as long as they were targeted as embodied communities of speakers. Somewhat paradoxically, just when the Indian vernaculars became recipients of translated Christianity, Portuguese resurfaced in Goa, in the late seventeenth century, as a language of Goan Catholic elites whose relation to both Portuguese language and Portuguese history is the topic of our seventh chapter.

IMPERIAL LINGUISTIC CONFIDENCE

As a direct experience of travel and conquest, humanist linguistic theories and political will converged in the early sixteenth-century Portugal to bolster a sense of national language.

While the rapid influx of foreign words coming from overseas colonies evidenced Portuguese superior ability to acquire and collect riches from the far distant regions (in spite of and against Barros's doubts), even more important were the words imported from the closest neighbours on the Iberian Peninsula. Against the grain of later nationalist historiography, Castilian was, of course, an important language of culture that could not be ignored by the Portuguese even before the Union of the Two Crowns in 1580.¹⁶ Many Portuguese writers were bilingual and wrote books in either of the languages. However, the logic of a 'national monarchy' required purity of language.

15 We focus in this chapter on Tamil and Konkani, but other languages such as Persian, Hindustani, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Sinhala, and classical Sanskrit were also objects of missionary diligence and philology.

16 For Peninsular view of the early modern Iberia in which Portuguese and Castilian form part of the same inter-culture, rather than separate national cultural system, see, among others, Fernando Bouza, *Corre manuscrito: Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001).

According to humanists' linguistic ideals, the best way of controlling the language and its community of speakers was grammar.

The first two grammarians of Portuguese vernacular, Fernão de Oliveira and João de Barros, wrote and published their works precisely at the moment of accelerated imperial opening to the overseas world.¹⁷ The problem inherent in territorial extension and exchange of 'vocabulary' was that Portuguese words were 'barbarized' in the mouth of the people in the colonies. Not only in the colonies, however. In the daily speech in the early sixteenth century the 'language of a black person (*língua do preto*)' was both commonly heard on the streets of Lisbon and was used as a theatrical device. Gil Vicente employed it in various pieces such as *Frágua do Amor* (The Forge of Love), banking on its comic effects, just as he used Castilian.¹⁸

For Barros, in this respect, the comparison with classical Mediterranean civilizations is most evident: 'Just as Greeks and Romans considered all other foreign nations barbarians ..., we can also say that the nations in Africa, Guinea, Asia, Brazil barbarize when they try to imitate our language ... because we subjugated so many nations to our service.'¹⁹

This was not yet a white man's linguistic burden, but a caveat every good humanist had in mind when contemplating the history of Roman Empire.

In securing the language from within through rules fashioned according to 'universal' Latin grammar, Portuguese could then serve various other purposes. One of them, as Barros clearly spelt out in

¹⁷ Fernão de Oliveira, *Grammatica da lingoagem portuguesa* (Lisbon: Germão Galharde, 1536).

¹⁸ Speaking in infinitives, mixing up cases and savaging phonetics were naturally ascribed to the language of the slaves. This is why another author, António Ribeiro Chiado, played with this very presumption and made his black musician speak perfect Portuguese. The noble in whose house he played the guitar continued to address him in the 'black language'. The tension between the language and race was conveniently resolved with the development of *crioulos* that helped maintain the boundaries between high and low, metropolitan and colonial, native and foreigner, black and white. Diogo Ramada Curto, 'A língua e o império', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, vol. 1, eds, Francisco Chaudhuri and Kirti Bethencourt, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 1998), pp. 416–17. See also Curto, *Cultura Escrita*.

¹⁹ Barros, *Grammatica*, vol. LI, p. 123.

Diálogo da Viciosa Vergonha (A Dialogue of Defective Shame), was teaching good customs and Christian moral behaviour. Another was to enable students to learn Latin—the language of the Mass. In *Diálogo em Louvor da Nossa Linguagem* (A Dialogue in Praise of Our Language), the son praised his father's method of teaching Portuguese precisely because it was useful as a first step in mastering Latin. 'If I did not know what Your Grace taught me from Portuguese, I think that in four years I'd know little from the Latin grammar and of it even less: but, knowing Portuguese [grammar] I was enlightened in both, which does not happen to those who know only Latin [grammar].'²⁰

The most important mission of Barros's *Grammatica* was obviously pedagogical. The frontispiece of the first edition (1540) is composed of at least four typical school scenes in which a prominent place is given to a teacher instructing children to read. While some sit quietly near the teacher reading the book, others scuffle around or receive punishment. In the back, behind the front stage, through vaulted entrance into another space we can see figures of people sitting peacefully as if attending a predication or a synod. Some of them may have books on their lap. A general sense of the picture points to the disciplining and sobering effect of learning to read. Looking down from the balcony above the principal scene, a playful cherub holds an inscription with a commanding message: LIBROS LEGE (Read the books).

If we open the book, the first part of Barros's *Grammatica* is a 'Cartilha' (Primer) which starts with letters, syllables, and ends with basic Christian prayers. As a pedagogical instrument it was intended for children. Barros was convinced that children before the age of two imbibe the language with their mother's milk, while those to be learned as grown-ups remain like stepmothers.²¹ For this reason his 'Cartilha' was mainly intended for 'children of those [overseas] kingdoms'.²² Such as those who came from Africa and Asia to study

²⁰ Barros, *Grammatica*, p. xli, p. 172. In 1572, another historian/grammarian, Pedro de Magalhães de Gandavo published his *Dialogo em defensam da ligua portuguesa* in which he tried to prove the superiority of Portuguese over Spanish. His argument is similar to Barros's about usefulness of Portuguese (grammar) in learning other languages. See Edwin B. Williams, 'Dialogo em Defensam da Língua Portuguesa', *PMLA*, 51, no. 3 (September 1936): 639.

²¹ Barros, *Grammatica*, p. 239.

²² Barros, *Grammatica*, p. XXV.

in the House of the Santo Elói in Lisbon in order to become 'bishops and theologians, certainly a new thing for the Church of God, already prophesied in the Psalm 71'.²³ In particular, the four Malabar 'notables' in the House of the Santo Elói in Lisbon, according to Barros, were no slaves but people eager to acquire good command of Portuguese in order to be instructed in the 'principles of the Law to which they want to belong'.²⁴ Their love for Portuguese, 'love which brings them thousands of miles' from their homes, was equated logically with their desire for salvation. This equation was an imperial dream and a humanist wishful thinking that the missionaries in India and elsewhere in the colonies from Brazil to China found of little or no use already by the mid-sixteenth century.

If Indian notables sailed the seas westwards for the love of Portuguese and personal salvation, the European missionary orders, first Franciscans, then Jesuits, Dominicans, Augustinians, Theatines, Capuchins, and Discalced Carmelites went eastwards. Those of them who were not Portuguese by birth and came from Italy, France, Flanders, England, and from the Holy Roman Empire, learnt Portuguese during the long and dangerous sea journey that lasted on an average of six to eight months. Most of them, however, discovered that the peoples they came to save were not listening unless one spoke to them in their own language.

Portuguese colonial administration demanded in the beginning that the new converts learn Portuguese, but did too little to stimulate the linguistic expansion. The distribution of primers in India and Africa is attested in the historical documents. In 1512, Afonso de Albuquerque emptied a chest of *cartilhas* he found in Cochin and handed them out to the local school for the boys of 'honourable' birth (*homens honrados*) such as *panikkars* (*panicais*). Ten years later Duarte de Meneses dispatched 200 *cartilhas*, 5 *Flos sanctorum*, and 34 Bibles to children and orphans in Goa.²⁵ However, by 1550s the linguistic educational policy in the Estado da Índia was

²³ Barros, *Grammática*, p. 240.

²⁴ Barros, *Grammática*, p. 240.

²⁵ Curto, 'A língua e o império', p. 424. See also, *Documentação*, vol. 1, pp. 341, 420; vol. 2, pp. 13, 225. Albuquerque to the King, Cochin, 1 April 1512, in *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, ed. R.A. de Bulhão Pato, vol. 1 (Lisbon: 1884), pp. 44-5.

already a mixed bag of Portuguese and vernacular languages. While the descendants of the Portuguese *casados* were naturally taught to read and write Portuguese, in 1545, in the Jesuit College of St Paul, formerly Seminary of the Holy Faith, some 60 African and Asian youths between eight and twenty years of age, besides studying Portuguese and Latin, had to practice their own vernaculars. Ideally, upon completing their education, and after taking religious vows, they were to be sent back to their own country to preach and minister to their Christian brethren.

Designed to train perfect interpreters, the Seminary of the Holy Faith was the test-tube for the Jesuit linguistic and pedagogical experiments. Even though later on, some of these students eventually became Latin teachers such as André Vaz, *o Canarim* (native of Goa), these products of Asian Jesuit schools were often considered as inadequate. In general, the native boys (*moços da terra*) resisted being strait-jacketed into the role assigned to them. The impatient Jesuit rector, Niccolò Lancilotto denounced similar boys studying in the colleges in Kochi and Kollam as 'parrots (*psytachi*)' who blabber Portuguese, but without understanding any virtue of Christianity.²⁶ The stigma of incompleteness and inconstancy was not simply linguistic, but in those early decades, Portuguese was an easily and conveniently employed measure of progress against religious and cultural 'barbarism'.

Probably the last effort at imposing Portuguese in Goa and at turning the tide of linguistic vernacularization was a 1684 decree by the Viceroy Francisco de Távora (1646-1710), count of Alvor, to ban Konkani or any other Indian language from the official use of the state. The ban, in fact does not come as a surprise, since it was a tacit admission of a lost war and the last attempt at securing a limited, but symbolically important colonial ascendancy. Still, a mixture of Portuguese and local languages, that would in time turn into different creole idioms, became the lingua franca of the Asian maritime trade world. Even the Dutch and the British who successfully usurped Portuguese trade networks in the seventeenth century discovered, to their surprise and dismay, that their local partners expected them to communicate in Portuguese, reason why they continued to use interpreters

²⁶ Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, p. 122.

that were proficient in vernacular languages and Portuguese. When in the eighteenth century a Discalced Carmelite missionary was commissioned to write an English language manual for the king of Travancore, the reference language remained Portuguese.²⁷

MISSIONARY LINGUISTIC TURN

If the ideal of the Portuguese crown was to spread Christianity as well as Portuguese language, all the Catholic missionaries, from the early sixteenth to the late eighteenth century, realized at one point or another in their career that learning local languages and translating Christian texts into Indian idioms was the only way to complete conversion. It was one thing making the converts learn by heart the prayers in Latin and follow and respond correctly to liturgical gestures, and another making them 'think' and 'feel' like Christians. However, before making others think as Christians, the missionaries had to learn how to think themselves in the local idiom, and consequently how to think as 'gentiles'. In a gesture that differentiated them from the Franciscans already established in India—who gradually also acquired linguistic competences (as we have seen in the previous chapter)—turning towards the study of foreign, non-Christian languages was the first and decisive step in Jesuit 'Orientalist' practice. As they 'spiritually' conquered new territories, starting from Goa, down the Konkan and the Malabar Coast, then up the Coromandel Coast to Bengal, and into the scattered and often disconnected continental missions (Mughal, Madurai, Tibetan, etc.), they discovered a seemingly endless variety of languages to master. They often repeated in their correspondence that they had to speak, read, and write these languages as well as the local literati, or otherwise nobody cared for their teaching. Very often, one language did

²⁷ Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo learnt English during the two years spent in Anjuthengu, or Anjengo, situated 40 km, north of Thiruvananthapuram along the sea coast. It was the first settlement of the English East India Company on the Malabar Coast, established in 1764. In Paulinus's time Anjengo was a diocese, which belonged to the Vicariate of Verapoly. He had excellent relations with the British community there. See his letter to a British lady (Mrs Crosier, mother of William Crosier) in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', Manoscritti e rari, Fondi Minori, Santa Maria della Scala, 37, no. 47: 7. On his English-Portuguese-Malayalam grammar, see Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 126.

not suffice and they were forced to invest in two or even three different idioms during their missionary life. From the relatively rare manuscripts and even rarer printed documents that survived, it is clear that the missionaries, especially the Jesuits, made an incredible effort at learning the languages, as well as teaching them.

In some regions where they were able to establish continuous missions such as in Goa, on the Fishery Coast in the Gulf of Mannar, and in Madurai, the accumulation of experience and knowledge of Konkani and Tamil, made it easier for the new generations of missionaries to learn these languages. In contrast, the missions that were discontinued or where missionaries were few, each new generation had to start practically from the scratch.

While Konkani seemed to have been a relatively more accessible language for the talented missionary linguists, Tamil was from the beginning defined as a difficult language and 'very laborious (*muito trabalhosa*)'.²⁸ Learning it was a heroic act, according to Henrique Henriques, a missionary on the Fishery Coast. In the early 1550s, Henriques established the first Tamil school for the Jesuits in order to make the process of learning the language less arduous and more efficient. There, as elsewhere in Portuguese territories, it was a cooperative effort between the missionaries and their interpreters—*línguas* or *topazes*. The first Jesuit in India, Francis Xavier was completely dependent on them.²⁹ However, they were increasingly seen as either malicious or simply incapable of translating Christian message correctly. In 1552, Niccolò Lancilotto informed Ignatius of Loyola that only by inhabiting long enough in the mission and doing away with interpreters, the missionaries would be able to acquire 'more authority to fructify in others'.³⁰ A year later, Ignatius of Loyola wrote back agreeing with him and recommending to the members of the Society of Jesus to study languages.³¹

The method of learning languages was simple in some places. Young Jesuit novices were selected and allowed to live in separate

²⁸ Henrique Henriques to Ignatius of Loyola, Vembar, 31 October 1548 in *DI*, vol. I, p. 276; Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, p. 247.

²⁹ Francis Xavier probably learnt only rudimentary elements of Christian Tamil prayers translated by his interpreters. See Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, pp. 232–58.

³⁰ N. Lancilotto to I. Loyola, Coulano, 20 October 1552, *DI*, vol. II, p. 381.

³¹ I. Loyola to N. Lancilotto, Roma, 26 December 1553, *DI*, vol. III, pp. 48–9.

places with the native Christians and practice Marathi in Thana or Konkani (Canarim) in Goa until they were ready to return to their colleges. How well this worked is not known, but it was a method used in other Jesuit territories, for example, in Brazil.³²

Very early, from 1549, Henrique Henriques combined different techniques. On the one hand, his Tamil school in Punnaikayal and elsewhere on the Fishery Coast followed some of the same rules as those in Thana and Goa. The students were allowed to withdraw for up to six months from the active missionary tasks and were urged to speak only Tamil among themselves. On the other hand, and more importantly, Henriques wrote a grammar (*arte*) for their use and, in the course of time, a vocabulary.

I had a sort of a grammar (*arte*) to learn it, because just as in Latin we learn conjugations, I made an effort to learn this language, [and] I conjugated the verbs; and to arrange (*allar*) preterits, futures, infinitive, subjunctive, etc., cost me great work; also to learn accusative, genitive, dative, and other cases; and as well to learn what comes first, the verb or a number or a pronoun, etc.³³

As a 'good Latinist' and a former student of the College of Coimbra, Henriques applied and extended Latin grammar rules to Tamil in order to find correspondences and to map point-to-point all grammatical forms.³⁴ A decade or so later, José de Anchieta did the same with the Tupi-Guarani language in Brazil in his *Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil* (The Art of Grammar of the Language the Most Used on the Coast of Brazil).³⁵ Almost simultaneously

32 See Charlotte de Castelnau-l'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une vigne stérile: Les jésuites et la conversion des Indiens au Brésil, 1580–1620* (Lisbon and Paris: Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian & Commission Nationale pour les Commémorations des Découvertes Portugaises, 2000).

33 *DI*, vol. I, pp. 285–6.

34 Most of the European vernaculars were 'grammaticalized' through Latin grammar in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. For example, the first English grammar by William Bullokar was printed 1586, while a Jesuit Bartol Kašić published in Latin the first Croatian grammar in Rome in 1604. Bartholomaeo Cassio, *Institutionum linguae illyricae libri duo* (*Osnove ilirskoga jezika u dvije knjige*) (Rome: apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1604).

35 José de Anchieta, *Arte de Grammatica da Lingoa mais usada na costa do Brasil* (Coimbra: Antonio de Mariz, 1595). Of course, working in a different context, Anchieta not only mapped the language but also 'invented' and systematized it as a

with Henriques 'grammaticalization' of Tamil, Franciscans in Mexico were working on their grammar of Nahuatl.³⁶ These and other works, such as Jesuit Quechua grammars later in the century confirmed, as expected, the basic underlying unity of all languages which could all be reduced to universal grammatical rules.³⁷ 'In order to understand this *Arte*', wrote Henriques, 'it is necessary to know Latin grammar, and those who do not, should be able to read the Portuguese grammar made by João de Barros'.³⁸

In the only sixteenth-century manuscript copy, Henriques's text, scattered over 157 sheets resembles an open notebook with blank pages and spaces to be filled in. Rather than a proper grammar, it is an art of *recte loquendi*, a shortcut manual enabling missionaries to 'say the right thing' to their *Parava* converts and to impress the 'pagans'.³⁹

general language (*lingua geral*) out of spoken varieties used by different tribal groups and already full of Portuguese expressions. See Charlotte de Castelnau-L'Estoile, *Les ouvriers d'une ville stérile*, pp. 141–69. See also, Otto Zwartjes, *Portuguese Missionary Grammars in Asia, Africa and Brazil, 1550–1800* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2011), pp. 143–63.

36 The first grammar of Nahuatl, *Arte para aprender la lengua mexicana*, dates from 1547 by a Franciscan, Andrés de Olmos (1485–1571) who wrote it from the notes of other missionaries and his own. By the end of the seventeenth century, every religious order had produced their own grammar of Nahuatl. Una Canger, 'Philology in America; Nahuatl: What Loan Words and Early Descriptions of Nahuatl Show about Stress, Vowel Length and Glottal Stop in 16th Century Nahuatl and Spanish', in *Historical Linguistics and Philology*, ed. Jacek Fisiak (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1990), pp. 107–18.

37 For Jesuit Quechua grammars see Sabine MacCormack, 'Grammar and Virtue: The Formulation of a Cultural and Missionary Program by the Jesuits in Early Colonial Peru', in *The Jesuits II: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773*, eds. John W. O'Malley et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 576–601. On different phases of 'Christianizing' Quechua through successive retranslations of catechisms, see Juan Carlos Estensorro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: Travaux de l'Institut Français d'Études, 2003).

38 'Para mais facilmente se emtender esta arte ha mister ter conhicimento de arte latina, e os que nō souberem latim deuem de leer por gramatica portuguesa feita por Yoaõ d'Bairros', Henrique Henriques, *Arte Malauar*, BNL, Reservados, MS. No. 3141, f. 6v.

39 The published copy and translation of Henriques's grammar by Jeanne Hein and V. S. Rajam, *The Earliest Missionary Grammar of Tamil. Fr. Henriques' Arte da Lingua Malabar: Translation, History, and Analysis* (Cambridge: Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013) was still not available when we were writing this book.

To a certain extent even the unitary authorship is in question, as the manuscript bears no signature and the Tamil inscriptions seem to have been added only after the version in Latin characters was completed. This unfinished, open-ended form agrees with the picture we get concerning its composition from Henriques's correspondence. For almost twenty years, in every letter sent to Europe, he reported on improvements he had made to the initial text. From the letter to Loyola (1548) in which he announced the plan to write a Tamil grammar to the letter to Diogo Laínez (1564) in which he declared that his grammar was 'finished', it is clear that the process of 'grammaticalization' was gradual and fraught with difficulties.⁴⁰

The pronunciation of certain Tamil sounds/letters was most certainly one of the major problems for the missionaries. There were, namely, some 'strange' sounds, often called 'barbarisms' recorded in separate Tamil letters for which it was hard to find correspondence in Portuguese and Latin phonology. Thus for the retroflex *ṭ* and *ṭṭ*, and the especially the lateral flap *ḷ*, this linguist *avant la lettre* invents particular signs such as 'ḷ', with a line through 'l'.⁴¹ Each new missionary grammarian of Tamil such as Balthasar da Costa and Gaspar de Aguillar in the seventeenth century and Beschi in the early eighteenth would try to solve the problem of phonological notation in a different way.⁴² In addition to questions of transliteration, the problems that remained were dialectal differences and the fact that the language continued to evolve. It is an accepted fact among contemporary linguists that the Dravidian phonological systems—in which Tamil is one of the most prominent examples—contain a number of

40 *DI*, vol. I, p. 287 and *DI*, vol. IV, p. 396.

41 Henriques, BNL, Reservados, MS. No. 3141, f. 5v. See also Vermeer, *The First European Tamil Grammar*, p. 4.

42 For example, in Gaspar de Aguillar's *Arte*, recently discovered in a shortened version and signed by Philippus Baldaeus in the Hamburg library dated to 1659 (1665), the lateral flap *ḷ* is written as 'l' with three vertical dots before the letter. Staats-und-Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Carl von Ossietzky, Cod. Orient. 283. On detailed comparative analysis of Jesuit missionary Tamil grammars, see Cristina Muru, *Missionari portoghesi in India nei secoli XVI e XVII. L'arte della lingua tamil. Studio comparato di alcuni manoscritti* (Viterbo: Edizioni Sette città, 2010).

striking features compared to other world languages and often lead to a 'notational nightmare'.⁴³

According to Henriques, 'sometimes, not all of them understand me, and because of that many times when I preach in the church, I say words in the same Malabar language and make another one say the same, who is like a topaz, so that everybody can better understand'.⁴⁴ The topaz's acoustic organ was all a missionary needed, since the real substance (the content and linguistic material) of the sermons was closely controlled by Henriques, because 'here there is no topaz who can explain the things of the faith; when a Father says one thing, they [the interpreters] often say the other'.⁴⁵

Short as it is, and in spite of its various defects, *Arte Malauar* is not simply a grammar; it is a Christian grammar, or if one may add a subcategory, a Christian missionary grammar, since the choice of its interior linguistic apparatus is geared to keeping the conversion machine going. It comes as no surprise then that the verb employed to demonstrate the conjugation paradigm—in Latin grammars it was usually *amo, amare, amavi, amatum*—in Tamil was *vicuvadi*, to believe. On more than thirty sheets, this verb spreads faith in all its forms—participles, verbal nouns, imperatives, conditionals, etc. Sentence examples in Tamil and Portuguese translation cover almost all that can be said and done with the word 'to believe' in two languages and often in two scripts. For example:

(how to believe)

como se a de crer (Portuguese)

vichuuadiquiravagu epirhi (transcription of Tamil into Latin characters)

[*viccuvatikkiravaku eppiti* in Tamil script],

(believing in 'pagodas' [pagan gods] is the same thing

as believing in demons)

crer nos pagodes he tamto como crer nos demonios

pagaudiaei vichuuadiquiradu paeae vichuuadiquirira mathiram

43 Kamal V. Zvelebil, *Dravidian Linguistics* (Pondicherry, 1990), pp. 1–15.

44 *DI*, vol. I, p. 286.

45 *DI*, vol. I, p. 287.

(instead of believing in God he believes in 'pagodas')

em lugar de crer em deus cree nos pagodes

*tambiranaei vichuuadiquiraducu pagauadai vichuuadiquiran*⁴⁶

Henriques's grammar is a curious enterprise in at least one more sense. Due to its contrastive structure, incessantly opposing two languages, it is an embryonic comparative grammar and, therefore, reflects on two grammars—one on Portuguese and the other on Tamil. As in the game of *mise-en-abîme*, Latin grammar still works from within the Portuguese. Whatever his difficulty in precisely describing and fixing the rules of Tamil, Henriques's method of teaching was a complete success. Within six to eight months, the students were able to learn Tamil well enough to preach and, more importantly, to hear confession. A famous Italian missionary, Roberto Nobili who in his turn became an important Tamil scholar, acquired the basic knowledge of Tamil in this school.

Tamil was certainly a language that some missionaries studied with great enthusiasm and others with repulsion. The difficulty of its syntax and pronunciation made some of the Jesuits abandon their mission (for example, Manuel Leitão, unable to adapt to food in Madurai and to learn Tamil), while others complained about never quite getting it right.⁴⁷ At the same time, attributing facility of acquiring languages to a special divine grace became from the sixteenth century a *topos* in missionary letters.

In 1552, Henriques wrote to Loyola, about his special gift: 'By the goodness of God, I feel (*sinto*) the manner by which in a short while the declensions and conjugations of any language from these parts can be extracted'.⁴⁸ In the course of time he would try his hand at Malayalam (*maleame*), which he compared to Tamil by way of comparison between Portuguese and Spanish, and Konkani and

46 According to Bror Tiliander *visuvācam* (*viśuāvāsa*, Skt) in its theological signification of faith is absent from Tamil (Hindu) theistic literature and appears to be 'a property of Christian Tamil'. Bror Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology* (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1972), pp. 227–33.

47 Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India: The Beginnings to AD 1707* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 285–6.

48 *DI*, vol. II, p. 305.

Telugu (*badaga*).⁴⁹ Henriques was persuaded that he could do the same for Japanese, Ethiopian (of Prester John), Chinese or any other language.⁵⁰

Whether he did or did not actually write his Konkani grammar, it is not known, but in 1563, a 'native' student in the College of St. Paul in Goa taught Konkani with an 'arte, that he composed himself'.⁵¹ In the next few years, it was reported that the Jesuit 'brothers' studied Konkani in the novitiate of Chorão in Goa and in the College in Salcete.⁵²

In Europe, parallel to the developments in the missions, the Council of Trent emphasized the importance of languages in the dissemination of the Catholic doctrine and universal evangelization. The Cardinal and the Bishop of Trent, Christoforo Madruzzo (1512–78), publicly proclaimed that all languages were a gift of God and appropriate medium for worship. While Latinity of the church was preserved by interdiction on the translation of the Bible, according to Donald F. Lach, all other doors were open to 'relabelization' of the world.⁵³ All the five Councils of Goa, starting from the first in 1567, incorporated the Tridentine doctrine and reiterated the same necessity for the priests to preach and hear confessions in the 'languages of the country'.⁵⁴

Francisco de Borja, at the head of the Society of Jesus, requested in 1565 that the vocabularies of these mission languages be sent to Rome so that the missionaries may study them during the long boat journeys.⁵⁵ With Everard Mercurian, who became the General of the Order (1573–80) after Borja's death, and the appointment and arrival of Alessandro Valignano to Goa in 1573, a veritable linguistic offensive took place in the overseas missions—in India, China, and

49 *DI*, vol. V, p. 688; *DI*, vol. VII, pp. 375, 442.

50 *DI*, vol. III, p. 598.

51 *DI*, vol. VI, pp. III, 501, 684.

52 *DI*, vol. VII, pp. 44, 58, 73, 76–77, 79, 81–3, 399, 545.

53 Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. II, book 3, p. 525.

54 'And because such preaching will be so much more fruitful, the better the preachers know the language of those to whom they preach [...]', *APO*, f. 4, p. 10.

55 *DI*, vol. VI, p. 462.

Japan.⁵⁶ In 1577, Mercurian, addressing missionaries in the East and West Indies, reminded them that learning local languages was part and parcel of the '*divina voluntad*' and that the divine grace helps all missionary linguist efforts.⁵⁷

After 1575, knowing vernacular languages became a rule rather than an exception among the Jesuits in India. Grammars and vocabularies in manuscripts of languages such as Persian, Tamil, 'Hindustani', and many others abound from this time onwards and various copies of copies can be found today in the major European archives and in Goa.⁵⁸ One of the reasons why grammars and vocabularies were not readily printed, it seems, was their unfinished and unperfected quality, as one can glimpse from the manuscripts. It is also possible that they were considered ephemeral missionary tools, since these contained very basic language rules. Additional problem of financing the printing enterprise and finding the skilled printers, able to cut movable letter types or wood blocks must have also stifled the production. The famous *Arte da Lingoa Canarim* (Grammar of the Konkani Language) written originally by Thomas Stephens (1549–1619) and printed posthumously in 1640 in the College of Rachol, is something of an

⁵⁶ Alessandro Valignano was appointed as Visitor of the province (1573–83) and later as Provincial (1583–7), and then again Visitor until his death in 1606. In Brazil, developing already into a settler colony, Jesuit linguistic zeal for Brazilian languages was muted. See Charlotte de Castelnau's contribution, 'Politiques missionnaires sous le pontificat de Paul IV: Un document interne de la Compagnie de Jésus en 1558', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée*, n. 1, t. III (1999): 302–10.

⁵⁷ *DI*, vol. X, pp. 827–31.

⁵⁸ Jerome Xavier who wrote many translations and 'transcreations' of Christian themes and topics in Persian, is also credited with having written several vocabularies and grammars. The contribution of his interpreters such as Abdus Sattar ibn Qasim Lahauri and the mixed authorship of his work is yet to be fully disentangled. It is from his work that other Jesuits, such as Heinrich Roth and Hippolyto Desideri (who followed or passed through the mission in Agra) learnt Persian. For the troubled relationship between Xavier and Abdus Sattar, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Disputations: Catholics and Muslims in the Court of Jahangir (1608–11)', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 46 (October/December, 2009): 457–511. See also Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), pp. 198–9.

exception.⁵⁹ The fact that the author renounced to use indigenous script probably facilitated its fabrication. Only manuscripts, and no printed copies, are extant of *Vocabulario portuguez-tamoul* and *Arte tamulica* (Portuguese and Tamil Vocabulary and Tamil Grammar) by Balthasar da Costa (1610–73) reportedly printed in the College of St Paul in Ambalacatta around 1680.⁶⁰ From the same press, only one integral printed copy of Antão de Proença's *Vocabulario tamulico* (Tamil Vocabulary) survived until today.⁶¹

It is difficult to understand exactly what was more perilous for the material preservation of these missionary works: the destructive atmospheric elements and termites or their utility and use in the field. One thing is sure: when the Propaganda Fide invested massively into printing of grammars and dictionaries of the vernacular and classical non-European languages from the end of the seventeenth and during the eighteenth century, they profited from the knowledge accumulated in Rome by generations of Catholic missionaries.⁶²

TRANSLATION, PRINTING, AND ACCOMMODATION

Probably the deadliest sin of the Catholic missionaries in the eyes of their Protestant and Enlightened Orientalist successors was their penchant for unscrupulous biased translation and what was considered as 'cunning' immersion into cultures. They were also put off by

⁵⁹ Thomas Stephens, *Arte da lingoa Canarim composta pelo Padre Thomaz Estevão da Companhia de IESUS & acrescentada pello Padre Diogo Ribeiro da mesma Cõpanhia e nouamente reuista & emendada por outros quatro Padres da mesma Companhia* (Rachol: Collegio de S. Ignacio, 1640). For other Konkani grammars, see Mario Saldanha, 'História de Gramática Concani', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 8, nos 2–3 (1936): 715–35 and J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Ensaio Histórico da Lingua Concani* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1858).

⁶⁰ Balthasar da Costa, *Arte Tamulica*, Goa, Panjim Central Library, MS. 49 and MS. 15. See also *Tamil Language for Europeans: Ziegenbalg's Grammatica Damulica* (1716), translated from Latin and Tamil by Daniel Jeyaraj (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), pp. 16–17.

⁶¹ Thomas Malten, 'Antam de Proença's Tamil-Portuguese Dictionary, Printed in India in 1679', in *Goa and Portugal: Their Cultural Links*, eds Charles J. Borges and Helmut Feldmann (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Co., 1997), pp. 271–9.

⁶² See for example, among the many archival points in the 'Eternal City', Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, 'Vittorio Emmanuele III', *Manoscritti et rari*, Fondi Minori, Santa Maria della Scala, scatola 17, 22, 36.

the fact that missionaries continued to attribute their language gifts to divine inspiration, while for the British Orientalists it was nothing but a secular activity. It was both expensive and required hard labour in addition to individual talent.

As we have seen before, missionary translations were of two kinds: to and from Indian vernaculars. Already in the seventeenth century, missionaries started translating *Purāṇas* and other Indian classical and medieval texts from written and oral recensions, and usually in fragments, provided by their informants. Translations from Tamil or Malayalam of the popular stories about an exemplary Indian king Vikramāditya and the ordeal of the king Harishchandra by a Jesuit, Francisco Garcia, and the *Ramcharitmanas*, a Hindi version by Tulsidas of a Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, translated in fragments by a Capuchin Marco della Tomba are some of the translations from Indian languages that mostly remained unpublished before the twentieth century.⁶³ In addition they may not pass the test of Indological high standards, but given the fact that the missionaries had absolutely no predecessors for comparison, these were no small achievements. For the missionaries, these were supplementary material to a much more important task of transposing Christian catechisms, *Flos Sanctorum* (Lives of Saints), confession manuals and other pious literary works in the language of their respective missions in order to constitute what some of them called 'Christian Purāṇas' and 'Christian Vedas'.

Missionaries chose the style and the content in their translations in Indian languages depending on the audience they targeted and their status in the local political microcosm of the mission. The Jesuits at the Mughal court composed their best works not for the converts but for the 'infidel' aristocrats and emperors. *Dastan-i Masih* (The History [Life] of Christ) in Persian by Jerome Xavier with ample help from 'Abdus Sattar ibn Qasim Lahauri, who not only learnt

63 Francisco Garcia, *O Homem das trinta e duas perfeições e outras histórias: Escritos da literatura indiana*, ed. Joseph Wicki (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1958). For Sanskrit and Tamil recensions of the *vikramacaritam* and *vikkiramātittan katai*, see Kamil V. Zvelebil, 'The Tamil Vikramāditya', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 117, no. 2 (April–June 1997): 294–305. For fragments of Tulsidas's *ramcaritmanas* translated in Italian by the Capuchin Marco della Tomba, see David Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Banaras: Missionaries, Orientalists, and Indian Scholars', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65, no. 1 (February, 2006), 115–45.

Portuguese but also wrote on his own account the history of Europe (*Ahwāl-i Firangistān*), also known as *Samrat ul-Falāsifa* (The Fruits of Philosophers), for his imperial patrons, was primarily a gift.⁶⁴ Akbar amassed a whole library of sumptuously illustrated and printed Christian books, such as the Antwerp *Biblia Polyglotta*, which, although unable to read, he admired for the quality of the prints and especially for the powerful figural iconography.⁶⁵ Historians of art have already shown to what extent Akbar and his immediate successor Jahangir enjoyed European art and made use of it in their own imperial propaganda.⁶⁶ The Jesuit missionaries had to satisfy emperor's demands, and they knew it all too well how, while supplying at the same time texts in translation with which they also hoped to convert his 'heart'.⁶⁷ Besides the four Gospels translated into Persian, although it is still unclear whose work it was exactly, they also left behind a long list of works from Christian hagiographies to humanist works, such as selections from Cicero, and histories.⁶⁸

When the conversion of the emperors turned into a receding dream, the Jesuits in Agra began to aim at another group of potential converts who spoke a 'vulgar language' that the Jesuits called

64 On a complicated and even hostile relationship between the Jesuits and Abdus Sattar ibn Quasim Lahauri, see Corinne Lefèvre, 'The Majālis-i Jahāngīrī (1608–11): Dialogue and Asiatic Otherness at the Mughal Court', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 55 (2012): 255–86. See excellent introductory chapters by Pedro Moura Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of holiness): A Life of Christ for Emperor Akbar*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Leiden: Brill, 2012). For another Jesuit Mirror of Princes, see Adel Sidarus, 'A Western Mirror for Princes for an Eastern Potentate: The Ādāb al-Sultānāt by Jerome Xavier, SJ for the Mughal Emperor', *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies*, 63, nos 1–2 (2011): 73–98.

65 Gauvin Alexander Bailey, 'The Indian Conquest of Catholic Art: The Mughals, the Jesuits, and Imperial Mural Painting', *The Art Journal*, 57/1 (1998): 24–30. See also, Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *The Jesuits and the Grand Mogul: Renaissance Art at the Imperial Court of India, 1580–1630*, Occasional Papers, No.2 (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, 1998).

66 Ebba Koch, *Mughal Art and Imperial Ideology: Collected Essays* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2000).

67 Jerome Xavier's *Mir'āt al-quds (Mirror of holiness)* retelling the life of Christ was one such text. Of the nineteen manuscript copies, three included illustrations. See Moura Carvalho, *Mir'āt al-quds*, p. 1.

68 Alam and Subrahmanyam, 'Frank Disputations', pp. 457–511. See also, Alam and Subrahmanyam, *Writing the Mughal World*, pp. 249–310.

'Hindustani', and it was through this language that some of them acquired access to Sanskrit literature. In fact, because they were allowed to stay at the Mughal court, the Jesuits had their doors open to Sanskrit textual production that the Mughal rulers and aristocracy patronized, just as they encouraged translations of Sanskrit texts into Persian.⁶⁹ Thus Heinrich Roth learnt Sanskrit in six years while staying in Agra, according to Athanasius Kircher, with the help of a Brahmin teacher.⁷⁰ Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat has recently shown that Roth not only mastered the language, but also engaged with philosophical texts he read and partly translated into Latin.⁷¹ Of the three parts of Roth's manuscript discovered by Arnulf Camps in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Rome in 1967, the first one is on Sanskrit grammar. According to Filliozat it belongs to the Sārasvata school (thirteenth to fifteenth centuries). However, he showed that although aided by a learned Brahman, Roth did not blindly translate the text, but that he 'rethought the composition of his work on the basis of the model of description of Latin' and he correctly interpreted its grammatical forms by comparing them to Latin forms. In the third part, Roth copied the original Sanskrit text of the *Vedāntasāra*, a short Vedānta philosophical treatise by Sadānanda and added his Latin translation, which according to Filliozat is a remarkable piece of philology. The only identified 'accommodationist' gesture was Roth's choice of a term 'brahman' for *Deus* (God). It is important to note that before Roth, and in a South Indian mission, Roberto Nobili preferred another Sanskrit term—'sarvēśvara'—after rejecting other possible

69 See Audrey Trouschke's unpublished PhD dissertation: Audrey Trouschke, *Cosmopolitan Encounters: Sanskrit and Persian at the Mughal Court* (unpublished PhD diss., Chicago University, 2012). See also Jonardon Ganeri, *The Lost Age of Reason: Philosophy in Early Modern India, 1450–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

70 Arnulf Camps and Jean-Claude Muller, eds, *The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth S.J. 1610–1668: Facsimile Edition of Biblioteca Nazionale in Rome, Ms., Or 171 and 172* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988). See also Stephen Neill, *A History of Christianity in India* p. 416.

71 Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, 'L'approche scientifique du sanscrit et de la pensée indienne par Heinrich Roth, S. J. au XVIIe siècle', in *L'œuvre scientifique des missionnaires en Asie; Journée d'études organisés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et la Société Asiatique* (Palais de l'Institut, 9 janvier 2009), eds Pierre-Sylvain Filliozat, Jean-Pierre Mahé, and Jean Leclant (Paris: 2011), pp. 17–30.

names already in use by the missionaries.⁷² Nobili also used other words such as 'parāparavastu', 'karttar', 'āṇḍavar' as divine attributes. In spite of his careful selection of the most appropriate Sanskrit words to designate Christian concepts, 'sarvēśvara' remained one of the Viṣṇu's thousand names.

Henriques, Nobili's predecessor selected 'tampirāṇ', or was advised to select by his local informants such as Pero Luís Bramane, a word also denoting a political leader of the highest authority, 'the Lord'.⁷³ By the time Roberto Nobili started his campaign from Madurai against this, according to his opinion, inadequate notion, the thriving Catholic community on the Pearl Fishery Coast had prayed to *tampirāṇ* for already fifty years. Were they addressing their prayers to the name of a *Śaiva* priest, a lord, or a gentile god? Names (signifiers) were, in a word, slippery and working against the missionary translation, but time and use were on their side. Whatever got rooted became difficult to change.

In the early eighteenth century, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, a Pietist missionary in Tranquebar on the payroll of the Danish king, also adopted Nobili's word until it was substituted by 'parāparan', probably to distinguish Lutheranism from Catholicism. On the other hand, the term 'sarvēśvara' is even today used in Tamil and in Konkani liturgy.⁷⁴

But it was in the 'Tibetan' mission founded by the Italian Capuchins sent by the Propaganda Fide in what is today Bihar and Bengal that the translation of books to and from Hindustani became an important missionary and Indological project.⁷⁵ Giuseppe Maria da Gargnano's *Jababasval aik kristian aur aik hindu ke bicmo iman ke upar* (A Dialogue between a Christians and a Hindu about Religion) written in 1751 was somewhat different from the seventeenth century Jesuit missionary dialogues and apologetical works written in Konkani and Tamil. According to David Lorenzen, the superiority of Christian

72 Sangkeun Kim, *Strange Names of God: The Missionary Translation of the Divine Name and the Chinese Responses to Matteo Ricci's 'Shangti' in Late Ming China, 1583–1644* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004).

73 Pero Luís Bramane is famous for being the sole Indian Jesuit before the end of the 'old' Society of Jesus. See Županov, *Missionary Tropics*, pp. 259–70.

74 See Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology*, p. 92.

75 Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba', p. 120.

religion was partly argued with the help of 'European geographical knowledge based on empirical evidence'.⁷⁶ Indian 'scientific' backwardness was thus used as a proof of religious inadequacy. Whether or not this was a sufficient and persuasive argument, it is difficult to assess from the Capuchin correspondence, but it is obvious that they judged that the 'scientific' argument was the closest to the expectations of their would-be converts.

Christian catechetical texts in dialogue were imported from Europe with the first missionaries. Against simple memorization of the prayers and the doctrine, it became clear that a more successful pedagogical method was to teach by questions and answers, so as to 'move the intelligence' and to ensure 'comprehension' of the Christian precepts.⁷⁷ The preferred Jesuit *Doctrina Christã* (Christian Doctrine) was the one written by Marcos Jorge and printed in Lisbon in 1561.⁷⁸ It was disseminated very quickly throughout Jesuit missionary provinces among the 'heathens', and in India the first translation into Tamil was printed in Cochin in the College of the Mother of God in 1579, while the Konkani translation appeared in print in 1622.

The characteristic of these first printed translations is that they were based on 'spoken' idioms and recorded the simplest possible utterances in which the transposition of semantic substances from the source language was to fit those of the receptor language. The doubt remained, however, about whether or not pagan languages were capable of expressing Christian truth without corrupting it. The name of god was central to it, but there were also names of sacraments and sacramentals. The controversies that ensued and were not resolved until the early eighteenth century taught the Jesuits a very practical lesson, that names are nothing but signs and can be manipulated easily from one language to another. The force of the sign came from culture. As Diogo Ribeiro who published in 1622 an updated and enlarged *Doutrina cristã, em língua concani*

(The Christian Doctrine in Konkani Language) composed by Thomas Stephens warned in his *Declaração*:

It is known that ... the voices and words ... only mean what people want them to mean.... I say this ... for this reason, this word [Vaincuttha = Vaikunṭha] is used among the Heathens and in *Canarim* language means Heaven, inhabited by their gods [*pagodes*]; although already today in the same language among the Christians it is used and means our Heaven of glory and blessedness.⁷⁹

This sort of palimpsest strategy of effacing 'old' gentile meanings from the word in order to supplement them with new Christian meanings was at the heart of the Jesuit accommodationist method and was based on the notion of interior intention. On the basis of this Aristotelian-Thomist idea that only human will or intention lends moral form to human acts, Jesuits developed a whole range of products necessary for social survival and for the *Greater Glory of God*, such as mental reservation, accommodation, amphibology, dissimulation by which one can say one thing and mean another.⁸⁰

The enemies of the Society of Jesus in the early modern period regarded all Jesuit literary products as potential forgeries based on dissimulation or self-fashioning manuals teaching hypocrisy. Ever since the discovery of psychoanalysis and other psychological theories, it is clear that the Jesuits only perfected the art of introspection through spiritual exercises and were on their way where all modern individual subjects ended—in the world without a fixed interior anchorage. How this interior vanishing point became a source and inspiration of modern literature with the repressed alterity stumbling back into language is well known from the work of Michel de Certeau on the seventeenth century mystics, among whom were some remarkable Jesuits.⁸¹

Jesuit translations into Indian languages, all belonging to the genre of Christian apologetics, were faced with the same procedural difficulties as was mystical literature. Based on so many repressed

⁷⁶ David N. Lorenzen, *Who Invented Hinduism? Essays on Religion in History* (New Delhi: Yoda Press, 2006), p. 199.

⁷⁷ Federico Palomo, *Fazer dos Campos Escolas Excelentes: Os Jesuítas de Évora e as Missões do Interior em Portugal (1551–1630)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia, 2003), p. 250.

⁷⁸ Palomo claims that 1566 is the first edition. Palomo, *Fazer dos Campos*, p. 253.

⁷⁹ Thomas Stephens, *Doutrina cristã, em língua concani*, ed. Mariano Saldanha (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1945), p. 35.

⁸⁰ Frank L. Huntley, 'Macbeth and the Background of Jesuitical Equivocation,' *PMLA*, 79, no. 4 (1964): 390–400.

⁸¹ Michel de Certeau, *La fabrique mystique, XVIe – XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 1982).

voices and condensed secrets, they had difficulty in authorizing their own speech. Often, they had to summon the authority of the other—a Brahman, a native catechist, unidentified local literati (*os sábios*). Nobili added a list of hundred and eight Brahmans testifying that a particular point he was making was true.⁸² Henriques acknowledged the help of Manuel de São Pedro, possibly a Parava ordained secular priest or a catechist, in writing his short catechism *Doctrina Christam*, or *Tampirāṇ vaṇakkam*, printed on 20 October 1578 in the Collegio do Saluador in Coulam (Kollam). From other documents we also know that Pero Luís Bramane was the one who oversaw the printing of this work. The authorization for Henriques's Tamil books actually came from the community of Parava Christians who sponsored the printing.⁸³ In the preface to the *Kiricittiyāṇi vaṇakkam*, Henriques addressed his charges directly: 'You have desired to have several books which will teach you and your descendants the path to heaven and therefore you have contributed large sums of money towards the press. Therefore we are giving you this book as a gift'.⁸⁴

Converts who desire and are ready to pay for a 'gift' of a (Christian) book are obviously ideal missionary products. Rhetoric apart, the Parava demand, according to Jesuit letters, surpassed the missionary supply.⁸⁵ Since in the second half of the sixteenth century, the Jesuits also recorded with wonder and gratification the extraordinary enthusiasm for confession among their Parava converts, Henriques wrote and printed at least two more lengthy texts.⁸⁶ The *Confessionairo*, printed in Cochin in 1580 and the *Flos Sanctorum* in 1586 were offered, therefore, to the audience of devoted Parava Christians who

82 Rajamanickam, *Informatio*, pp. 116–23.

83 *DI*, vol. V, 14–21. They paid salaries of the church employees, bought new 'ornaments' for the altars and financed the printing of Henriques's books.

84 Henrique Henriques, *Kiricittiyāṇi vaṇakkam* (Cochin: Collegio da Madre de Deus, 1579), Oxford: Bodleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Dept., Vet. Or. f. Tam. 1.

85 *DI*, vol. V, pp. 677–89; *DI*, vol. VII, pp. 164–75. The complaint was that the churches were crowded and there was a lack of qualified confessors. Social and political segmentation of the Tamil region was one of the keys to Jesuit early success, especially among the communities inhabiting the coastal strip and enjoying a relatively low status in Brahmanical order of stratification.

86 *DI*, vol. VII, pp. 419, 557; *DI*, vol. VIII, p. 510.

demanding fortifying pious literature, and probably also paid the printing costs.⁸⁷

In the middle of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century, the centre of Tamil learning moved to the Madurai mission where the missionaries faced even more challenging linguistic and literary tasks.⁸⁸

For his 'noble' and 'learned' converts, Nobili decided to compose a very different and highly Sanskritized Tamil and Telugu prose texts. Again, these were no literal translations of European Christian texts, but as original as catechetical works can be. Balthazar da Costa who joined Nobili by the end of his stay in Madurai was so impressed that he translated Nobili's *Ñāṇayupatecam* (printed posthumously at Ambalacatta College in 1677) into Portuguese.⁸⁹ It was not until

87 Henrique Henriques, *Confessionairo* (Cochin: Collegio da Madre de Deus, 1580). The only example of this book found to this day is in Oxford: Bodleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Dept., Vet. Or. f. Tam. 1. It was bound in the same volume as *Kiricittiyāṇi vaṇakkam* (Cochin: Collegio da Madre de Deus, 1579). *Confessionairo* was discovered by G. W. Shaw, who also discovered a few years later a second copy of Henrique Henriques's *Flos Sanctorum* in the Oriental Collection (Orientalische Abteilung) of the Royal Library in Copenhagen. See G. W. Shaw, 'A "Lost" Work of Henrique Henriques: The Tamil Confessionary of 1580', *The Bodleian Library Record*, 11 (1982): 26–34. Another copy of the *Flos Sanctorum* is in the Vatican Library in Rome, while the only copy of his *Tampirāṇ vaṇakkam*, the small catechism printed in Coulam (Kollam) in 1578 in the Collegio do Saluador is in the Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass. Other copies of the catechisms by Henriques were repertoried in Paris and Leiden but cannot be located any more. On manuscript confession manuals in Konkani, see Teotónio R. de Souza, 'Uns confessionários inéditos: Instrumentos de Missionação e Fontes para a História de Goa', in *Amar, Sentir e Viver História—Estudos de Homenagem a Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão*, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Edições Colibri, 1995.), pp. 1087–101.

88 In the manuscript of *Arte da Lingoa Tamul*, preserved in Hamburg, the writer (or copyist Baldaeus) attributes the work to Gaspar de Aguillar but insists that 'we did not add some things that the Father with his great erudition and knowledge mixed into with others ... because it appeared less accommodated for those who start to learn'. It is possible that Aguillar's use of Tamil or Sanskrit grammatical tradition was considered too difficult and strange. This specialized line of research into Tamil learned grammatical and lexicographical tradition resurfaced in the eighteenth century in Beschi's work.

89 Roberto Nobili, *Ñāṇayupatecam* (Ambalacatta: No Oficina de Ignacio de Archamonio, 1677) in Goa, Panjim Central Library, 1a and 1b. Balthazar da Costa's Portuguese translation of Nobili's *Ñāṇayupatecam* remained in manuscript. Roberto Nobili, *Catechismo em que se explicam todas as verdades catolicas*, 1661, in Goa, Panjim Central Library, MS. 6.

Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi's literary talent introduced poetical works resembling Tamil poetic creations, such as a long poem in verse, *Tēmpāvaṇi* (The Unfading Garland) in 3615 stanzas about the life of St Joseph and a folktale-like prose fiction *Paramārtta kuruviṇ katai*, that Christian literature acquired wider and long-lasting appeal.⁹⁰ A similar effect had a versified poem, *Kristapurana*, written by Thomas Stephens in what he called *Lingua Bramana* (or *Bramana Marastta*), identified today as old Marathi, which became a blueprint for similar Christian Purāṇas assimilated into both Christian devotional literature and Goan folk genres.⁹¹

All these translations were built on intertextuality with indigenous literary productions. *Kristapurana* was modelled on the contemporary *bhakti* poet-saint Ekanatha's verses, while Beschi listed some of the books he used: 'Tolkappiyam, Nannul, Iru porul karikai alankaram, other grammars, plus the 18 Puranas, the *Sthalapuranas*, 64 arts and philosophies, the two divisions of Shaivism, the *Tirukkural* and *Nalatiyar*, *Cintamani*, *Cilappatikaram*, *Ramayana*.'⁹²

Christian literature produced for the Tamils and for the Konkani speakers in Goa was a particular type of Orientalist intervention, which was extremely volatile and prone to be assimilated into properly speaking indigenous literary texts and depleted of their 'Christian' content. The aesthetic function has a power to bypass cultural and social obstacles in the translation process. There is no need to explain the 'reality' from where the text, narrative or a story comes from because the meaning is derived from the form rather than the content. Jesuit versified translations, communicating Christian message while at the same time referring back to local literary traditions, were the most successful. Some poems such as *Tēmpāvaṇi*

and Johann Ernst Hanxleden's *Puthen pana* (New Hymn in Malayalam), retelling the life of Christ in twelve cantos are still recited on the radio and read in Christian families.⁹³ Others were invisibly incorporated into folk literature such as the popular stories of guru Paramarta.

In the early eighteenth century, the Pietists who collected Tamil manuscripts among which were the most important Tamil literary works had an inbuilt distaste for Tamil poetry in general. They likened it to image worship (idolatry) which they castigated as producing disorderly imagination. Thus Ziegenbalg told a Brahman in Tranquebar: 'I am all Amazement when I see your Blindness in not discerning spiritual Things; as if you had sworn Eternal Allegiance to the Dictates and Poetical Fictions of Lying Bards; who riding upon the Ridges of Metaphors and Allegories, have rhymed you into the Belief of lying incomprehensible Perplexities.'⁹⁴

Later on, the British Orientalist tradition tended to overlook, discard, or devalue all literary works that smacked of fusion and interlacing between Catholic and 'Hindu' literary material. Catholic missionaries, in fact, very often produced 'nativized' texts without individual authorship indicated and they presented their works as atemporal and universal refutations of adversary theologies (*Śaivite*, *Viṣṇuite*, Protestant, etc.), unconnected to the religion of the *Frangui* newcomers in Goa and of the Christian coastal communities.

FROM PAGAN ANTIQUITY TO NATIVE ORIENTALISTS

Nobili also inaugurated unwittingly a quest for the 'lost' laws or Veda written in Sanskrit. He wrote that, moreover, of the four laws that the Brahmans held in the highest esteem, the last one, dealing with spiritual matters, had been lost. This is why, he said, 'I tell them that if they

90 Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism*, p. 45. Julien Vincent, 'Le Tasse dans la poésie tamoul', *Revue de linguistique*, VIII (1875): 52–69 and Julian Vincent, *Manuel de la Langue Tamoule* (first ed. 1902; New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986), p. XXV.

91 A French Jesuit Etienne de la Croix wrote about the life of St. Peter in Konkani and used twenty-six Hindu Purāṇas to compose his own Christian Purāṇa: *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo Sam Pedro em que se refutam os principaes erros do gentilismo deste oriente* (1634), Goa, Panjim Central Library, Goa, 6a and 6b. See Alexander Henn, 'Jesuit Rhetorics', p. 216.

92 Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism*, pp. 54–5.

93 Matthew Almeida, 'Jesuit Contribution to Indian Languages,' in *Jesuits in India: In Historical Perspective*, eds T. R. de Souza and C. J. Borges (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Macau/ Xavier Center of Historical Research, 1992), p. 205. See also Mathias Mundadan, 'An Unknown Oriental Scholar: Johann Ernst Hanxleden (Arnos Pathiri)', *Indian Church History Review*, 23 (1989): 39–63. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis R. P. Joan Ernesti Hanxleden epistola ad R. P. Alexium Mariam A. S. Joseph Carmelitam exalceatum* (Vienna: 1799).

94 Blackburn, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism*, p. 53.

wish to recover and learn that law, they must become my disciples.⁹⁵ The principle of substitution and recreation of the lost theological and philosophical texts was an integral part of the Jesuit accommodation. This is why Nobili became the first suspect in the intellectual scandal that surrounded the discovery of the *Ezour-Vedam*, its enthusiastic praise as an authentic antique text and its downfall as a forged Catholic missionary apocrypha.⁹⁶

Ludo Rocher's meticulous study showed that the *Ezour-Vedam* came unmistakably from a Jesuit workshop and that it was a work first written in French and then translated into Sanskrit, rather than, as defenders of its antiquity believed at the time, the other way round.⁹⁷ It was neither a deliberate hoax that Comte de Modave planted on Voltaire in 1760, nor a 'pious fraud' of the missionaries, but reflected two contemporary obsessions of the Europeans in both India and Europe.⁹⁸ One was an ongoing quest for the origin of human history and humanity, within Mosaic ethnological framework. The other was a certainty that the answers lied in antique texts and archaic languages. With the Renaissance revival of neo-Platonism, the quest for the *prisca theologia*, or pagan wisdom, had been an important impetus to study ancient and foreign languages. Since Sanskrit was identified very early by the Portuguese as a secret language of the most sacred books, the search for such texts and for authentic, reliable interpreters went on for two centuries.

Two centuries before William Jones famously proclaimed that 'the Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms

of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident', Catholic travellers and missionaries noticed similarities between European languages and Sanskrit.⁹⁹ Thomas Stephens mentioned it in a letter to his brother in 1583, while Filippo Sassetti who lived in India between 1583 and 1588 described Sanskrit as a language with a well ordered grammar and containing words that resembled Italian. He also hinted at the fact that it was perhaps India that is the cradle of all languages.¹⁰⁰ This precociously accurate Orientalist statement by a Florentine merchant only shows how relatively easy it was to draw comparisons and analogies between Indian and European languages if one had a good humanist education, which meant knowledge of at least two or even three classical languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew), and a penchant for critical philology and antiquarian research. It was however another Italian, a Roman aristocrat, Pietro della Valle who stimulated Orientalist research upon his return from the East with a case full of precious Samaritan and Coptic manuscripts.¹⁰¹

These manuscripts were, of course, used for various ends and while some *studiosi* applied philological rules, others searched for what they wanted to find.

A typical example of the latter, although he was equally an able philologist, was Athanasius Kircher. In the mid-seventeenth century Rome, he was in the very centre of Catholic learning increasingly supported and disseminated by publications. Jesuit missionaries from all over the world sent documents, treatises, and *monumenta* to his address. Both his material museum in the Collegio Romano and

95 R. Nobili's letter to Alberto Laerzio, 24 September 1608, in *Relatione di Maduré* (probably by A. Laerzio), Cochin, 20 November 1609, Rome, ARSI, Goa 54a, f 31.

96 Ludo Rocher, ed., *Ezourvedam: A French Veda of the Eighteenth Century* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, B.V., 1984), pp. 30–2. See Francis Whyte Ellis, 'Account of a Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Védas, with Remarks on the Genuine Works', *Asiatic Researches*, 14 (1822): 1–59.

97 There are still some who think that the Jesuits were the victims of the hoax themselves.

98 Jean Deloche, *Voyage en Inde du Comte De Modave—1773–1776—Nouveaux mémoires sur l'état actuel du Bengale et de l'Indoustan* (Paris: EFEO, 1971).

99 Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, p. 38. See also William Jones, 'The Third Anniversary Discourse Delivered 2nd February, 1786', in *The Works of Sir William Jones*, vol. 3 (London: John Stockdate and John Walker, 1807), pp. 34–5.

100 Rosane Rocher, 'The Knowledge of Sanskrit in Europe until 1800', in *History of the Language Sciences: An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Languages from the Beginning to the Present*, ed. Sylvain Auroux (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), pp. 1156–63. Stephen Emmel, 'Coptic Studied before Kircher', in *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium I: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress on Coptic Studies*, Leiden 2000, Mat Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet, eds, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* (Louvain: Peeters Publishers, 2004), pp. 1–14.

101 On della Valle see, Rubiès, *Travel and Ethnology*, pp. 369–79.

his portable museum that were his various illustrated books were the mirror of information collected by the missionaries.¹⁰²

However, instead of listening to his sources carefully, in his blind determination to prove the Egyptian origin of superstition and idolatry and to shore up Hebrew as the *lingua sacra* and the mother of all languages, Kircher deliberately omitted, destroyed, and truncated evidence to fit his ultimate objective.¹⁰³ This is why Roth's Sanskrit grammar failed to receive the due attention by Kircher.¹⁰⁴ Only five plates containing Devanagari script and an interlinear translation of the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary in Sanskrit were accompanied with a short note on Brahman letters in Kircher's *China Illustrata*.¹⁰⁵ The Roman polymath found no interest in these 'arcane letters', except that he noticed that they were equally used by the Chinese who 'decorate the images of their gods with these same letters, which they think are mystical and contain some power because of their shape'.¹⁰⁶ For him this was another confirmation that the Hebrews and Muslims initiated the Chinese in the art of Kabala. Heinrich Roth, who entrusted the manuscript to Kircher when he briefly came back to Europe in 1664 before returning to Agra where he died a year after

¹⁰² More than Jesuit printed works, the most important missionary press from the mid-seventeenth century onwards was the *Stamperia polyglotta* of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith. It accomplished the most daring philological and typographical projects. See Willi Henkel, 'The Polyglott Printing-Office of the Congregation: The Press Apostolate as an Important Means for Communicating the Faith', in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria rerum*, ed. Josef Metzler, vol. 1, t. 1 (Rome: Herder, 1971), pp. 335–50.

¹⁰³ Daniel Stolzenberg, *Egyptian Oedipus: Antiquarianism, Oriental Studies and Occult Philosophy in the Work of Athanasius Kircher* (unpublished PhD diss., Stanford University, 2004). Kircher's goal was to reposition pagan history into the framework of the biblical history.

¹⁰⁴ See Iwona Milewska, 'First European Missionaries on Sanskrit Grammar', in *Christians and Missionaries in India: Cross-Cultural Communication Since 1500: With Special Reference to Caste, Conversion, and Colonialism*, eds Robert Eric Frykenberg and Elaine M. Low, (Grand Rapids: W.B. Eerdmans Publishers, 2003), p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ Arnulf Camps, *Studies in Asian Mission History, 1956–1998* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

¹⁰⁶ Athanasius Kircher, *China Illustrata With Sacred and Secular Monuments, Various Sculptures of Nature and Art and Other Memorabilia*, translated by Charles D. Van Tuyl from the 1677 original Latin edition into English (Muskogee: Indian University Press, Bacone College, 1987), p. 153.

in 1667, was just one of the Jesuit authors with no authority over the fate of his work.

Kircher, the 'global author', in Paula Findlen's felicitous formula, steamrolled into his numerous publications a debris of transcontinental missionary knowledge and in the process, helped more to forget than preserve and disseminate it to the wider scientific public.¹⁰⁷

It seems that Roth's Sanskrit grammar fell into oblivion precisely because it was published by Kircher and then, as most of his innumerable manuscripts, simply shelved off until the twentieth century. Difficulties in diffusion of the Catholic missionary Orientalist expertise in the early modern period are obvious in this unfortunate misplacement of the first European Sanskrit grammar. Missionaries did, however, exchange information as much as the channels of communication permitted them, but they were unable to control the entire process. Their hard-earned data were potentially censored or fell prey to intellectual predators and spies at every point as they travelled from India to Europe. Nevertheless, some of the missionary collections acquired fame precisely at the moment of their destruction.

According to Jean Baptiste Tavernier:

One other famous Act of Vangous [Van Goes] must not be forgotten. You must know that at the taking of Cochin the Jesuits had in the city one of the finest libraries in all Asia, as well for the great quantity of Books sent them out of Europe, as for several rare Manuscripts in the Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic, Persian, Indian, Chinese, and other Oriental Languages.... What became of this Library, General Vangous made no conscience to expose it to the ignorance of his Souldiers, so that I have seen the Soldiers and Seamen tear several of these beautiful Volumes to light their Tobacco.¹⁰⁸

It is well known that the Dutch burnt the Jesuit library in Kochi in 1663, but it is clear that one of the actors or spectators of the assault, the notorious Philippus (or Philip) Baldaeus, published later a widely read

¹⁰⁷ Paul Findlen, ed., *Athanasius Kircher: The Last Man Who Knew Everything* (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 37.

¹⁰⁸ John Baptista Tavernier, *A Collection of Several Relations and Treatises* (London: at the Angel in St Paul's Churchyard, 1680), pp. 75–6.

book with documents that probably came from the same library, and he copied and signed Tamil grammars written by the Jesuits.¹⁰⁹ The burning of the Jesuit library may have been a much exaggerated event, perhaps even to cover up the fact that the library was mostly pillaged. Baldaeus had been already unmasked as prone to borrowing without acknowledging his debt, in addition to being a sloppy translator.¹¹⁰

Perhaps another problem that blocked Jesuit manuscripts in friendly and in enemy hands was their highly specialized knowledge. Roth's grammar, for example, a manual for learning Sanskrit required excellent knowledge of Latin and a lot of patient decrypting of grammatical rules. The same was the case with Hanxleden's Sanskrit grammar. Although the topos of lost Jesuit manuscripts seems to be fabricated in the nineteenth century, it is possible that the Jesuits produced too much knowledge even for their own consumption. Max Müller and Theodor Benfey would then be able to lament the fact that Hanxleden's works were not published as soon as he wrote them.¹¹¹ In the same way, Angelo de Gubernatis deplored the fact that the work of the Capuchin Marco della Tomba had not been known in his time.¹¹²

In fact, it was not Hanxleden who was forgotten, but Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo who, in a procedure somewhat similar to Kircher's, appropriated Hanxleden's grammar and published it embedded in his own grammatical work and under his own name.

109 Henry Hosten, 'The Marsden MSS and Indian Mission Bibliography', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 3, no. 1 (1923): 129–50.

110 For example, when translating a paragraph on the goddess Bhagavati he wrote that she had 'an Ape with an Iron Wheel' in her hand. In fact he translated 'buzio', a conch shell, as 'ape'. Philip Baldaeus, *A Description of East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel* (trans. from High-Dutch printed at Amsterdam, 1672) (London: at the Black Swan in Pater Noster Row, 1703), p. 840. Baldaeus is also known for plagiarizing another treatise by the Jesuit, Jacomo Fenicio. See Chapter Four.

111 On Theodor Benfey, the first full-fledged Indologist at the University of Göttingen, Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 420.

112 Angelo de Gubernatis, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876). Among his 'Italian' Orientalist predecessors, he rejected Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo (whom he mistakenly and sneeringly designated as 'Italianised Hungarian') on the basis of his unhelpful and confused ideas and obstinate character, but he extolled some other 'pure' Italian travellers, Orientalists, and missionaries, such as Filippo Sassetti (sixteenth century) and Marco della Tomba (eighteenth century).

The *Sidharubam* became the first printed Sanskrit grammar, and yet the British Orientalist world rejected it without even looking into it. The argument was, as Alexander Hamilton expressed it, that Paulinus 'betrays a complete ignorance of that language [Sanskrit], and quotes books for facts that are not to be found in them. His Sanskrit dictionary (which we have in vain endeavored to procure) is, we still venture to assert, a dictionary of the Malabar idiom, which bears the same relation to the Sanskrit as Italian does to Latin'.¹¹³ It is clear today that the misunderstanding came from the fact that Paulinus transcribed Sanskrit words from the Grantha script and under the influence of Dravidian phonology, and into the Italian orthography. As for the British Sanskritists in Calcutta, they were taught by the Bengali pundits and transliterated Sanskrit from the Devanagari script into English.¹¹⁴

What the study of Sanskrit brought home to Europe was the confirmation of the common origin hypothesis, moving the projected 'cradle of worldly civilization' from Egypt to India.¹¹⁵ It was within this type of Christian framework that the 'scientific' Orientalism in India came of age, and the Catholic missionaries contributed to its edifice, especially the French Jesuits. Jean François Pons, Jean Calmette, and Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux were some of the most learned Sanskritists of the first half of the eighteenth century, and yet, as Halbfass remarked, 'for variety of reasons these remarkable efforts did not inaugurate the tradition of modern Indological research as such'.¹¹⁶ Somewhat misleadingly, he also maintained that the French missionaries, 'together with their Indian collaborators', were the 'true founders of modern Indology'.¹¹⁷ While the importance of Jesuit Indian informants is specifically underlined, the British Indian informants were rehabilitated only in recent historiography, following the anti-Orientalist turn. This leads us to think that, perhaps unconsciously, Halbfass reiterated one of the elements in Catholic missionary expertise that the high 'scientific' Orientalism

113 Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, p. 36.

114 Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, p. 36.

115 Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 57.

116 Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 46.

117 Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 45.

of Jones and the Calcutta coterie considered as an 'original sin': their close connection with Indian linguistic and literary specialists who were also their Catholic converts.

It was this close collaboration that disturbed the British, although they did not see the contradiction in their own alliance with the 'native' informants. Jesuit and Catholic literary co-production in Indian and European languages was therefore devalued and even gave rise to suspicion of Catholic complicity in falsifying texts.

Catholic missionary translation practices in the early modern period were in fact geared at producing 'nativized' Christian texts. They were planted like roots from which a tree of indigenous texts could sprout forth. It was what we can call an 'engaged' Orientalism that worked from within the culture and language and which in contemporary theological jargon is referred to as 'inculturation'. The Ignatian formula 'entrar con el otro y salir consigo' (to enter with the other in order to make him/her come out [of himself]) was the epitome of this kind of Orientalist procedure. The person who was forged in the encounter was a multilayered individual, remodelled, and repressed, but enabled as well to continue inventing and fashioning his or her own Christian identity, including the switch to Protestantism.

In the eighteenth century Tamil region, generation after generation, literate and educated Catholics joined the missionaries in further study of languages and production of apologetic texts. These were no more *dubashi*, topazes, or *línguas*, but full-fledged Orientalist scholars, writers, editors, and publishers. Some like Mariadas Pullé who worked in Pondicherry, translated the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and many other works into French.¹¹⁸ Others sold their services to the British. Francis Whyte Ellis employed at least two 'Pondicherrian' Catholic Tamil pundits and he even sent one of them, Muttusami Pillai, on a hunt for Beschi's palm-leaf and paper manuscripts.¹¹⁹ Muttusami Pillai's life history of Beschi (or Vīramāmunivar) became the first

¹¹⁸ Halbfass, *India and Europe*, p. 45. He was born in 1721. See also Pierre-Sylvain Filiozat, 'The French Institute of Indology in Pondicherry', *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 28 (1984): 135. Ludo Rocher, *The Puranas* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), p. 150.

¹¹⁹ See Chapter Eight.

modern literary biography in Tamil and was published in 1840 in a revised English translation.¹²⁰

In Goa, another major centre of Catholic culture in India, the history of Christian translation took a different turn by the end of the seventeenth century. While missionaries and parish priests continued to use Konkani in their pastoral field, the Goan elites espoused Portuguese. The expertise in Portuguese became a major distinction between local Goan elites recruited mostly from the two dominant groups, the *Gauda Saraswat Brahmins* and the *Charodos*, and the vast majority of peasants and small artisans who were considered low caste even before the Portuguese arrival. It is from these two Christian elite groups that by the end of seventeenth century a new generation of Catholic Orientalist writers came of age and continued to thrive in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Most of them were secular priests or belonged to the local exclusively all-Brahman (Oratorians, Theatines) or all-Charodos (Carmelites) religious orders.

Some of them, who became missionaries performed translation tasks in their own missionary field. A Catholic Brahman, Jacome Gonçalves (1676–1742), Oratorian missionary in Sri Lanka, wrote apologetic books and catechisms in Sinhalese and Tamil, and learnt Pali, the sacred language of the Buddhist texts.¹²¹ The knowledge of vernacular South Asian languages and a perfect mastery of Portuguese made these elites—who inscribed into their expertise their own political goals and their social/caste divisions—into particular kind of 'internal' Catholic Orientalists. They are the protagonists of our next chapter. When in the early twentieth century the *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, a Portuguese *Hobson-Jobson* was published in Coimbra, the

¹²⁰ Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism*, p. 100. Thomas R. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 203–7.

¹²¹ Jacome Gonçalves wrote more than forty tracts refuting Buddhist theories from the point of view of the neo-Thomist philosophy, such as *Ajñāna Aushadharya* (Medicine for the Ignorant) in 1715 and *Mātara Pratyaksaya* (The Exposition at Mātara) in 1733. See Vito Perniola, *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka: The Dutch Period, 1712–1746* (Dehiwala: Tisara Prakashakaya, 1983). See also Richard Fox Young, 'The Carpenter-Preta: An Eighteenth-Century Sinhala-Buddhist Folktale about Jesus', *Asian Folklore Studies*, 54, no. 1 (1995): 49–68.

author was a Catholic Brahman, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado. Although he was an excellent linguist and Sanskritist, his major works were devoted to Portuguese language in Asia. As if closing the circle opened by clairvoyant Barros, who already painted one possible scenario for the Portuguese empire in decline in which the language would be the last to disappear, Dalgado studied the ruins of the Portuguese linguistic empire.¹²² If Barros predicted that all memorial stones (*padrões*) planted in the Orient would be destroyed one day while the Portuguese 'doctrine, customs and language' would survive, Dalgado paints a nostalgic picture of Portuguese language at a mercy of a large contingent of other languages:

And the Portuguese words that reverberate through all India eloquently attest its [Portuguese] luminous passage, which although ephemeral in many parts, has been highly influential and has left golden traces all through the Orient. But—who knows!—the dent of time, and, even more devastating actions of the people who had dismantled the fortresses, may dissipate the rests of the imperial might.... The influence of the Lusitan language in the Orient will certainly scorn the corrosive actions of time and of human efforts and will be a living and perennial monument to Portuguese domination and civilization. And if by chance, after centuries have passed, Portuguese will not be spoken in the land of *Valmíqui* [author of *Ramayana*] and *Viassa* [author of *Mahabharata*], especially the words of the beautiful language of Camões, adopted and naturalized in indigenous languages, they will never perish, but will continue together with [within] these languages.¹²³

In the beginning of the twentieth century Dalgado was in fact lamenting the state of a country and the status of a language that his Brahman

122 'Portuguese arms and memorial stones (*padrões*), planted in Africa and in Asia, and on thousands of islands beyond the three parts of the world, are material and time might spoil them, but it will not spoil the doctrine, customs and language that the Portuguese have left in those parts.' Barros, *Grammática*, p. 163.

123 Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (Coimbra: Empresa da Universidade, 1919), pp. VIII–IX. This is a quotation from his study—*Dialecto Indo-português de Ceilão* (1900). His point is that Portuguese language remained in the *crioulos* and in the indigenized words and that Portuguese was influenced (*reinfluência*) by (Asian) 'vernacular' words. His statement resembles closely that of João de Barros in his *Grammática*, p. 163. See also Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, *Influência do Vocabulário Indo-Português em Línguas Asiáticas* (Coimbra: Empresa da Universidade, 1913).

ancestors adopted as their own vehicle of survival and promotion in the Portuguese colonial regime.¹²⁴ Accommodating themselves to the demands of science, the next generation of Goan Orientalists—of which Gerson da Cunha is the best known—would write from a different place (Bombay) and in a different language: English.¹²⁵

124 The language of Indian empire from the middle of the nineteenth century was decidedly English, which wiped out Portuguese almost completely from all places except the rump colony of Goa that survived the end of the British Empire for more than a decade. Portuguese became a relic of an early imperial presence in Asia, but survived in pockets both in the remaining Portuguese enclaves and in certain independent Sri Lankan, Malaysian, and Chinese communities.

125 On Gerson da Cunha, see Filipa Lowndes Vicente, *Outros Orientalismos—A Índia entre Florença e Bombaim, 1860–1900* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2010). English translation as *Other Orientalisms: India between Florence and Bombay, 1860–1900* (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2012).

Part III

Contested Knowledge

Orientalists from Within

Indian Genealogists, Philologists, and Historians

In the seventeenth century Goa, Catholic and non-Christian Goan elites started penning down their own versions of local history. There were many reasons why they did that, including some having to do with their conflicting claims for higher status. One of their recurrent strategies was rejecting high status pretensions of the rivals. For example, the Goan Brahmans produced narratives in which they represented and justified their superior position within the old social order in order to make it seem natural to preserve it in the new imperial order. In doing so, they rejected the claims of the *Charodos* (locally, their principal rivals), accusing them of misrepresentation and of belonging to the lowest castes.

There is no doubt that Indians were omnipresent and engaged in the inner workings of the Estado da Índia from its beginning. Besides being interpreters, they were visible in diplomacy, as it was identified long ago by the late Panduranga Sakharama Shenvi Pissurlencar (1894–1969), and in trade, taxation, and religious institutions.¹

¹ Panduranga S. Pissurlencar, 'Colaboradores Hindus de Afonso de Albuquerque', in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama de Nova Goa*, no. 49 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1941) and *Agentes da Diplomacia Portuguesa na Índia (Hindus, muçulmanos, judeus e parses)* (Bastorá: 1952). M. N. Pearson, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century Western India* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) and 'Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy, the Goa Rendas, 1600–1700', in *Mare Luso-Indicum*, ed. J. Rubin, 2 (1972): 61–73. Geoffrey V. Scammell,

This go-between status was reconfigured in time, and adapted to the rhythm of the imperial dynamics. The protagonists of this chapter, mostly inhabiting the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Goa and other Portuguese colonial spaces were different from the sixteenth-century 'native informants' who were introduced in the second chapter and reappeared in cameo roles until here. While those were engaged in a political situation without well designed policy, the second were already born under the Portuguese rule, after the systematic conversion of local populations to Christianity. If in the first period, the *agency* of the Indians may be read as a pragmatic response to the political and administrative demands of the Portuguese officials, in a situation in which the colonial project was not yet consolidated, in the second phase, as we show in this chapter, the Goan elites did not simply respond, they self-consciously played a complicated and tenacious game.

These were 'argumentative' Indians, colonized but well versed in the language of the colonizer. They were imaginative writers who desired to intervene and to shape the empire according to their own interests. We call them 'Orientalists from within'. In contrast to the leading characters of the *Edge of Empire*, and their new 'Asiatic selves', the Goan Indians reflected on who they were, what was their 'Asiatic self' when combined with a Christian past, and how this combination could improve their position in the imperial order. They wrote about local social and religious practices, about customs and rituals, and about the ancient history of Goa. Desirous to shape their discourse according to the expectations of the audience they wanted to impress, they evoked or framed their 'Asiatic self' in what they considered a more general and prestigious, biblical narrative.²

¹ 'Indigenous Assistance in the Establishment of Portuguese Power in Asia in the Sixteenth Century', *Modern Asian Studies*, XIV-1 (1980): 1-11 and 'Indigenous Assistance and the Survival of the Estado da Índia, c. 1600-1700', *Studia*, vol. 49 (1989): 95-115. Teotonio R. de Souza, 'Glimpses of Hindu Dominance of Goan Economy in the 17th Century', *Indica*, XII (1975): 27-35. Xavier, 'David contra Golias na Goa seiscentista e setecentista', pp. 107-43 and *A Invenção de Goa. Poder Imperial e Conversões Culturais nos Séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisboa: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008).

² Maya Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750-1850* (New York: Vintage, 2006).

Their narratives were both a product of the political process that started with the Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510 and of the different economic, social, and cultural spheres in which they were embedded during the next centuries.

Some of these writers conceived of themselves as participating in the large-scale Iberian Monarchy, of which Portugal was part between 1580 and 1640. The linkages between the four parts of the world were intensified during these six decades, largely due to the existence of uniform political entity encompassing territories from South America to South Asia. During this period, the political, social, and intellectual models that circulated through the networks of this empire were more diversified than ever. At the same time, multiple connections were established between the historical processes taking place in Goa during these years and those happening in the Atlantic world. Our protagonists were part of the Republic of Letters teeming with Iberian 'colonized' subjects.

However, if we glance back to the microcosm of Goa during the late seventeenth century and eighteenth century, we can see that these cultural dynamics, and the narratives by our 'Orientalists from within' are as much part of Indian history as they are of the 'world' or 'global' history. The cases we analyse in this chapter are useful for understanding the social history of bureaucracy in the Indian states and the cultural history of Indian elites. Sumit Guha's study of Brahmanical elites and its bureaucratic culture, for example, is very helpful to interpret the strategies of Goan elites in this period. Other studies that emphasize the emergence of social groups increasingly specialized in governing are equally stimulating.³

³ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Penumbra Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001). Richard Maxwell Eaton, *A Social History of the Deccan: 1300-1761: Eight Indian Lives, New Cambridge History of India*, vol. 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 184. Kumkum Chatterjee, 'History as Self-Representation, The Recasting of a Political Tradition in Late Eighteenth-Century India', *Modern Asian Studies*, 32, no. 4 (1998). O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They Are?', pp. 381-416. Guha, 'Serving the Barbarian', pp. 497-525.

The writing of history was one among the strategies developed by Indian elites, as Romila Thapar amply showed in her work.⁴ Recent scholarship by Kumkum Chatterjee who wrote about historiography in the Mughal period, by Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam on *karanam* culture in South India, and by Sumit Guha and Prachi Deshpande brought further confirmation and more historical sources in support.⁵ Since the narratives produced by Goan writers framed their self-representation in historical terms, while in fact referring to contemporary India, it is reasonable to think of them as a part of the wider world of Indian historical writing.⁶

For all these reasons, these erudite Goan authors who wrote in perfect Portuguese deserve attention. Successors to the groups we analysed in the second chapter, and in turn themselves playing the role of intermediaries in parallel cultural processes on the Indian sub-continent and in the Atlantic world, their knowledge practices and self-knowledge can help us understand the breadth and the limits of Catholic Orientalism.

4 Romila Thapar, 'Society and Historical Consciousness: The Itihasa-Purana Tradition', in *Interpreting Early India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Romila Thapar, 'Some Reflections in Early Indian Historical Thinking', in *Western Historical Thinking: An Intercultural Debate*, ed. Jörn Rüsen (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002). Romila Thapar, 'Historical Consciousness in Early India', in *Different Types of History*, ed. Bharati Ray (New Delhi: Pearson Education India, 2009), pp. 3–16.

5 Chatterjee, 'History as Self-Representation' and *The Cultures of History in Early Modern India: Persianization and Mughal Culture in Bengal* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009). Velcheru Narayana Rao, David Shulman, and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time, Writing History in South India, 1600–1800* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001). Sumit Guha, 'Speaking Historically: The Changing Voices of Historical Narration in Western India, 1400–1900', *American Historical Review*, 109, no. 4 (October 2004): 1084–103 and 'Literary Tropes and Historical Settings: A Study from Southern India' in *Rethinking a Millennium: Perspectives on Indian History from the Eight Century to the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Rajat Datta (New Delhi: Aakar Books, 2008). Prachi Deshpande, *Creative Pasts, Historical Memory and Identity in Western India, 1700–1960* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2006; reprint, New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

6 Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Nicholas B. Dirks, *Castes of Mind: Colonialism and the Making of Modern India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) and *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

BRAHMANS AT THE GATES OF ROME⁷

In the first decades of the seventeenth century, Shri Vittal Shyama Sharma Shenavi Ranganekar and a group of Brahmans from the village of Kunshashtali, in the region of Salcete (in Goa), went to Varanasi to ask the official guru of their *matha* (or *mutt*), Shrimat Bhavananda Saraswati Swami Gauḍapādāchārya, to come to Goa. Since the destruction of the temples of Kunshashtali by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, the gurus had fled to Varanasi, where they remained. Although Gauḍapādāchārya refused to travel, he agreed to instruct Shri Vittal. After a while, Shri Vittal was bestowed with the status of a swami with the name Shrimat Sachidananda Saraswati Swami Gauḍapādāchārya and the right to perform all sixteen rituals of purification. Finally, Sachidananda was sent to Goa with instructions to teach and initiate the Brahmans in Kunshashtali, and in the rest of Goa the ways of the old traditions of the Goan *mutt*.

Rather than rejoicing that one of theirs acquired such an important recognition, quite a few Goan Brahmans were suspicious of Shri Vittal's lofty status. Some accused him of never being a real *brahmachari*, a precondition for becoming a *sannyāsi*. Others considered his consecration invalid because his Goan followers were not present. Moreover, some accused him of not being able to provide any authentic document issued by Bhavananda (the authority in these matters) proving that he was a real swami.

There was not much left to Shri Vittal but to return to Varanasi and get all the proofs. After undergoing a complex process of investigation concerning his Brahman status, which involved participation of other religious leaders, he managed to get confirmed as a swami, and went back to Goa.⁸

Around the same time that Shri Vittal of Kunshashtali left for Varanasi in order to be recognized as a *sannyāsi*, another Goan Brahman, Mateus de Castro (1504–1677) was on his way back to Goa, on a

7 This section is based on Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'Purity of Blood and Caste: Identity Narratives in Goan Elites', in *Race and Blood in Spain and Colonial Hispano-America*, eds María Elena Martínez, Max S. Herring Torres, and David Nirenberg (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2012), pp. 125–49.

8 This episode was discussed in O'Hanlon and Minkowski in 'What Makes People Who They Are?', p. 390.

similar mission. However, instead of returning from the sacred town of Varanasi, Castro was coming back from Rome, the capital of the *Respublica Christiana*. Like Vittal, Castro yearned for ecclesiastical power. Unlike him, instead of restoring religious life and practices that existed in Goa before Portuguese presence, Castro wanted to convert all Indians to Christianity.

Mateus de Castro was born in the 1590s, on the island of Divar in Tiswadi region of Goa, a place where, according to the *mahatmya* (glorification of the name) dedicated to Gomanchala (Goa) in the *Sahyadri Khanda*, Paraśurāma had established one of his *tīrtha*.⁹ In the *Sahyadri Khanda*, considered a part of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, the story is told about the foundation of *Paraśurāma kṣētra* (Paraśurāma's Field), and in some of its versions it is identified as the Konkani, in particular, the Goan territories.¹⁰

Gerson da Cunha, a Goan Bombay-based Orientalist, used fourteen versions of the text (of which Colin Mackenzie in the beginning of the nineteenth century found four) in order to reconstruct a supposedly 'authentic version'. Unsurprisingly, Cunha's *Purāṇa* created a new account that guaranteed the supremacy of the group he belonged to: the Goan Brahmins from Kunshashtali.¹¹ Notwithstanding his professional status of an Orientalist, and the fact that

9 Wendy Doniger, ed., *Purāṇa perennis: Reciprocity and Transformation in Hindu and Jaina Texts* (New York: SUNY Press, 1993), pp. 60–1; Hans Bakker, 'Rama Devotion in a Śaiva Holy Place: The Case of Vārānasi', in *Patronage and Popularisation, Pilgrimage and Procession: Channels of Transcultural Translation and Transmission in Early Modern South Asia*, ed. Heidi Reiki Maria Pauwels (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009). Just like other *Khandas* claiming to be part of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, this one is constructed of multiple contaminations and interpolations, from the twelfth century onwards.

10 Nagendra Rao, *The Brahmanas of South India* (New Delhi: Gyan Books, 2005), chapter 5. Nagendra Rao, 'Reconstructing the Social History of South Kanara: A Study of the Sahyadri Khanda', *Indica*, 36, no. 2 (September, 1999): 81–8. Reginald Edward Enthoven, *The Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, [1922] 1990), pp. 243–4. Enthoven, who recorded one of the versions of *Sahyadri Khanda*, was hostile to the Chitpavan Brahmins.

11 Maureen L. Patterson, 'Chitpavan Brahman Family Histories: Sources for a Study of Social Structure and Social Change in Maharashtra', in *Structure and Change in India Society*, eds Milton Singer and Bernard S. Cohn (Chicago: Aldine Transaction, 1968). Vasudeva Rao, *Living Traditions in Contemporary Contexts: The Madhva Matha*

he employed modern philological methods, Cunha did nothing but replicate the strategies of self-legitimation of his eighteenth-century Goan ancestors.¹² In his essay on the Konkani language, *The Konkani Language and Literature*, Cunha used the story of the Brahman moving to and settling in Gomanchala (Goa) in order to explain Goan 'identity'. According to this story, ninety-six Brahman families from Tirhut in Bengal had settled in Goa, and brought Sanskrit with them, from which they later created the Konkani language.¹³

Whether established or not by Paraśurāma, all the way into the seventeenth century, local rituals were performed on the shore of the Mandovi river, where Goan Christian territories merged with those of the non-Christians under Bijapur rule.¹⁴ Castro was certainly aware of these practices that brought together Indians from different parts of the region. He was also aware that it was a source of curiosity for the Portuguese and other Europeans settled in Goa. Perhaps he disproved of the whole show and was only strengthened in his faith.

As a student of humanities in the Franciscan college of the Magi Kings, young Castro certainly crossed path with the friar Francisco do

of Udupi (Chennai: Orient Blackswan, 2002). Thomas Eugene Donaldson, 'The Cult of Parasurama and Its Popularity in Orissa', in *Studies in Jaina Art and Iconography and Allied Subjects in Honour of Dr. U.P. Shah*, eds R. T. Vyas and Umakant Premchand Shah (Vadodara: Oriental Studies; New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1995).

12 Unsurprisingly, José Gerson da Cunha was a direct descendant of Balsa (Balakrishna) Sinai from Kunshashtali in Salcete. Filipa Lowndes Vicente, *Outros Orientalismos* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2010).

13 J. Gerson da Cunha, *The Sahyadri-Khanda of the Skanda-Purana: A Mythological, Historical, and Geographical Account of Western India*, (Bombaim: Thacker, Vining, 1877) and *The Konkani Language and Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, [1881] 1991), p. 9.

14 Mateus de Castro's case was referred to in Mello's *The Recruitment of Native Clergy*, and in Charles Boxer's *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1415–1825)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963) and in his *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415–1825)* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969) and in Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa*. However, the most complete studies on Castro are Giuseppe Sorge, *Matteo de Castro (1594–1677) profilo di una figura emblematica del conflitto giurisdizionale tra Goa e Roma nel secolo 17* (Bologna: CLUEB, 1986) and Patricia Faria e Souza, 'Mateus de Castro: Um bispo "brâmame" em busca da promoção social no império asiático português (século XVII)', *Revista Electronica de História do Brasil*, vol. 9, n° 2 (July–December 2007): 30–43.

Negrão, and later with Miguel da Purificação and Paulo da Trindade, the protagonists of our fifth chapter. Like Trindade, Castro wanted to continue his education in the college of Saint Bonaventura, where he would have earned higher degrees in order to pursue ecclesiastical career. However, the archbishop of Goa, Cristóvão de Sá e Lisboa, was opposed and barred him from joining the college.

Persuaded that Brahmans were intellectually inferior and therefore unfit to perform higher positions in the Church hierarchy, archbishop Lisboa was very sceptic about their ordination. As a consequence, Castro was unable to fulfil his aspirations and to get promoted within Portuguese colonial and ecclesiastical system. With his career advancement thwarted in the Estado da Índia and under the Portuguese Padroado, Mateus de Castro left Goa between 1621 and 1622. He crossed the Persian Gulf, stopped over in Jerusalem, and finally landed in the Papal capital in the second part of 1625.

In the first decades of the seventeenth century the Baroque Rome was more or less equivalent to pre-Reformation Rome, in which Raphael and Michelangelo dared to saturate the papal walls with themes and emblems braiding together Christianity and paganism.¹⁵ Similarly, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, Annibale Carracci painted his monumental ceiling frescoes of the main room in the Palazzo Farnese with the 'loves of the [classical pagan] gods' while Caravaggio left, alternatively, an unavoidable imprint on the spiritual painting as well as on the pictorial representations of those we call today 'subalterns'. Caravaggio was known for painting the dregs of the society and for choosing people from the street as models for his paintings. Castro could have easily been picked up by the painter as a model for a biblical figure!

The *grandeur* of Rome increased in the Holy Year of 1625, for which many different kinds of commemorations were organized. He may not have been unable to participate in the festivities for the occasion of the canonization of Isabel of Portugal in June of 1625, for which

¹⁵ Laurie Nussdorfer, 'The Politics of Space in Early-Modern Rome', *Memoirs of The American Academy in Rome*, vol. 42 (1997): 161–86 and Thomas Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500–1700* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001); Thomas Dandeleit and John Marino, eds, *Spain in Italy: Politics, Society, and Religion, 1500–1700* (Leiden: Brill: 2006).

Bernini had built a sumptuous ephemeral structure in St Peter's basilica.¹⁶ Still, Castro probably crossed paths with Bernini since he was also a protégé of the Barberini family, in particular of the cardinal Antonio Barberini, a brother of the pope Urban VIII.¹⁷

While in Rome, Castro built close ties with the Congregation of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri. Under the protection of Francesco Ingoli, the powerful secretary of the recently established Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (Propaganda Fide), and of cardinal Barberini, the Pope's brother, Castro continued his studies. He obtained the degree of doctor of philosophy and theology in 1631, the same year in which he was ordained priest *ad titulum missionis*.¹⁸

In that year, the new ambassador of the king of Spain arrived in Rome, and with him came Manuel de Faria e Souza who was most probably already beginning to draft his *Azia Portuguesa*, a treatise that would become one of the most important templates for understanding Portuguese presence in Asia. We have no evidence that Castro and Souza met in Rome, but we do know that unlike Varanasi, which was mainly 'Indian', Rome was a global cross-road, with Catholics and non-Catholics coming from different parts of the world. Castro certainly met some of them and exchanged different stories and experiences.

After receiving the title of apostolic protonotary, Castro was authorized to return to India and he carried with him the powers to supervise Portuguese missions and the conversion of Indians.

¹⁶ Loredana Lorizzo, 'Bernini's "Apparato Effemero" for the Canonisation of St Elisabeth of Portugal in 1625', *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 145 (May 2003): 354–60. The *apparati di festa* were amply used in the seventeenth century in churches and in palaces to celebrate religious feasts such as *Quarantore*, canonizations, and *possessi* following the election of the new pope as well as the pomp associated with their funerals. M. Fagiolo dell'Arco and S. Carandini, *L'effimero Barocco: Strutture della festa nella Roma del 600* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1978). M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, *Corpus delle feste a Roma*, 2 vols (Rome: De Luca, 1997).

¹⁷ Frederico Hammond, *Music and Spectacle in Baroque Rome: Barberini Patronage under Urban VIII* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

¹⁸ The clerics ordained *ad titulum missionis* are bound to the diocese and the province and can 'be transferred from one diocese to another merely by conferring a fresh title without the necessity of taking a fresh oath'. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07704a.htm>, accessed on 29 October 2014.

This controversial nomination has to be understood in the context of the collision course between the Portuguese Padroado and Roman imperial interests in Asia. Rome was ready and quite eager to take over the biggest part of the missionary field previously under Portuguese jurisdiction. The consequences of this takeover effort were many, including some having to do with centralizing documentary collections pertaining to knowledge about Asia in Rome (and by 'Roman' religious orders). Another consequence was the privileged status bestowed on 'native clergy' who became important actors in the process of putting this plan in practice. In Asia, the Brahmans of Goa were among the principal allies of the Propaganda Fide—and Castro was the first in line.

On his way back to Goa, Castro first went to the court of Madrid where he was, predictably, not well received. His *status* was probably the same as that of other clerics who came from the colonies with petitions for 'autonomy' of their orders, or trying to resolve jurisdictional problems.¹⁹ For example, in the very same years, Friar António de São Tiago, the Procurator of the convent of Madre de Deus in Goa, and later the writer of a millenarist treatise supporting the new king of Portugal, João IV, was also in Madrid and encountered difficulties as well. By the end of the same decade, a similar case was that of the friar Miguel da Purificação, and there were more names on this list.²⁰

After two years in Iberian lands, Castro sailed from Lisbon back to India in March of 1633. When he arrived in Goa in August of the same year, the archdiocese was 'vacant' (*sede vacante*), headed by the Jesuit João da Rocha. Between 1634 and 1635, Friar Miguel de Rangel, the bishop of Kochi, and a man who knew well the Goan scene, took over its government.²¹ A Dominican, Rangel was also

19 Nuno G. Monteiro, 'Portugal na Monarquia dos Habsburgo (1580–1640)', in *História de Portugal*, ed. Rui Ramos (Lisbon: Esfera dos Livros, 2009), pp. 271–294. Anthony Disney, 'Habsburg Portugal', in *A History of Portugal and of the Portuguese Empire*, Anthony Disney, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

20 Jacinto de Deos, *Vergel de plantas, e flores*, pp. 396–9.

21 'Memorial de D. Miguel da Paz, ao vice-rei da Índia, conde de Linhares, D. Miguel de Noronha, sobre o governo do arcebispado que os capitulares da Sé de Goa querem tirar ao bispo de Hierápolis, sucessor do patriarca de Etiópia, D. João da Rocha, eleito após a morte do arcebispo D. Manuel Teles Barreto', BAL, Cod. 51-VI-11. Sorge, *Matteo di Castro*, p. 19.

the author of the memorandum *De Rebus fidei Catholicae Indiae Orientalis* (Of the Matters of Catholic Faith in the East Indies), sent to the same Propaganda Fide, in which he listed difficulties that the king of Portugal had in providing priests and missionaries for the Asian territories.²² However, Mateus de Castro, a new priest and missionary confirmed by the pope, was not well received.

His first stay in Goa upon return from Rome did not last long. Controversies were raging between religious orders, in part because of the strained relations between the colony and the metropole. At the same time, the Brahman Vittal, already known for sporting his ordained name of Sachidananda Saraswati, worked hard to restore the importance of the village of Kunshashtali among Goan Smārta Brahmans. In his battle for 'status' he was not more successful than Castro.

In 1636, Castro returned to Rome, where he would found the atmosphere more complicated than in the beginning of the decade. Jurisdictional conflicts multiplied among different Catholic congregations, in particular in what concerned the missions in Asia. It was in this context that Castro and Antonio Frassella, provincial of the conventual Franciscans in Transilvania, were appointed vicars apostolic and bishops of the ring in *partibus infidelium*. The first was to be sent to the lands of Adil Shah in Bijapur, the second to Japan.

At the very moment when friar Miguel da Purificação arrived in Rome to defend Portuguese Franciscans born in India, Castro left again in order to reach Goa in November of 1639. The capital of the Estado da Índia was quiet, in the aftermath of Dutch sieges of 1637 and 1638, but apprehensive and fearful of new military threats.²³ Unlike the reception of Vittal upon return from Varanasi, Castro's second coming provoked a great happiness among the Indian Christian Brahmans. In contrast, the Portuguese in Goa did not welcome the victorious return of the Goan who had left because of the discriminatory practices by the local ecclesiastical hierarchy. Toppling the hierarchy was unimaginable within the colonial syntax of power relations according to which the 'colonized' were not allowed to have a higher status (and power) than the 'colonizer'. Rather quickly, Castro had to face the opposition of the Goan ecclesiastics, this time headed by the

22 Mello, *The Recruitment and the Formation*, pp. 213–14.

23 Sorge, *Matteo di Castro*, p. 44.

archbishop Francisco dos Mártires, another Franciscan and a former General Minister of the Portuguese Friars. He left Goa and resurfaced in the Bijapur territory, followed by a team of Goan Brahmans whom he ordained priests and who agreed to follow the rules of the San Filipe Neri's Oratorians.²⁴

In his Bijapur mission, Castro was assisted by Bartholomeu Paes, uncle of the author of *Promptuario de Diffinicoes Indicas* (Summary of Indian Definitions). According to his nephew, Bartholomeu, well connected in the court of Bijapur, had recommended Castro in a letter to Adil Shah. Leonardo Paes argued that as a result of this letter Mateus de Castro received permission to build churches in Bicholim, Banda, and Vengurla.²⁵ While he lived and worked in the territory of the sultanate of Bijapur, Castro wrote about this new mission to the Propaganda Fide, and kept on asking for funding and help. He even suggested that the mission should be extended all the way to the river Ganges.²⁶

During his long stay at Bijapur, the sultanate was ruled by Muhammad Adil Shah II (1627–56). His court was the most vibrant in the Deccan region, a meeting place for scholars, religious specialists, calligraphers, painters, musicians, and travellers coming from different parts of the world. During the period Castro stayed in Bijapur, imposing buildings, including Gol Gumbaz, the second largest tomb in the world, were built (Figure 18).²⁷

Castro abandoned India, for the third time in April of 1643, and it is not clear how long he stayed in Rome, since we find him again in India in 1651. He came back with extended jurisdictional powers to both the kingdom of Golkonda and the kingdom of Pegu. At one point he also visited the Mughal court of Shah Jahan. Jonardon

24 ACPF, Actae, n° 16, fls 79v–80, 139–139v, 320–2v, 325v; Actae, n° 14, fl. 357, n° 28. We thank Paolo Aranha for the help with these references from the ACPF.

25 Leonardo Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 124.

26 ACPF, Actae, n° 15, fls 330v–331, n° 31; Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, p. 417. On Castro's letters see BAL, Cod. 50-V-38, fls 246–7v, Cod. 46-XI-1, fl. 1; BA, 46-X-7, fl. 103v–17v; 'Ristretto delle Lettere de Vicari Apost. Dell' Indie, e loro Missionari alla S. Cong ne dell'an 1671 sopra la rovina di quelle Missioni per lo seisma cagionato da Gesuiti, e sopra li rimedi efficaci per sedare ogni tumulto, e ridurre detti P. P. a la devota obediencia alle costituzioni Apost.' BAL, Cod. 46-XI-1, fl. 14.

27 On that see George Michell and Mark Zebrowski, *Architecture and Art of the Deccan Sultanates: The New Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

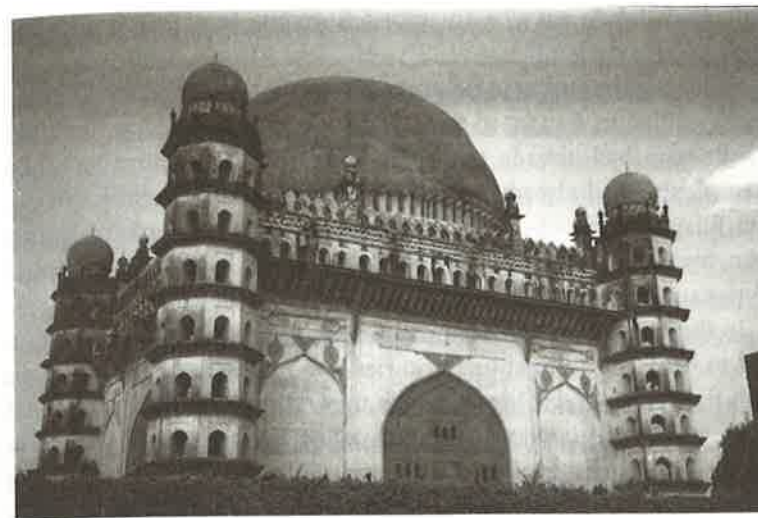


Figure 18. Gol Gumbaz, the 'rose dome' (the mausoleum of Muhammad Adil Shah II, 1656)

Ganeri had recently characterized Shah Jahan's court as one with 'tremendous vitality', because it was a platform where the erudite coming from different parts of the world could meet and debate.²⁸ After Rome and Bijapur, Castro had a chance to experience the magnificent architecture of Agra—the Red Fort and the Taj Mahal were almost finished by then—and to get immersed into the cosmopolitanism of the Mughal court, fuelled by different intellectual communities under the emperor's protection. At the court of Shah Jahan, Castro applied for an audience with the emperor, telling him that he wanted to make a proposition. Niccolao Manucci reported that Castro did meet the emperor and many Muslim theologians as well. He was identified by Shah Jahan as 'a learned man of ascetic life' and thus permitted to state his proposition. In contrast to the relative success of the Jesuits, Castro's simplistic proposition was easily answered by the vizier Sa'dullah Khan. Unable to argue back, Castro was obliged to leave.²⁹ The social context and the *mise-en-scène* of the meeting

28 Ganeri, *The Lost Age of Reason*, p. 13.

29 Niccolao Mannucci, *Storia do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653–1708*, vol. 1 (London: John Murray, 1907), pp. 211–12.

with Shah Jahan may be imagined from the images representing Shah Jahan's darbâr.³⁰

Following the apparent failure of his mission to Shah Jahan, Castro finally settled in Banda, in the sultanate of Bijapur, where he found Jesuits who had already marked out this missionary territory.³¹ By then, Castro had already seen the courts of Rome, Madrid, Lisbon, and Bijapur. Without being a cosmopolitan, he was a global Indian man, and his experience of the world certainly shaped his concept of Christian mission.

In the meantime, the Brahman priests ordained by Castro continued to work in the Bijapur territories and maintain communication with the Propaganda Fide, to which they reported their activities and from which they received funding and more priests.³² The documents in the archives of the Propaganda Fide show that in addition to churches, they had also built a seminary in Bicholim for the instruction of the Goan Brahmans who were to be consecrated on the frontier of the Padroado lands, a further step in the autonomization of these groups beyond the Portuguese empire, but still in the context of a Western template. Their letters containing information and knowledge about the mission continued to fill Roman archives.³³

During the years of Portuguese political instability, Castro and his Catholic Brahman companions were accused of conspiring with Adil Shah of Bijapur and the Dutch power against the Portuguese Estado da

30 See, for example, *Shah Jahan Holding Court*, as depicted by Bichitra c. 1650, in Bamber Gascoigne, *The Great Moghuls* (New Delhi: B.I. Publications, 1971), p. 145. Also a painting called *A Durbar of Sa'dullah Khan* (C. 1655) in the Album in the Bodeleian Library collection, MS. Douce Or. b.3.

31 ACPF, SOCP 1, fls 89rv–91rv: 'Copia della Relat.ne, che mandarono li Missionari che stanno in Bicolim all'Ill.mo S.r Vesc.o di Chrisopoli, che stava in Banda'; ff. 121r–2v: a letter by Matteo de Castro in Portuguese. Bicholim, 27/8/1655; bianco ai ff. 121v–2r; ff. 123r–4v: letter by Matteo de Castro in Portuguese. Bicholim, 29/6/1655; bianco ai ff. 123v–4r.

32 ACPF, SOCP 1, ff. 64r–5v, A letter to 'seniores populi Brachmanorum', certified by Manoel Barradas, 'Vigairo Geral'in Banda, from 13/11/1656. We thank Paolo Aranha for this reference.

33 In 1658, Mateus de Castro returned to Rome again, at the time when the independence of Portugal from the Spanish Monarchy was not yet recognized by the Papacy and remained in the Urban College until his death in 1671. Metzler, ed. *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*.

India. This was a political context of *Espelho de Brâmanes* (A Mirror of the Brahmans), a treatise written by Castro and put in circulation in Salcete and Bardez by André Ferrão and Castro's attendant, Nicolau Dias.³⁴

If we read the title of this short treatise from a strictly European perspective, we may find it misleading. Castro was certainly aware of the importance of mirrors in paintings and of the long European specular literary tradition.³⁵ However, this literature had specific structural and functional characteristics that we do not find in *Espelho de Brâmanes*.³⁶ In fact, as a 'moral guide', *Espelho* was less ambitious than the traditional mirrors, but as a 'political guide', it was much more so and quite explicit.

Hence, *Espelho de Brâmanes* should be read by keeping in mind, the local specular literary tradition influenced by Indian, Persian, and Arabic sources. As is well known, even the European genre had been inspired by *Pañcatantra*, a manual for princely education that came to Europe from India via Persia and Arabia.³⁷

In Asia, this type of literature became an autonomous genre since the medieval period, when *Qābūs Nāma* by Kai Kā'ūs, or *Syāsatnāma* by Nizām al-Mulk, became popular.³⁸ Similarly to what happened in the Christian world, these treatises aspired to become manuals for governing and politics. For that reason, they included practical

34 ACPF, SOCP 1, 'Epistola Domini Mathæi à Castro Episcopi Chrysopolitani, ad Brachmanes, ad rebellionem exhortatoria dicta speculum Brachmanum', fls 154r–63rv; *Espelho de Brâmanes*, ff. 180r–95v. This collection of documents is entitled 'Processus fieri iussus ab Auditore Generali Indiæ super libello seu tractatus composito et sparso ab Illustriss.o D. Matthæo de Castro Episcopo Chrysopolitano qui dicitur speculum Brachmanum. Latine n° 2. Notæ in eundem tractatum seu libellum'.

35 Herbert Grabes and Gordon Collier, *The Mutable Glass: Mirror-Imagery in Titles and Texts of the Middle Ages and English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

36 Paul Budra, 'The Mirror for Magistrates and the Politics of Readership', *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 32, n° 1, *The English Renaissance* (Winter 1992): 1–13.

37 Heinrich von Stietencron, *Hindu Myth, Hindu History: Religion, Art and Politics* (Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2005), p. 198. Ernst J. Grube, ed., *A Mirror for Princes from India: Illustrated Versions of the Kalilah wa Dimnah, Anvar-i Suhayli, Iyar-i Danish, and Humayun Nameh* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1991).

38 Kai Kā'ūs ibn Iskandar, *A Mirror for Princes: The Qābūs Nāma* (London: Cresset, 1951). See also Suraiya Faruqi, *Another Mirror for Princes: The Public Image of the Ottoman Sultans and Its Reception* (Istanbul: The Isis Press, 2008).

information on the governing institutions, on the mechanisms of political decisions, and on the education of the prince.³⁹ A similar work, *Advice on the Art of Governance* by the Iranian, Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Sani, was dedicated to Jahangir in 1612.⁴⁰

In short, a 'mirror of the prince' genre had very old roots and was a global genre.

Castro's 'mirror', as many other texts of this type, was written in epistolar form.⁴¹ Following the model of a letter, where the conversation takes place in absence, while the imagined or real interlocutor plays a central role in the narrative, in Castro's treatise, the Brahmans were simultaneously protagonists and addressees. As in other letters, Castro used past and present histories in order to reinforce his central argument.⁴²

Created as a cross-over between specular and epistolar literature, *Espelho de Brâmanes* is exceptional not only because of its hybrid format but also because of the multiple contexts from which it emerged, the two languages it used, as well as because of the identity of the author. And it was this particular combination that allowed the emergence of a new discursive field, dominated by Indians who manipulated in unpredictable ways actors and topics of the discourse that connected European and Asian worlds. With these treatises, the Indian writers targeted in the first place Portuguese political decision makers. In fact, Mateus de Castro was probably the first Brahman to address consciously, in the first-person singular, the question of Brahman identity for his European audience. This was a shift in

39 C. E. Bosworth, 'An Early Arabic Mirror for Princes: Tāhir Dhū l-Yamīnain's Epistle to His Son Abdallāh (206/821)', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 29, no. 1 (January 1970): 25–41; Geert Jan Van Gelder, 'Mirror for Princes or Vizor for Viziers: The Twelfth-Century Arabic Popular Encyclopedia "Mufid al-ulum" and Its Relationship with the Anonymous Persian "Bahr al-fawa'id"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 64, no. 3 (2001): 313–38.

40 Muhammad Baqir Najm-i Sani, *Advice on the Art of Governance: An Indo-Islamic Mirror for Princes* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

41 Sumit Guha, 'Speaking Historically', p. 1092. Deshpande, *Creative Pasts*, p. 29.

42 Isabel R. Seara, *Da epístola à mensagem electrónica: Metamorfoses das rotinas verbais* (unpublished PhD diss., Lisbon, Universidade Aberta, 2008), p. 21. For an overview of these processes in early modern Europe, see Francisco Bethencourt and Robert Muchembeld, eds, *Cultural Exchange in Early-Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

comparison with previous practices where Brahmans had the status of informants, whose speech was translated and adapted by Europeans before being presented to European audience. With Castro, Brahmans started speaking for themselves. In expressing his political loyalty to the Portuguese crown, he said that he was 'ready to give thousand lives for the defence of his homeland (*pátria*) and the common good', but he also demanded that the 'natives' be 'treated as vassals and not as slaves'.

Evoking the history of the European monarchies, Castro remembered that in Europe there were kings who reigned over 'different nations', and 'each of them benefited fully from the goods of their homelands'. These kings had nothing else in the kingdoms under their rule but a 'viceroy and fortresses (*presídios*) with soldiers'. This was the same model of government that the Portuguese introduced in the beginning of the sixteenth century, before they converted Indians to Christianity, and the one that characterized Habsburg rule in Europe. He continued to argue that when these kings harmed the nations living under their rule, they 'immediately died as flies'. The political creed of Castro was inspired by the theory of resistance, a theory that had supported the killing of Charles I of England, and the revolts that had taken place all over Europe in the mid-seventeenth century, Portugal included. According to Castro, this was a normal consequence of the 'natural law'. Establishing a parallel between the harm done to these nations and the situation of the Catholic Brahmans in Goa, 'treated worse than the manner in which Turks and Persians treat their Christians subjects', Castro wondered why these Brahmans kept quiet. Behind the comparison with Turkish and Persian rule was, of course, the Orientalist topos signalling the existence of Oriental tyrants. This was a prejudice widely spread in the Christian world, already incorporated into the political and Orientalist rhetoric of Mateus de Castro.

At the same time, the king of Portugal was not openly attacked. The culprits were, as it was common in this kind of treatises, his ministers and counsellors, more precisely in this case, the Jesuits. It was the Jesuits who peddled the idea that the Brahmans were 'vile people and it was necessary to treat them accordingly', adding to it that they were 'not men but worse than goats'. These opinions—said Castro—were damaging the image of the Brahmans at the court of the king of Portugal.

By refuting Jesuit opinions, Castro affirmed the right of the Brahmans of Goa to resist, remarking in passing the demographic imbalance between the Indians and the Portuguese in Goa: 'You Brahmans have seventy thousand armed men in arms in Salcete according to the list and forty thousand in Bardes and twenty thousand on the Island of Goa, and [you] depend on forty Jesuits (*Paulistas*) and old Friars in Bardez...?'

In order to stimulate Brahman pride, Castro appropriated, and in certain respects inverted, discursive strategies already used by the Christians against non-Christians by scourging Portuguese imperial officials as lowly 'sons of Goan market-women, Malabars, Bengalis and blacks', very inferior to noble Brahmans.⁴³

At the same time, Castro developed a series of dazzling *topoi* in favour of Brahmans, repeatedly used in later literature: for example, that Gaspar, one of the Magi kings who went to pay tribute to Christ, was a Brahman. By pushing for this 'fact' he made Brahman 'nation' one of the first to recognize Christ as the son of God. Another much rehearsed *topos* was that Christ had sent St Thomas, the first to touch the Christ resuscitated, as a compensation for this early recognition. For this reason, 'the Orient'—the land in which the Brahmans held supremacy—was the best of all other places in the world.⁴⁴

Castro's treatise is complicit with Western political grammar, which is foundational for what we call 'Orientalism from within'. Brahmans were presented as the vortex of Indian social hierarchy while simultaneously sharing the oldest Christian pedigree. Instead of 'different', in Castro's writing, Brahmans became immediately 'familiar' to Europeans. By plotting congenital affinity between Christians and Brahmans, Castro contributed to the construction of a Brahman as the pre-eminent interlocutor of the European powers.

At the same time, he robustly fought accusations of wanting to 'deliver to the Mouros the possessions of the King of Portugal in India',⁴⁵ which echoed one of the permanent fears of the local Portuguese. The wide circulation of Zain-ud-Din's treatise, dedicated to Ali Adil Shah

43 'Espelho de Brâmanes', in Sorge, *Matteo di Castro*, p. 78.

44 ARSI, Goa 34, f. 46; and Sorge, *Matteo di Castro*, p. 85.

45 'Auto que o ouvidor geral mandou faser por ordem do senhor governador contra Andre Ferrao', ARSI, Goa 34, II, fls 459–73.

of Bijapur (written by the end of the sixteenth century), in which the author called for jihad against the Portuguese, certainly contributed to the persistence of this fear even if real politics did not support it.⁴⁶ And even though Mateus de Castro knew Zain-ud-Din's arguments, *Espelho de Brâmanes* is openly pro-Western.

The defense of the Brahman group within the Portuguese imperial order by Mateus de Castro is an eloquent example of the conflicts that involved Brahmans as well as other local groups and the Portuguese imperial agents. It was a typical conflict between the colonizers and the colonized. Castro's case cannot be reduced to this sole dimension, because the everyday social life in Goa in which it was inscribed—of which the previous pages offered some hints—was much more complex. There are contexts of interpretation of this text that certainly go beyond the imperial context and refer to regional identity politics. His membership in Goan Brahman Catholic group, his stay in Bijapur and connections in that court—a place where many Shenvi Brahmans from Goa, just like him but more successful, discussed the questions of Brahman identity—must have been decisive in the way Castro textualized Goan Brahmans in relation to the Portuguese crown.

Besides this, it is clear that Castro's passage to Rome, the education he acquired there, and the intellectual routines that he assimilated—in a period when Rome was aspiring to become an Orientalist centre, substituting Lisbon in that role—are necessary for understanding the writing modes and practices he developed.⁴⁷ In the same way, his experience in the courts of Cairo, Bijapur, Agra, and Delhi opened his horizons to the diversity of political and cultural arrangements.

WRITING CASTE IDENTITY LIKE A 'WESTERNER'

However, Castro seemed to have been both too choleric and too global to be the kind of a 'native' Thomas B. Macaulay dreamt about for the success of the British Empire in India. Already in the end of the eighteenth century, Macaulay would defend the making of 'a

46 Subrahmanyam, 'The Portuguese, the Mughals and Deccan Politics, c. 1600', in *Explorations in Connected History*.

47 See Antonella Romano, 'Rome, un chantier pour les savoirs de la catholicité post-tridentine', *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, n° 55–2 (2008/2): 101–20.

class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern: a class of persons, Indians in blood and colour, but British in taste and opinions, in moral, and in intellect.⁴⁸ The imagined interpreters of Macaulay were supposed to be, certainly, pacific Indians, ready to compromise with the British rule, becoming their main faithful intermediaries. A century before Macaulay's dream, Castro and other Goans like him did not want to be *only* intermediaries. Instead, they were yearning to have a real share in the imperial government. They thought of themselves as rightful decision makers.

It is true that some of the Christian Brahmins initially formed the kind of group that Macaulay dreamt about. They played the role of interpreters between the Portuguese and the rest of the Indians under the Portuguese rule. However, these 'Indians in blood and colour' and Portuguese 'in taste and opinions, in morals and in intellect' soon envisaged for themselves more than the condition of a lowly interpreter. Their ultimate goal was to substitute the colonizers of Portuguese origin, and to become internal colonizers. The rule of the game was to start by writing texts in Portuguese and present themselves as Westerners.

The first attested Brahmin narrative in Portuguese is not *Espelho de Brâmanes*, but *Catalogo dos Emperadores da Etiópia* (A Catalogue of the Emperors of Ethiopia) from the end of the sixteenth century, attributed to Belchior da Silva, a Brahmin who was a missionary in Ethiopia. It is not clear whether Francisco Negrão, the writer of *Taprobana* and *Reliquaria*, was himself an Indian (and a Brahmin), albeit his family name might indicate a local origin. In fact, Negrão could also have been either the offspring of a mixed couple or of a Portuguese couple living in India. Besides these two, there were a few other Indians involved in similar processes from the mid-sixteenth century until the mid-seventeenth century. Pero Luís Bramane, Manuel d'Oliveira, Andre Vaz, and other locals, for example, helped the Jesuits in the translation of Indian mythological treatises, such as *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. We discuss their strategies in the fourth chapter. Some of the local interpreters rebelled against the Jesuits, these were the cases of Bonifacio Xastre and Aleixo in the Madurai mission, but the political context for their action was different from the properly

speaking colonial Goan setting.⁴⁹ Their plan, precociously going in the right direction of the future history, was to supplant and replace the foreign missionaries while remaining connected directly to the Church. From indirect evidence, a tomb in Goa, we know that Bonifacio Xastre, a Tamil Brahmin, ended his life in the capital of the Estado da Índia and that his daughter, Maria Nobre was buried there in 1691.⁵⁰

Nevertheless, the early written texts by the local interpreters mainly belonged to the *corpus* produced by the Portuguese authorities about the Indian territories, and were direct responses to demands by the imperial power (and became, in that sense, a part of that particular Orientalist heritage). In that sense, the *agency* of the Indians involved in these dynamics was of a pair with that of the interpreters who, village by village, helped the Portuguese officers to map the property that belonged to the Goan temples, the subject of our second chapter.

The writings and authors we will refer to in the next pages belong to a different type of *agency*, an *agency* that might have surprised Thomas B. Macaulay, but it was hardly unexpected after knowing better the internal workings of the Estado da Índia.

In fact, a series of books—*Espelho de Brâmanes* (A Mirror of the Brahmins); *Libra Oriental*, 1656 (The Oriental Scales); *Tratado apologetico contra varias calumnias impostas pela malevolência contra a sua Nação Bracmana*, 1686 (An Apologetic Treatise against Various Calumnies Imposed by Malevolence against the Brahmin Nation) by Francisco do Rego; *Arte da Grammatica da Língua Bracmana*, 1694 (Art of Grammar of the Brahmin Language) by Manuel Álvares, and the *Vocabulário das três línguas, Portuguesa, Bracmana, e Castellana*, 1695 (Vocabulary of the Three Languages, Portuguese, Brahmin, and Castilian) by Simão Álvares and Lourenço Álvares—all of which disappeared (except for *Espelho de Brâmanes*) belonged to that field of Indian writing within the Portuguese empire that was not anymore a direct response to imperial demands.⁵¹ Among various writers inhabiting this field, two became more relevant than others because their books were printed in Lisbon: *Aureola dos Índios*, 1702 (Aureole of the Indians), a historical and genealogical

48 King, *Orientalism and Religion*, pp. 89–90.

49 Županov, *Disputed Mission*, pp. 228–36.

50 Županov, *Disputed Mission*, p. 244.

treatise by António João Frias (1664–1727), and *Promptuario de Deffinições Indicas*, a philological and historical treatise by Leonardo Paes (1662–1715).⁵²

Both Frias and Paes came from Indian Westernized families, who zealously operated within the imperial power system. They had been students at the college of São Paulo in Goa, administered by the Society of Jesus, and they clearly assimilated Jesuit methods of education and intellectual world of references.

Leonardo Paes was born in the village of Gandaolim, in Salcete, one of the few villages in this region in which elites were of Charodo origin.⁵³ After completing his education, Paes became vicar at the parish of St Thomas in Goa. In addition, he obtained from the Propaganda Fide (again the Propaganda Fide!) the title of 'Apostolic Protonotary', combining it with the title of 'Papal Notary'. Paes claimed that he was a part of an extensive social network operating throughout Goan territory and all the way to Bijapur. His was the network that had helped the Brahman bishop Mateus de Castro when he wanted to establish a Christian mission in the Adil Shahi sultanate. In his book, Paes explained that his influence at Bijapur resulted from the fact that his own family descended from the kings of Sirgapor (probably referring to the Sinharh lands?) who dominated twelve provinces located between the sultanates of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. These regional connections explained, that: 'Canongy Raze (raja), the king of that kingdom, having succeeded in conquering the Konkan lands by the order of the Mogor (Mughal), was in Ponda and called Bartholomeu Paez [his relative], and said publically that Bartholomeu Paez, as the oldest had the right of precedence'.⁵⁴

⁵¹ These latter treatises are mentioned by Gerson da Cunha in *The Konkani Language*, p. 136.

⁵² António João Frias, *Aureola dos Índios, & Nobiliarchia Bracmana: Tratado Historico, Genealogico, Panegyrico, Politico, & Moral* (Lisbon: Officina Miguel Deslandes, 1702); and Paes, *Promptuario*. For a detailed analysis of these treatises, see Xavier, *A Invenção de Goa*, chapter 7 and 'David contra Golias'. Ines G. Županov, 'Conversion Historiography in South Asia—Counter Space for Alternative Histories in 18th Century Goa', *Medieval History Journal*, Theme Issue Conversions, eds Monika Juneja and Kim Siebenhüner, 12, no. 2 (2009): 303–25.

⁵³ Charodos were a Goan group that belonged to the local elite and claimed to be descendants of the mythical Kṣatriya.

It is not possible to confirm whether this narrative is true or a legend, but the writing of Paes tells us, at least, that this was the horizon of imagination and practices that operated among his peers.

In contrast to Paes, António Frias was born in Tiswadi, in the village of Talaulim. He had a degree in Arts and became a parish priest of the Santo André in Old Goa. Just like Paes, he also flaunted his title of 'Apostolic Protonotary', in addition to being notary of the Bull of the Holy Crusade, a judge for the qualification of the Military Orders, and a chaplain of the Portuguese king.⁵⁵ Frias was, moreover, legal consultant of the Franciscan archbishop Friar Inácio de Santa Teresa, a position that apparently earned him nothing but hatred among the Goan Franciscans, as we can derive from a Franciscan obituary: 'He died disastrously without sacraments as he travelled by "andor" (a portable chair) pursuing an unjust demand.'⁵⁶ Frias's importance was a natural consequence of his family's historical itinerary within the Portuguese imperial order. His relatives had a long-term relation with the Portuguese crown, clearly expressed in their titles, as well as in their naming practice. His father was called Pascoal Frias, and his nephew, a small broker in Diu and son of Jerónimo Frias, was Pascoal António Frias.⁵⁷ In addition to *Aureola dos Índios*, Frias also wrote a life of the Oratorian missionary José Vaz, a book which intended to praise Brahman missionaries in Ceylon, an important piece in the Catholic Brahman identity puzzle. This *Vida* was also published, but no examples seem to be extant.

Both Frias and Paes had probably learnt Portuguese as children, which explains their easiness with the Portuguese prose, their skilful syntax and rich conceptual vocabulary. At least, on the textual surface these two authors were communicating uniquely with the Portuguese world. Their books contained the usual paratexts of the

⁵⁴ Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 124.

⁵⁵ ANTT, RGM/B/4/1260, 'Alvará régio de 13 de Março de 1688 concedendo a mercê de capelão fidalgo a António João Frias'.

⁵⁶ Leopoldo Rocha, *As Confrarias de Goa (secs. XVI–XX), Conspecto histórico-jurídico* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1973), p. 452.

⁵⁷ After conversion to Christianity, the adoption of Portuguese names—frequently the names of the godparents—was unavoidable. Equally frequent was the custom in which the first grandson was named after his grandfather.

Portuguese publications of that period: panegyric sonnets, an elaborate index, prefaces and prologues, dedications, and most of all the list of authorities.

Furthermore, in the *Promptuario de Definições Indicas*, Leonardo Paes, argued that 'some people in this part of India write books and histories of their own nobility, with more titles than the Greeks, ... without proofs from where that nobility comes from, without revealing authorities, content, and argument (*razão*)'. In contrast to this 'people' (the Indian Brahmins), Paes proposed an alternative method. He would use 'serious Authors who wrote about this, without discrepancy, not simply [based] on their own authorities, but in the true sense'.⁵⁸ Needless to say, all 'serious' authors of Paes were Western authors. This pragmatic compliance with Portuguese 'historiographical model' was his way to authorize his own credibility.

As a consequence—in spite of the fact that he refers to titles such as 'gentile histories'—Paes dismissed local, Indian histories, as sources of information and as practice of history writing. Like any good enlightened writer of this period, Paes attributed to them the status of 'fables' and 'legends', a worthless knowledge.

Perhaps unselfconsciously, Paes actively contributed from (and in) Goa to the emerging new regime of truth for historical sources that became dominant in Europe in the eighteenth century. In this regime certain forms of expression were explained as manifestation of primitive or less rational minds and, for that reason, untruthful.⁵⁹ For the Indian Paes, Indian non-Christian writings belonged to this inferior stage of mind.

His compliance with the Western and Portuguese standards of historical writing is a magnified expression of what Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam have pointed out when they studied the different fates of the historical texts produced in India in the early modern period: 'Newly ascendant and powerful cultures may deny history to the communities they seek to dominate, and historicity to their

texts'.⁶⁰ In the Goan case, besides the role played by the Portuguese colonizers in this process of rejection of local narratives, the colonized like Paes and Frias enthusiastically produced and disseminated the epistemological and historical sources and intellectual practices of the dominant colonial power. Committed to imperial idiom, they denied the validity to the texts composed by their own ancestors, establishing a rupture with their own past.⁶¹

This scepticism towards Indian historical writings from the texts on religion to 'chronicles of the ancient kings', 'in a manner of fables of the Greeks and Latins, with metamorphoses and transmutations', had already been expressed by João de Barros in his *Asia*.⁶² Surreptitiously, and contrary to his own statement, however, Barros did use local texts in order to legitimate his discourse.

In contrast to the Portuguese João de Barros, who accepted in most of the cases, the trustworthiness of the descriptions provided by local sources, the Goans António João Frias and Leonardo Paes used them rhetorically as exotic fables that enriched their discourse. And when they used these texts, Paes and Frias applied Western filters that allowed them to select, in a Western way, the information they needed for the smooth argumentation. For precisely this reason António João Frias insisted on quoting Europeans in order to strengthen his arguments in favour of Brahman identity.⁶³

Moreover, in rejecting Indian intellectual tradition, which was as old if not older than the Western intellectual tradition, Paes and Frias espouse the primacy of secular as opposed to religious knowledge, the choice of different epistemology and of a certain *modus operandi* in the construction of knowledge, and the exclusion of the East as a source of trustable knowledge.

This strategy allowed them to argue for their hierarchical supremacy in the local society, and to communicate these arguments to their

⁵⁸ Paes, *Promptuario*, 'Prologo ao Leytor'.

⁵⁹ On the general characteristics of that epistemological shift and its impact on the assessment of intellectual production coming from colonial peripheries, see Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History of the New World*.

⁶⁰ Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*, p. 5.

⁶¹ However, the way they discredited the narratives penned by their ancestors and contemporaries is different from what happened in the Ibero-American world in relation to Inca and Aztec pictograms, although both projects appeared from within the same theory of civilization. Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write the History*, chapter 1.

⁶² Barros, *Decada primeira da Asia*, in Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, L. 9, c. iii.

⁶³ Frias, *Aureola dos Indios*, 'Prologo ao Leytor'.

mainly Portuguese audience—not the cultural resistance through mimicry or parody that Homi Bhabha has identified, but, instead, a pragmatic form of colonial *mimesis*.⁶⁴

What was the corpus of books and authors considered trustworthy by them?

Frias chose to quote many classical authors (Aristotle, Plato, Herodotus, Tacitus, Cassiodorus, Plutarch, Suetonius, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Quintilian), fathers of the church (Saint Jerome, Saint John Chrysostom, Saint Augustine), but also more recent authors, some of them his contemporaries (Ambrogio Calepino, Antonio Corsetus, Barthélemy de Chasseneuz, Tommaso Campanella, Albert Krantzius). Among the Portuguese, he preferred Luís Vaz de Camões, João de Barros, and Manuel dos Anjos. In contrast, Leonardo Paes quotes more Portuguese authors than international ones (António de Sousa de Macedo, António Freyre, Aleixo de Meneses, Agostinho de Santa Maria, António Guevara, António Pinto, Agostinho Barbosa, António Francisco Cardim, António Vieira, Bento Fernandes, Bento Pereira, Baltasar Teles, Brás de Albuquerque, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Diogo do Rosário). However, their strategies of citation differ. Intellectually more cosmopolitan, Frias located himself within a mainstream European encyclopaedia of knowledge—a movement that is somewhat similar to Friar Manuel dos Anjos in his *A Historia Universal*. Paes had, instead, an alternative strategy—his universe of citations was mainly Portuguese, and in that sense, ‘national’, but also clearly Jesuit.

After the panegyric sonnets, the index, the prefaces, prologues, and dedications, Paes started his treatise with Christian myths of creation. Within this paradigmatic moment guaranteeing unity of the humanity, he described the division of the lands and the creation of India. It was India the place in which occurred the most important phases of the sacred history: ‘In it God created Heaven ... in it the Christ, Our Lord, was born to a Holy Virgin Mary, and died and was marvellously resurrected’.⁶⁵ It was also the place where Noah sent his descendant Indo, a *topos*, as mentioned earlier, dear

to the Franciscans.⁶⁶ In the same space, we find the river Phison, one of the four rivers streaming from Paradise, transformed into Ganges because of one of Indo’s brothers, a thesis also proposed in *Monarchia Ecclesiastica* (The Ecclesiastical Monarchy) by João de Pineda.⁶⁷ This explained, maintained, the devotion that the Indians had for that river, their rites of ablution, and their custom of keeping with them a vial of ‘Ganges water’, a memory of earlier Christian gestures—‘just as Christians keep the holy water’.⁶⁸

After identifying the territory and Christianizing the landscape, Paes exposed his political history by tracing a genealogy of the Indian kings, their divisions and conquests of Indian territories. This genealogy also went back to patriarch Noah and the descendant of his son Sem. By following the version of Manuel dos Anjos, Paes explained the structure of Indian society, comparing European tripartite society to a society divided into *varnas*. For Paes, in the head of the Indian system were emperors and kings (the Kṣatriya), in the heart were prophets and learned men (the Brahmins), while the plebs were in the feet (the Śūdra). This hierarchical order was to be found—Paes wrote—in *Jadelgatutan* in Konkani (The Orchard of Castes or Pomar das castas in Portuguese), a treatise written by the Brahmins at least as early as the sixteenth-century, already mentioned by João de Barros.⁶⁹ This treatise—which we could not identify more precisely—argued that ‘the first caste is that of the rayas [rajas] who belong to the most noble nation from which all the kings of Kanara originate, and which is considered as ancient and famous for their arms [military prowess] in these parts as the Goths in Europe’.⁷⁰

Starting with this comparison clearly addressing a Portuguese audience, Paes defended the thesis that the true nobility was the one whose ancestors belonged to a royal family. Therefore, it was

66 This idea had already been developed in the sixteenth century by Guillaume Postel. On Postel’s Orientalism, see Ina Baghdiantz McCabe, *Orientalism in Early Modern France: Eurasian Trade, Exoticism, and the Ancien Régime* (Oxford: Berg, 2008), chapter 1.

67 See, BNL, Cod. 176, Biblioteca do Convento de Tana.

68 Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 14.

69 Paes, *Promptuario*, pp. 155–78.

70 João de Barros, *Decada quarta da Asia*, in Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, L. 6, cap. iv.

64 Homi Bhabha, ‘Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse’, in Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

65 Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 5.

sufficient to establish correctly the genealogy of each lineage, to know their antiquity, and their legitimate status. In Goa, according to Paes, only the Charodo group was of true nobility, of true royal blood. With this explanation, he refuted the arguments of those who accused the Charodos of being the descendants of simple soldiers, and, therefore, not of a noble rank.

For some of the detractors of the Charodos the demonstration was philologically grounded. They argued that the name 'Charodo' came from the word 'charo', which meant 'wage', to which was added the verbal form 'di' (signifying 'to give'). Therefore, charo+di = charodi. For repeatedly saying this word, for which the soldiers were known for, the social category 'Charodo' came into being. Later, a similar argument would be used by the Marathas from Malwa regarding the Rajputs. As Sumit Guha found, Marathas tried to prove that the regional word designating Rajput ascendancy (*rangadi*) came from Ran+gadi, that is, jungle+follower/servant, which pointed to a double inferior status in one and the same word.⁷¹ Other detractors of the Charodos argued, instead, that they were 'filhados' (that is to say, adopted) by an ancient Indian king and that their hypothetical royal link was by adoption, not by blood.⁷²

One of these detractors was António João Frias. Years earlier, Frias proposed arguments in favour of Brahmanical nobility. Without quoting them, he used the books by Francisco do Rego, as well as topics from *Espelho de Brâmanes*. Frias decided to speak first about the founder and the ancestor of the Brahmans, 'then about the luster of the family that consists of its dignity and of its excellent stem'. Like Paes, Frias intended to lodge the history of his caste within the Christian history. In order to achieve it, Frias used the history of Cheraman Perumal (whom he calls Cheriperimal), to whom he attributed the status of a Brahman. Jerónimo Osório and Manuel dos Anjos, 'who wrote about India from the documents found in the Malabar archives' (probably available in The House of India in Lisbon), were

71 Paes, *Promptuario*, pp. 154, 167. Sumit Guha, 'Lower Strata, Older Races, and Aboriginal Peoples: Racial Anthropology and Mythical History Past and Present', *Journal of Asian Studies*, 57, no. 2 (May 1998): 423–41.

72 Frias, *Aureola*.

cited as authorities.⁷³ For Frias, the Malabar king, Cheruman Perumal who had lived in the first century of the Christian era (Trindade placed him, instead, in the fourth century and João de Barros in the seventh),⁷⁴ was none other than Gaspar, one of the Magi Kings who prostrated himself at the feet of the newborn Christ in order to pay his respects (the same topos previously developed by Mateus de Castro). Perumal was a just, learned, merciful, and compassionate king, whom 'the Divine Providence placed among the idolatrous barbarians ... because it had chosen him as the first fruits of the Evangelical Law'.⁷⁵

By associating his group with the Christian history, Frias had two goals in mind: to prove the Brahmanical origin of the royalty (although his chronology was not very trustworthy); and, to assimilate this royalty into Christian memory, by combining the two sources that, according to Jerónimo Osório, were the hallmark of nobility—civil and Christian lineage. There is no doubt that this inscription and appropriation of the Christian memory was a consciously strategic gesture. By claiming that the founder of the Brahmans was one of the Magi Kings, Frias sanctified, moreover, an activity associated with Brahmans—the art of magic—often mentioned in the condemnations of the Holy Office. This 'science' performed by the Brahmans had already been an object of various critiques. The same topoi would be used in *Espada de David contra o Golias do Bramanismo* (A Spade of David against the Goliath of Brahmanism) by João da Cunha Jacques, who wrote, like Paes, against the 'Brahmans'.⁷⁶

By taking for granted that Cheraman Perumal was Gaspar, that the Magi King was a 'scientist', and that he was the ancestor of the

73 Frias, *Aureola*, p. 20; see Nuno Gonçalves Monteiro, 'Casa e Linhagem: O vocabulário aristocrático em Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII', *Penélope—Fazer e Desfazer a História* (2003): 12, 43–63.

74 Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. 1 (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, [1636] 1962); Barros, *Década primeira da Ásia*, in Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, L IX, c. iii. Another version of the story is told also in the Jesuit treatise by Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, pp. 2–5, 11, 15, 93. According to the chronology of the *História do Malavar*, Cheruman Perumal was a contemporary of St. Thomas the Apostle.

75 Frias, *Aureola*, p. 59.

76 See Xavier, 'David contra Golias'.

Brahmans, Frias proposed a historical reconstruction of Gaspar's life in India.⁷⁷ Although scattered through different pages, its plot can be summarized as a repetition of certain events that circulated among the Christians of St. Thomas. For this reason, they were well known to the Portuguese. Among the most important was the baptism by St. Thomas, after which he changed his name to Gaspar. According to Frias, Gaspar established a Christian church in Calicut (in the meantime transformed into temple). This was the very same in which Vasco da Gama had seen the image of the Virgin and of the Magi Kings. Gaspar ended renouncing the throne, which resulted in royal division and the beginning of the Zamorin royal house in Calicut.⁷⁸

Albeit this propitious beginning, Frias recognized that other Brahmans had killed the Apostle, comparing them to St Paul because they were first 'so blinded by errors of their idolatry, and boasted of zealously observing it because they thought it was their duty'. However, like St Paul, after the conversion, the Brahmans had become the most ardent defenders of Christian faith, and it was proved by the Cuncoim martyrdom of 1583 in which three Brahmans died side by side with the Jesuit fathers.

Having established the affiliation between the Brahmans of Goa and the king Cheraman Perumal, in another chapter Frias tried to show how and why the Brahmans combined the nobility of arms with Christian nobility.⁷⁹ In conclusion, Frias would go so far as to affirm that the Brahmans 'were the most noble and the first among all Indians, not only for the natural nobility inherited from their forefathers; but also for that acquired by their behavior; because they made themselves worthy of all honor and deserve the eternal glory'.⁸⁰

This eternal glory was the natural consequence of the Brahmanical virtues. In some analytical chapters, Frias described these

77 Sebastian R. Prange is currently working on the parallel mythology of Cheraman Perumal in the Muslim construction of identity on the Malabar Coast. Sebastian R. Prange, 'The Crown of the Faith: Muslim Identity on the Medieval Malabar Coast', lecture at the Centre d'Etudes de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud, CNRS-EHESS, Paris, 13 Dec. 2013.

78 Frias, *Aureola*, pp. 25–7, 37–9.

79 Frias, *Aureola*, pp. 47–57.

80 Frias, *Aureola*, p. 70.

Brahmanical virtues which combined antiquity and lineage, 'good science', and many others. This virtuous template proved Brahmanical supremacy.

Paes responded to Frias by associating the patriliney of the Charodos to an even remoter historical moment. The Rajas, the Kṣatriya (and in the Goan context, the Charodos) descended from Indo, the grandchild of Saba, the son of Sem, one of the sons of Noah. The emperor Pondo (a direct descendant of Indo), mentioned in the gentile scriptures, had left many vestiges of his reign, such as 'Imperial Houses and Palaces', and also 'many subterranean palaces' in Salcete. On top of the remains of one of them, in the village of Aquém, Christians had constructed a chapel of São Sebastião.⁸¹ Another emperor-ancestor of Charodos was the mythical Poro who had fought against Alexander in his campaigns in northern India. Although Poro's kingdom was in Punjab, one of his descendants, Satespor Raja had built his palace 'in the Village of Colvale in the lands of Bardes, and next to an enormous water tank, and on one of the stones there are gentile inscriptions that spoke about the excellent [qualities] of this King'.⁸²

According to the Orientalist Henry Heras, in that village, the Bijapur sultan had a residence. It is possible that Paes saw its ruins, and thought that they were much older.⁸³ Thus Paes concluded that 'in India no King can be of any other origin but of the royal nation of the Rajput Kṣatriya [*Razeputrus Qhetris*]'. Since they belonged to that group, the Charodos were therefore the only true nobility in Goa.

Leonardo Paes also felt the need to associate a Kṣatriya king to St. Thomas. Sagamo, who, according to him, was the first who gave the Apostle a piece of wood to build the first church in India, was his choice. However, 'this king was martyred by the infidels and in the same temple'.⁸⁴

And in addition, of course, Paes refuted the arguments about the Brahmans proposed by Frias. To the contrary, according to his 'facts', Brahmans descended from Mogog, a grandson of Noah, who

81 Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 63.

82 Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 69.

83 H. Heras, 'Pre-Portuguese Remains in Portuguese India', *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society* (September 1932): 19.

84 Paes, *Promptuario*, pp. 70–1.

was also the ancestor of the Jews (another well-known topos that circulated in the Iberian world). Just as they were Christ-killers, the Brahmans assassinated St. Thomas: 'The Brahman priests, and magicians [*magos*] of Indian gentility, having seen the miracles that the glorious Apostle Saint Thomas performed and that the cult of idols was losing its reputation and sustenance, they decided to kill him, since they were not able, at the sight of his miracles, to use their tricks'.⁸⁵

Moreover, according to Paes, the king Perumal, whom the Brahmans presented as the king Gaspar, was, to the contrary, the descendant of these Brahmans who killed the Apostle. This king had lived in the twelfth century (Paes's reference was Perumal, the Kadamba king of Goa) and could not have been, for this reason, a contemporary of St. Thomas. In contrast to Frias's narrative, Perumal descended from the Zamorin of Calicut who introduced Islam to India and died, according to the legend, on his way to Mecca.⁸⁶

In a word, both Frias and Paes knew well the legitimating discourse on nobility that circulated in this period in the Portuguese kingdom, and they used the same strategy in order to defend their own distinct histories: a combination of genealogical criteria (by way of which they assimilated Indian history and of their 'nations' into the Christian history) with that of royal service. By claiming that he was the descendant of these kings, Paes was convinced that his family and the other Charodos families in Goa were the best placed to occupy government offices. Although Frias did not renounce the royal ancestry of the Brahmans, his arguments privileged the service that the Brahman priests performed from times immemorial for the kings. This service gave them primacy in the government. He valued knowledge, science, and letters more than military service. Frias was also convinced of the primacy of the Brahmans in the Indian order.

Paes and Frias were perfectly conscious, at the same time, that the theory of varṇas could be easily compared with the tripartite classification

that characterized the European 'society of orders'. Similar to what occurred in Portugal, however, these social classifications had 'an enormous ambivalence' and 'a great diversity of appropriations'.⁸⁷ In other words, they could conceal social dynamics by essentializing group identities that presented themselves as atemporal in order to guarantee and to preserve the status acquired at that precise moment. Was that the case of the Brahmans or of the Charodos of Goa? Were they drawn into this simultaneous process of essentialization and comparison?

Focused on the European ways of classifying society, it is hard to believe, however, that men like Frias and Paes, and their families were completely insensitive to local traditions that were particularly strong and in the process of transformation in the territories neighbouring Goa and even in Goa. In addition to the treatises they refer to in their books, but not listed among 'serious authors'—such as *Jadelgatutam*, as well as local versions of the Vedas—Paes and Frias probably knew the Goan versions of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, with interpolated episodes narrating the history of local territories and people, relating and linking them with the great Indian epics. And they must have known the local version of *Sahyadri Khanda* in favour of Goan Brahmans.

In fact, although they emulated the internal organization of similar books produced in the European context, the textual structure of their treatises link them, also, to the Indian early modern literature. The use of foundational myth, of 'mythical' temporality, the interpolation of real, local history episodes (with the intention to inscribe them in the *long durée*) and the use of various sources of information are hallmarks of these local narratives, as they are of the books by Frias and Paes.⁸⁸ Perhaps—and somewhat against our initial hypothesis—Frias and Paes were simultaneously targeting both Portuguese and Indian readership because they and their families were playing a simultaneous power game on the two chess boards. Most certainly, their aim was to be recognized as the highest caste both locally and globally.

For example, some of their comments on their own caste or on the rival castes resemble those that were referred to in Indian classical

⁸⁵ Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 243.

⁸⁶ Paes, *Promptuario*, p. 142. According to Diogo Gonçalves, Cheraman Perumal was one of the three kings who succeeded *Paraśurāma* after his death and divided the country into three different regions. The other two were Pandi Perumal and Cholla Perumal. Gonçalves, *História do Malavar*, p. 2.

⁸⁷ On this ambivalence in social categories, see Nuno G. Monteiro, *O Crepúsculo dos Grandes* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional/Casa da Moeda, 1996), p. 19.

⁸⁸ See Rao, Shulman, and Subrahmanyam, *Textures of Time*, p. 3.

tradition.⁸⁹ In the prelude XII, Frias tried to explain 'how the idolatrous Indians believe that the Brahmanes (*Bracmanes*) were extracted from the head of the King Brama-Dev, and the explanation of this Fable'. Without quoting any written source, Frias writes that 'there is among the Malabars a famous history about Brama-Dev', from whom emerged 'Brahmans (*Bracmanes*)', 'Kṣatriyas (*Ghetris*)' and 'Nayars (*Naires*)'.⁹⁰ Albeit he argued that these statements were untrustworthy, a 'fiction (*ficção*)', a 'ridiculous invention', 'the same stuff as that of the Gentile Gods such as Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, and Martes', these examples served him to show how the Indian common sense about social hierarchy confirmed his own arguments. It is obvious that Frias had access to a 'Malabar' version (adapted to local social hierarchy) of the episode in *Puruṣasūkta* from the *Rgveda*, or from the *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*, or some other Vedic text, where the hymn of the creation explained the appearance of varṇas.⁹¹ Also his argument that 'there is no family in India, which is as ancient [as Brahmans], because nobody can remember the antiquity of its origin' is parallel to the ones of *Sahyadri Khanda*, although Frias insisted that all he knew about India was through the Portuguese authorities on the subject (Manuel de Faria e Souza, João de Barros, and Diogo do Couto).⁹² The same type of connection can be applied to the topoi invoked by Paes—that the Brahmans came from Mount Caucasus, known from the time of Strabo for the hardness and bestiality of their inhabitants; that they were soothsayers and not men of science, they were mechanics and not literati.

Despite their intention of exorcizing from their narratives any trace of Indian intellectual tradition, the arguments developed by Frias and Paes and the textual structure on which they based their argumentation makes them comparable to what Thapar called 'embedded

89 See Olivinho Gomes's introduction to Kṛṣṇadāsa Sama, *Konkani Rāmāyana* (Goya: Goya Vidyāpīṭha, 1996); and the introduction to his *Old Konkani Language and Literature: The Portuguese Role* (Chandor-Goa: Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999).

90 Frias, *Aureola*, pp. 27, 33.

91 *Puruṣasūkta* is hymn 10.90 of the *Rgveda*, dedicated to the Puruṣa, the 'Cosmic Being'. *Śatapatha brāhmaṇa*, 'Brahmana of one-hundred paths' is one of the prose texts describing the Vedic ritual, associated with the *Śukla* (White) *Yajurveda*.

92 Frias, *Aureola*, p. 92.

histories'—i.e., written expressions of consciousness with historical dimension—and, at the same time, 'externalized histories', in which one can discern explicit narratives of events.⁹³ Evoking myths of origins was typical for the first tradition, while the inclusion of the genealogies (or a presence of genealogical sensibility) was a part of the second—and the books by Leonardo Paes and by António João Frias include both.⁹⁴

Like most of the Catholic Orientalists of this period, Paes and Frias wrote Indian history (and words) without respect for orthography and uniform transcription, since there were no standards to enforce. This is why it is difficult to trace their original references. They also used their Indian sources with the same kind of carelessness, which irritated, later, the more sophisticated European Orientalist. Even if Indians like Frias and Paes started to slip out of their role as intermediaries and informants, whom they played for two centuries, European Orientalists quickly imposed themselves as the true experts in Indian matters, speaking, again, for the Indians as their authorized and authorial voice.

Before returning to these European Orientalists in the eighth chapter, another Goan case is paradigmatic of the multiple processes that were taking place in these territories and of the wide diversity of Orientalist ventures.

ANOTHER 'QUESTION OF RITES'⁹⁵

An interesting collection of documents, translated into Portuguese, but produced by eighteenth-century Vaiṣṇava Brahmans of Salcete, Tiswadi, and Bardez, and Smārta Brahmans of Keloshi and Kunshashtali, who were in conflict because of 'rites', belongs to this intellectual context in which culture and power were increasingly intertwined. These documents were stored in the office of the Secretary of State of the viceroyalty, many of which are today in the collection of the *Livros das Monções*, and they show that the

93 Romila Thapar, 'Society and Historical Consciousness'.

94 An excellent synthesis on this subject is in Subrahmanyam, *Penumbra Visions*, chapter 6.

95 On this dispute, see Xavier, 'Purity of Blood and Caste'.

Portuguese king was directly involved in finding the solution to the problem.⁹⁶

What were the reasons that opposed these groups of non-Christian Goan Brahmans and why did they feel the need to petition the Portuguese king in order to solve their conflict?

In order to answer these questions, we need to understand the hierarchies established between the villages involved and their inhabitants—and the challenges they faced in that period.

This conflict happened one century after Shrimat Sachidananda Saraswati Swami Gauḍapādāchārya had tried to re-establish the old mutt, and to recover the old primacy of the village of Kunshashtali among the Brahmans of Goa. The Brahmans of this village, as well as those of Keloshi, followed the Smārta tradition, and the Advaita philosophical system. They worshipped Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Ganesh in addition to other deities. According to their mythology these villages had been originally established by Paraśurāma, the sixth incarnation of Viṣṇu. This is consistent with the narrative of the Goan version of the *Sahyadri Khanda* (1700). It is possible that some of these myths had been manufactured by Krishnadas Shama in the late fifteenth century or early sixteenth century in the village of Keloshi. Near Zuari River, facing the other side the old city of Goa, and in the neighbourhood of Kunshashtali, Keloshi was another important centre of production of mythological narratives adapted to the social and religious contexts of Goa. Krishnadas Shama was a local writer whose works were quoted by Paulo da Trindade, Diogo Ribeiro, and Miguel de Almeida.⁹⁷ Son of Rāma, devotee of Krishna and mahajan of the temple of Shanta Durga,⁹⁸ Krishnadas

96 HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fls 730–860. Small parts of this collection were published by Cunha Rivara. APO, f. 6, Supplementos, pp. 371–400. These Vaiṣṇavas were dvaita, while the Brahmans from Kunshashtali and Keloshi were Smārta (and advaita). On these important theological divisions see, for example, B. N. Krishnamurti Sharma, *A History of the Dvaita School of Vedānta and Its Literature: From the Earliest Beginnings to Our Own Times* (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass 2000). V. P. Chavan, *Vaishnavism of the Gowd Saraswat Brahmans and a Few Konkani Folklore Tales* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 2001).

97 Manoharaya Saradesaya, *A History of Konkani Literature: from 1500 to 1992* (New Delhi: Sahitya Academy, 2000), chapter 2.

98 Mahajan or *Mhajan* in Konkani is an elder of Mazania, a religious association of the founders of the temple and their descendants.

also wrote a history of Krishna, dated April 1526, after the arrival of the Portuguese in the region of Goa, but still before their annexation of Salcete (the region of Goa to which Keloshi belonged). Known as *Krishna charitrakatha*, this text was copied by Portuguese Jesuits, and is today in the Biblioteca Publica in Braga.⁹⁹ In the same school in Keloshi, local versions of *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata* were also elaborated, parts of which were transliterated by the Portuguese missionaries, consisting of some 443 pages of *Rāmāyaṇa*, and 839 pages of *Mahābhārata*.¹⁰⁰ These versions also included episodes with the myth of Paraśurāma adapted to the Goan territory in which a cluster of villages in Salcete were clearly identified.¹⁰¹

Immediately after the destruction of their temples from 1564 onwards, and the flight of their deities and gurus to the mutts in the sultanate of Bijapur and Varanasi, started a period of decline of these two villages. However, from the seventeenth century there were signs that they were recovering some of their old lofty status (the trips of Shri Vittal were important in this context), probably due to the fact that, in spite of the missionary efforts, a part of the Goan society had not converted to Christianity. According to the census taken at the request of the Royal Academy of History in the third decade of the eighteenth century, the 'gentile' population of Goa numbered twenty-five thousand (compared to around one hundred and seventy-five thousand already Christianized).¹⁰² In the first decades of the seventeenth century, there were certainly more 'gentile' inhabitants who were probably trying to reconstruct their old religious landscape.

99 BPB, Cod. 773: *Shri Krishnacharitrakatha*. It was rediscovered in the archives by Mariano Saldanha, a Mapusa-born Sanskritist and historian of Goa.

100 Olivinho Gomes, ed., *Konkani Ramayana: Pre-XVIIth Century Ramayana in Konkani* (Goa: Goa University, 1996).

101 Other texts of the same period, like the *Vira badra charitram* and the *Parashurama charitram*, translated from Sanskrit to Konkani in the villages of Kunshashtali and of Keloshi, continued to be used by the Saraswat Brahmans of Goa who fled to Kochi as important pillars of their own identity encyclopaedia. We were not able to consult, regretfully, the PhD thesis by Nicolas Dejeunne, *Du Rāma Jāmadagnya épique au Paraśurāma contemporain. Représentations d'un héros en Inde* (Thèse de doctorat de Langues indiennes, Université Paris-III, Paris, 2007).

102 BNL, Cod. 176, *Memorias Ecclesiasticas do Arcebispo de Goa*, fls 9–36.

However, as we have already seen with of the troubles Shri Vital had to go through, the old religious specialists in Kunshashtali and Keloshi villages were not able to assert their religious and ritual power without contestation. For example, in 1708, those Smārta Goan Brahmans who had migrated to Kanara centuries before, founded a new mutt in Chitrapur, completing the separation from those who remained in Goa. This rupture was due to the conflicts that escalated during the reign of Basavappa Nayak (1696–1714) between the local Brahmans and the Brahmans who settled in Kanara after migrating. The first accused the second of not being true Brahmans, and it was in this context that a local sannyāsi accepted to be their spiritual leader.¹⁰³

A few years later, the Vaiṣṇavas of Goa who also wanted to separate from the Smārta Brahmans of Kunshashtali and Keloshi, accused them of 'stirring trouble against their caste's political rites'.¹⁰⁴

What the Portuguese king and officers really knew about the roots of this story is not possible to reconstruct. In fact, Portuguese sources hide as much as possible the traces of the lives of the non-Christians in Goa, except for a few cases of those at the top of the local hierarchy. However, the king suggested to the viceroy to hear the two parties and resolve the conflict. If he found it impossible to do, the king asked him for an 'opinion (*parecer*)' concerning the situation 'in order to find the rightful solution'. The viceroy responded to the king's letter on 10 January 1728, explaining that it was 'quite difficult' to resolve the controversy, 'including caste distinctions, while both parties pretend to be more ancient and noble'. The way to mitigate the conflict was, in his opinion, to employ them 'equally when needed for the royal service' and if there was no better decision, 'to separate them'.¹⁰⁵

Four years later, the conflict was still simmering. An order of the king, based on a petition sent by the Brahmans of Keloshi and Kunshashtali, endorsed by the doctors Manuel Metelo Meneses

and Gonçalo Manuel Galvão de Lacerda, advisers of the Overseas Council (Conselho Ultramarino) in Lisbon, suspended whatever had been decided by the viceroyalty in Goa. From that moment onwards, the Portuguese crown took the resolution of the problem in its own hands.

The conflict between these two groups had started at the earliest in 1725, when the Vaiṣṇava Brahmans requested to be separated from the Smārta. The Brahmans of Kunshashtali and Keloshi argued in their counter petition, in favour of the old union of the Goan Brahmans—an idea that would please later Orientalists, keen to present Indian devotions as one, unified, and organized religion.¹⁰⁶ The push for separation had been orchestrated by a certain Rama Sinay, a dangerous man, according to Smārta Brahmans, against whom they wrote to the King suggesting that he be expelled from Goa. 'He is the author and the motor of all disturbances', said the text, giving a very negative description of Sinay, characterized as 'astute and intelligent', who always tried to 'please the government' in order to get what he wanted.¹⁰⁷ For the Smārtas, this was clearly more of a political conflict, than about ritual.

A second Vaiṣṇava petition reveals other dimensions of the problem. The way the Vaiṣṇavas saw it, the discord had been caused by the conflicts between the two bhats (Brahman priests) 'who wanted to rule, administer and run the caste and the rites of one and the other, and each one in his own way and style', a frequent practice among the bhats of the region who constantly tried to enhance their power share.¹⁰⁸ In the same petition, it was stated that, in the meantime, some Vaiṣṇava joined the faction of the Brahmans in Keloshi and Kunshashtali, but preserving their former symbols (namely the signs on the head and the body) and customs; while the Smārta who joined the Vaiṣṇava had changed theirs. Hence, the Vaiṣṇavas asked the Smārta converts to abandon their former forms of identification. According to the Vaiṣṇavas' petition, even the 'neighboring kings, seeing the hostility without reason displayed by the Brahmans from

103 On that process see Frank O'Conlon, *A Caste in a Changing World: The Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmans, 1700–1935* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977).

104 HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fl. 820.

105 HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fl. 823; Cunha Rivara, APO, f. 6, vol. 2: Supplementos, 299–300; Gerson da Cunha, *The Sahyadri-Khanda of the Skanda-Purana*, p. 13.

106 King, *Orientalism and Religion*, chapter 5.

107 HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fl. 734 and ss.; Cunha Rivara, APO, f. 6, vol. 2: Supplementos, pp. 371–6.

108 O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They are?', pp. 401–2.

Keloshi and Kunshashtali', 'under the pretext of serving their rulers', threatened to punish them.¹⁰⁹

Part of the tension between the two parties was due to mutual accusations of 'contamination'. The Smārtas accused the Vaiṣṇavas of mixing with the 'whites' (the Portuguese?) and being for this reason 'incapable of communication' (that is to say, of marrying and eating together), while the latter accused the former of accepting among them 'strange people, such as the Narvalhos do Norte [descendants of those Goans who migrated to Gujarat from the medieval times onwards], while defending them as legitimate Salcetan Brahmins'.¹¹⁰ Instead of asking for a dharmasabhā¹¹¹—the usual procedure in similar situations¹¹²—the Goan Brahmins entrusted the Portuguese courts to solve their 'question of rites'. According to the petitions and correspondence exchanged with Lisbon, the local specialists were not able (or did not want) to resolve the problem, and the refusal of a general dharmasabhā with specialists coming from Varanasi or elsewhere, may be interpreted as a part of their process of autonomization regarding the definition of their own identity. At the same time, as Frank O'Conlon suggested decades ago, while writing about the Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmins, they illustrate the dependence of ritual power on political recognition.¹¹³

In any case, the documents produced in the context of this conflict allow us to glimpse various aspects of the religious and social life in Goa.

109 HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fl. 820; fls 823–37; APO, f. 6, Supplementos, pp. 376–7; 380–1. These transfers from one group to another were caused by the order of the viceroy who decided that since the two parties of 'equal nobility' did not succeed to agree, more time should be given to the undecided to choose one of the sides.

110 These 'Narvalhos do Norte' were probably the Nagarwals, a branch of Gauda Saraswats. On this particular aspect, see HAG, *Livros das Monções*, n° 101, fl. 750, 760–3, fls 780–802, fl. 824; for a fragment of this discussion, see Cunha Rivara, APO, f. 6, Supplementos, p. 381.

111 Similar to what had happened in the seventeenth century, and for similar reasons, with the Devarukhe Brahmins with whom Kharades and Chitpavans refused to eat and marry. O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They are?', p. 405.

112 O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They are?'.

113 O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They are?'.

These experiences are clearly part of the identity debates that were taking place in the same years in different parts of India, namely the debates about Brahman identity, and the hierarchy between various Brahmins. Rosalind O'Hanlon and Christopher Minkowski demonstrated well how the Goan social dynamics were intertwined with the Konkani ones. These authors confirm the existence of continuous relations between the Saraswat Brahmins in Goa and the Shenvi Brahmins who were established at the Bijapur court and at other courts on the Konkani coast and in the Deccan, and who were themselves a subgroup of the Saraswat Brahmins.¹¹⁴ The effect of Shenvi's successful service in the neighbouring courts was noticeable in the temples in the Kunshashtali village, some of the richest in the region. The properties they acquired were donated to the temples in order to perpetuate the names of the donors forever.¹¹⁵ These Brahmins were also very flexible and able to combine scribal tasks with landownership and with services to different political bodies. However, as O'Hanlon and Minkowski argue, the Shenvis established in Bijapur were summoned to an important dharmasabhā, ordered by Shivaji in 1664, in which important Brahman intellectuals coming from various parts of India, mostly from Varanasi, were invited to discuss and decide about their position in the Indian social hierarchy, about their true (or not) Brahman identity. Scrapping the surface of the Portuguese sources, and relating them to the social, cultural, and political processes that were taking place in India at the same period is useful for integrating the history of this region into a more general Indian history. It is fair to say that the 'question of rites' taking place in the eighteenth century Goa must be analysed as part of the history of the construction of Brahmanical identity, too. In that sense, the history of these Smārta and Vaiṣṇava Brahmins is also a history beyond the Portuguese empire.

At the same time, however, their history is a typical 'imperial history'. The relevance of their relation to the Portuguese crown might explain why these Brahmins were using the Portuguese crown for resolving their conflicts—and shows that in the Portuguese imperial context, their internal hierarchy was also an important issue.

114 O'Conlon, *A Caste in a Changing World*.

115 O'Hanlon and Minkowski, 'What Makes People Who They are?'.

Moreover, these types of cases stimulated enquiries and the production of knowledge that was useful for the making of political decisions. Some of this knowledge was produced by the Brahmans themselves, and it is interesting to see how they used the 'imperial idiom' in order to construct their own identity, and how their own voices contributed to imperial decision making.

These first-hand narratives about the identities and differences among Goan social groups helped us complete the map of Goan social organization. This means that non-Christians also contributed to knowledge that the Portuguese officials collected about Goan population.

However, in the next decades, the legitimacy of the Portuguese crown came to be challenged by those Brahmans who had been converted to Christianity and spoke the imperial idiom rather than by non-Christian Brahmans.

While this was happening in the increasingly irrelevant territories of Goa from the point of view of international geopolitics, in the larger world, other changes were taking place with new agents, and different institutions and ways of producing and disseminating knowledge.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Archives and the End of Catholic Orientalism

In the seven preceding chapters we argued that the Portuguese imperial world in India, with its hydra of Catholic agents and even enemies threading behind them, from Italian merchants to German Jesuits and a Croat Discalced Carmelite, produced as yet not fully charted continent of archives in the early modern period. We called these imperial practices and the knowledge they accumulated Catholic Orientalism in order to signal their connection to the apparatus of political power, and because some parts of them were incorporated into disciplines—such as ethnography, philology, history, botany, and others—which constituted themselves on the archival ruins of 'High Orientalism' of the nineteenth century. We hope that the previous chapters were successful in demonstrating that this well-known Orientalism was also a legacy of epistemic silences imposed on their Indian sources, and in denial of their 'religious', and even Catholic, roots.

This diverse body of 'Catholic' knowledge is today scattered, and still mostly unexplored, in various European, American, and Indian archives, from state and library collections, to archives belonging to missionary orders under the Portuguese Padroado, under the Propaganda Fide, and under the French patronage. Even less explored, but keeping important collections, are also the archives of those who were rivals, opponents, or simply followed in the steps of the Catholic and Portuguese enterprises in India, such as the British and the Dutch, in addition to Protestant missionaries from Halle Pietists to London Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Mission.

In this last chapter, we want to trace and follow only three broad itineraries that this useful and operative knowledge of an early modern empire traversed on its way to archival shelves, if not destruction. Before it ended covered in dust, showered with scorn, forgotten or lost, it was transmitted by various channels into other knowledge aggregates and social practices. We will try to identify some moments and junctions where these 'passages' generated other historical voices and readings, and finally left sufficient traces in the archives.

Going back to the archives, *ad fontes*, is not a way to get at the origins (*arkhe*) of the Orientalist knowledge in order to stake out Catholic priority claim.¹ We are not concerned with this type of narrative, but, on the contrary, with making visible contaminations, sedimentations of disparate past passions, in addition to contingent information and glaring historical absences. The archives we revisited remain the only *prima vista* witnesses of layers of practices, projects, and imaginations unaccounted for in the grand narrative of European colonialism in India.

The fragmentary nature of the Catholic Orientalist archives corresponds, first of all, to the fragmentary nature of the Catholic imperial investments in India with Portuguese, French, and Italian efforts losing the battle in the face of the British Empire's hold on the subcontinent. More importantly, the fate of Catholic Orientalism also corresponds to the devaluation of Catholic knowledge on the eve of the 'scientific revolution' taking place, as it used to be taken for granted by historians, away from Catholic centres of learning and power. Recent scholarship has successfully challenged this narrow, Protestant-centred scenario, the very notion of 'scientific revolution', and the Kuhn/Koyré hypotheses that it was a 'tectonic shift in worldview'.² By focusing on lesser actors such as artisans, instrument makers, but also traders, travellers, and imperial agents, historians of science themselves opened a new perspective on the

1 Jacques Derrida, 'Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression,' *Diacritics*, 25 (Summer 1995): 9–63. We are not interested in the moment of the birth of Orientalism, as Urs App called it. App, *The Birth of Orientalism*.

2 See in particular Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

foundations of modernity.³ Catholic missionaries—among other Catholics—also belong to this list as recent research has evidenced all too clearly.⁴ The fact remains that in the late seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century, texts written by Catholic writers in and about India were increasingly perceived by their eager readers in the Protestant countries—England and Holland in particular—as fatally mired in popish superstition and unable to discern fact from value, religion from science.⁵ Portuguese, Italian, and French treatises, narratives and other texts—that we evoked and discussed in the preceding chapters—describing Indian customs, rites, manners, laws, and land ownership; Indian flora and fauna, Indian remedies and illnesses; dictionaries and grammars of Indian vernaculars and sacred languages, were turned into nothing more than 'raw' information that needed to be exfoliated from its religious and Catholic framework in order to be taken without further acknowledgment of authorship.

Catholic Orientalist knowledge became just one element in what Christopher Bayly called the British 'information order' which facilitated the initial build up of the British empire, and it was, therefore, both used and discarded later, when 'more routinised, abstract information' of statistics, surveys and measurements became the preferred instruments of the imperial government.⁶ This explains the presence of important and still unstudied collections of documents from this earlier period in the British archives. In fact, some of the documents—such as, for example, a single extant copy of the confession manual prepared by the Jesuits and their Parava catechists and printed in Tamil font in 1580 in Kochi—are preserved

3 Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), Harold J. Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

4 Castelnau-l'Estoile, Copete, Maldavsky, and Županov, eds, *Circulation des savoirs et missions d'évangélisation (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)*.

5 A similar case is already made for the Iberian science by Cañizares-Esguerra, 'Iberian Science in the Renaissance'.

6 Bayly, *Empire and Information*.

among the papers brought back from India by British administrators and missionaries in the nineteenth century. The *Confessionairo* was preserved, fortunately, albeit completely neglected in the Bodleian South Asian Manuscript collection. In fact, Reverend George Uglow Pope, a missionary and Tamil scholar who prepared an unpublished catalogue of Dravidian language manuscripts, must have seen this and similar early Jesuit works and dismissed them as 'bad' Tamil, while on the other hand, extolled and appropriated the work of Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi, an Italian Jesuit whose mid-eighteenth century translations from and to Tamil became, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the learning manuals for the Protestant Tamil scholars and British administrators such as F. W. Ellis.⁷ But even Beschi still remains in the deep shadow of Reverend Pope and Reverend Caldwell who are credited as true founders of Dravidian studies.⁸

Catholic Orientalist knowledge did not travel in a straight line, nor in one piece. Its corpus of texts was disentangled and shared among various archives, and embedded in other types of texts and used for different political and cultural purposes. Moreover, the process of adumbrating some of its original voices started among the Catholics themselves, sometimes due to the asymmetric relations between knowledge produced in the metropolitan world and the one that had been produced in the colony. The library of authors used by the Franciscan Manuel dos Anjos is symptomatic of this process, since it completely neglected the writings of the Franciscans born or settled in Asia. A different kind of processes can be identified in the case of a recently discovered Tamil grammar in the Hamburg archives. It belonged to Philip Baldaeus, a Dutch chaplain and a famous author of *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coast of*

7 Beschi was a major source of Robert Anderson's *Rudiments of Tamil Grammar* printed in London in 1821, which was taught at the Haileybury College and at Fort St George College in Madras. It is considered as a 'fine example of Tamil grammatical knowledge elaborated and enriched through Western categories'. Sascha Ebeling, 'The College of Fort St. George and the Transformation of Tamil Philology during the Nineteenth Century', in *The Madras School of Orientalism*, p. 244.

8 On the history of Tamil scholarship and its colonial foundations, see excellent works by Trautmann, *Languages and Nations* and Trautmann, *The Madras School of Orientalism*.

Malabar and Coromandel.⁹ On the first page of this manuscript written in Portuguese, which also contains prayers and a confession manual translated into Tamil, we read that it was a shortened and accommodated version from the 'extensive and erudite' work by a Jesuit, Gaspar de Aguilar, a missionary from the mid-seventeenth century in Madurai. It seems that Aguilar wrote a grammar that did not please all Tamil 'literati (*sábios*)', who were obviously consulted, nor was it judged simple enough for foreigners to learn Tamil as were some other grammars composed by the Jesuits. This gives us an interesting glimpse into the genealogy of Jesuit Tamil grammars, which ranged from Henrique Henriques's work completely based on Latin grammar to those like Beschi's heavily influenced by Tamil grammatical scholarship and philology.¹⁰

In a word, Catholic Orientalist knowledge, itself already 'mixed' and based on local knowledge, easily crossed state, language, religious, and institutional borders, but at its own peril. In the following pages we will first follow its Roman itinerary by looking at the moment when the Papal city, if only briefly, around the turn of the nineteenth century, finally became a centre of European Catholic Orientalism. We will then turn to its Parisian itinerary up until the early nineteenth century when German Orientalists flocked to the Royal Library to learn Sanskrit. The third itinerary takes us, finally, to British India and London where Catholic Orientalism is both appropriated and silenced by the new Orientalist and imperial order.

ROMAN ARCHIVES: PROPAGANDA FIDE AND KNOWLEDGE FROM THE FOUR CONTINENTS

Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo (1748–1806), a Discalced Carmelite of Croat origin, and a Propaganda Fide missionary among the Christians of St. Thomas in Kerala, returned to Europe in the famous year of 1789. When his ship *Calipso* docked in Brest, he discovered with dismay that 'France was all in Revolution', and as he travelled through France he kept 'thinking about countries and nations that

9 Philip Baldaeus, *A True and Exact Description of the Most Celebrated East-India Coast of Malabar and Coromandel* (Amsterdam, 1672; English trans., London: 1703; reprint, New Delhi: 1996).

10 See Ebeling, 'The College of Fort St. George and Tamil Philology,' pp. 244–6.

[he] saw and comparing them with Europeans'.¹¹ Thus it occurred to him that religion and customs in both China and India remained unchanged because they were governed by stable governments and simple laws. Europe, on the other hand, was 'inconstant' and politically volatile, part of which he attributed to the influx of the ferocious Scythians from the cold climates. European inconstancy was, in addition, responsible for multiplication of laws and the fact that 'people are easily duped' by novelties (*novità*) and liberty (*libertà*), 'the two new idols'.¹² One of the consequences of this unbound mobility of the Europeans who also became conquerors of the rest of the world, and thus developed excellent armies, was that they acquired 'one little advantage' compared to Asia. They perfected 'arts and sciences', although, according to Paulinus, the cradle of arts and sciences was India. This erudite missionary spent the rest of his life in Rome and Italy in refining and defending these proto-stadial Orientalist theses, against and in support of other Orientalist theories about the origins of languages and peoples, as well as their *essential* characteristics in Asia and Europe. At the turn of the nineteenth century, European sciences were at the height of their global ambition to sort out, explain, and define natural, social, and historical laws and Paulinus and other Catholic thinkers were playing to the same tune while trying to save the Biblical and Mosaic ethnography.

In Rome and in other Italian libraries, Paulinus dug into documents he brought in his trunk and those that the missionaries deposited in the archives for two centuries, especially the Discalced Carmelites who preceded him in their Propaganda Fide funded mission in Kerala. Within a year he reinvented himself as a professional 'Indologist' *avant la lettre*: he taught Oriental languages at the Collegio Urbano (the mission seminary of the Propaganda Fide), worked as an archivist for Indological section of Cardinal Stefano Borgia's museum in Velletri, became a full time writer and compiler of published Indological books and inventories, contributed to scholarly

11 Ines G. Županov, 'Orientalist Museum: Roman Missionary Collections and Prints (18th century)', in *Ancient and Modern: Religion, Power, and Community in India*, eds Ishita Banerjee-Dube and Saurabh Dube (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 208.

12 Paulino, *Viaggio*, p. 391.

journals and corresponded with academicians and philologists throughout Europe.¹³ His printed works and manuscripts are an Orientalist archive in their own right. Eager to defend superiority of Catholic missionary Indological knowledge against Protestant rivals such as William Jones and the Calcutta British circle, and against French experts such as Anquetil Duperron, Paulinus organized, classified, and published documents, mostly in the *stamperia* of the Propaganda Fide.¹⁴

The Propaganda Fide not only organized the accumulation and flow of information to Rome, it also tried to systematize and to apply it usefully in the Collegio Urbano. By sending out questionnaires on specific issues, Propaganda Fide's back-office also responded with various instructions and decisions on the basis of available evidence. By the end of the eighteenth century, the weight of the information was such that it became clear how much more was missing to be abreast of the facts and provide the right type of ruling or advice.

For the Propaganda Fide missionaries and all other missionary orders, fact gathering about nature, culture, and society in the mission was to produce ancillary knowledge, which then had to be processed within the institutional factory into 'missionary knowledge'. This applied knowledge, closely controlled from the centre, came out repackaged for three different audiences: (1) Instructions, orders, papal bulls, procedure manuals, grammars, and dictionaries were prepared for the missionary staff; (2) Translations of Christian doctrine, lives of saints and other catechetical literature in the mission vernaculars were produced for the converts and would-be converts

13 Paulinus was keen on displaying his own scholarly titles. They appear on the front pages of his printed books. On the *Monumenti Indici del Museo Naniano*, printed in Padua in 1799, we read that in addition to being Carmelitano Scalzo, he was Professore di Lingue Orientali, Sindaco delle Missioni Asiatiche et Socio Academico di Velletri, e di Napoli. See, Paulino a S. Bartolomaeo, *Monumenti Indici del Museo Naniano* (Padova: Typ. Seminarii, 1799).

14 Willi Henkel, 'The Polyglott Printing-Office of the Congregation: The Press Apostolate as an Important Means for Communicating the Faith', in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria rerum*, ed. Josef Metzler, vol. 1, t. 1 (Rome: Herder, 1971), pp. 335–50 and his 'The Polyglott Printing-Office during the 18th and 19th century', in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, ed. Josef Metzler, vol. 2 (Rome: Herder, 1973), pp. 299–315.

in any of 'the four parts of the world'; (3) Printed travelogues, in particular, and reports were to be consumed by the curious and educated larger and international public of both friends and well-wishers, and enemies. The processed information was only the tip of an iceberg of notes, treatises, and jetsam and flotsam that remained in the back office, falling victim to decay, destruction, and, from contemporary point of view, intellectual theft. How and what manuscripts went into print is another story.¹⁵ Institutional and individual backing, proximity and access to printing press were a minimum condition, although often not sufficient.

The printing press of the Propaganda Fide in Rome had a mission of printing liturgical and catechetical books, including dictionaries and grammars in multitude of languages and alphabets. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo published two Sanskrit grammars, at the apogee of Catholic Orientalist period, of which the first appeared in print in the last decade of the eighteenth century and is the first published Sanskrit grammar.¹⁶ These and similar publications resembling in everything typical missionary tools, were not only based on and extracted from Indian grammatical tradition, but also dialoguing with the international public of scholars, and often contained critical opinions in the paratexts, such as prefaces, as well as in annotations, including references to manuscripts and books in Propaganda Fide's possession. Each new book, all through the eighteenth century, was an addition to a growing public space in

¹⁵ In a missionary press in the early modern period, a printed document had a tendency to transform itself into 'original', allowing for disregard for the manuscripts that were used to assemble it. According to Roger Chartier, in a literary field, it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that a book became conceived as 'immaterial' and produced by a unique 'author'. As a result the manuscripts in author's handwriting became valued and thus preserved. Roger Chartier, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un livre? Métaphores anciennes, concepts des Lumières et réalité numérique', *Le français aujourd'hui*, 3, no. 178 (2013): 15.

¹⁶ See Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* (Rome: Typis S. C. de Prop. Fide, [1790]1791). Also, *Alphabeta Indica, id est Granthamicum seu Sanscrdamico-Malabaricum, Indostanum sive Vanarensis, Nagaricum vulgare et Talinganicum* (Rome: Typis S.C. de Prop. Fide, 1791): The second grammar: *Vyacarana seu Locupletissima Samscrdamicae Linguae Institutio* (Rome: Typis S. Congrega. De Propag. Fide, 1804).

which missionary and Catholic Orientalists exchanged knowledge and punches with Protestant erudites and missionaries.

For example, Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi, in charge of the *stamperia poliglotta*, whose name is often quoted as the author of the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* (1771), although he was only systematizing the work of Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata from the Tibetan mission, reacted and criticized linguistic theories of Maturin Veysiere de la Croze, the librarian of the king Frederick II in Berlin, who in turn based his arguments on the Pietist Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's missionary experience in Tranquebar.¹⁷ Ziegenbalg, on the other hand, read very carefully Costanzo Giuseppe Beschi's work and used 'unnamed' Portuguese material in learning Tamil. The author of another work printed in the same press, *Alphabetum Grandonco-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum* (1772), a Discalced Carmelite missionary of the Verapoly mission in Kerala, Clemens a Iesu (or Clemens Peanius Alexandrinus), also protested against Ziegenbalg's and de la Croze's misunderstanding of the difference between Tamil and Malayalam.¹⁸ The value and correctness of one or the other theory is not in question here, but the fact that these books communicated across Europe and across continents, and derived their edge from 'religious' quarrels.

Already in 1772, these two printed books were reviewed in the *Journal des sçavans*.¹⁹ According to the author of the review, the *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* was as 'advantageous for the Religion, as it was for the progress of Sciences'.²⁰ Writing from Paris, the author was also proud to mention that the *Bibliothèque du Roi* carried a great number of Indian books, but it was only in Rome that they cut the letters to print Indian characters. However, he complained that, as valiant as these projects were, more 'clarity' on various important points, such as the division of Indian languages in the first work and 'more precision' on Sanskrit in the second was required. Moreover, he was

¹⁷ Giovanni Cristoforo Amaduzzi, *Alphabetum Brammhanicum seu Industanum Universitatis Kasî* (Rome: Typis S. Cong. Propaganda Fide, 1771), xii.

¹⁸ Clemens a Iesu, *Alphabetum Grandonco-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum* (Rome: Typis Sac. Congregationis de Propag. Fide, 1772), vi-vii. J. R. Firth, 'Alphabets and Phonology in India and Burma', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 8, no. 2/3 (1936): 517-46.

¹⁹ *Le journal des sçavans*, juillet (Paris: Lacombe, 1772): 460-5.

²⁰ *Le journal des sçavans*, p. 460.

surprised that the second book did not refer to the first and that there was no will to combine and collate the knowledge of the alphabets. As a matter of fact, he concluded that 'these alphabets are not very useful' without a grammar and a dictionary.²¹

That this review of the books printed in Rome appeared only a year later in Paris shows that the circulation and transmission of printed scholarly works was quite fast, and that the European audience was receptive to the Propaganda Fide's literary production. A copy of *Alphabetum Brammhanicum* figures in the catalogue of books of the East India Company as well.²²

The initial project of the stamperia of the Propaganda Fide, however, was certainly not intended primarily for such as global public use. The books printed in different languages and foreign scripts were conceived to be distributed free of charge in the missions. This decision was quickly changed (already in 1639) because of the costs of printing, and a more economical solution was found. The books were therefore also sold on the market, with a price corresponding to printing costs.²³ In a word, these were heavily subsidized books intended for missionary use and Catholic universalistic propaganda.

Sometime after the mid-eighteenth century, a series of works that were both useful to the missionaries and looking up to scholarly audience started steadily coming out of the *Tipografia*. The cases in point are books on languages and alphabets of Asia, printed in original scripts.²⁴ Besides those of the Capuchin Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata and the Discalced Carmelite Clemens a Iesu, there were many others such as *Alphabetum Tangutanum sive Tibetanum* (1773),

²¹ *Le journal des sçavans*, p. 465.

²² *A Catalogue of the Library of the Hon. East-India Company* (London: J. and H. Cox, 1845), p. 181.

²³ Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: Il Collegio Urbano e la tipografia poliglotta; note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali romane nel XVII secolo', *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome; Italie et Méditerranée*, 116, no. 2 (2004): 494. Ubaldo Bicci who directed the stamperia between 1763 and 1769, edited a catalogue in order to facilitate the sale of books. It seems that the low prices of these books were considered as menacing printing production of the academies and private presses. See Henkel, 'The Polyglot Printing-Office', p. 305.

²⁴ According to Firth, the first comprehensive compilation of alphabets in which oriental languages were included came out of the Protestant missionary press. Johann

Gramatica indostana a mais vulgar que se practica no imperio do gram Mogol (1778), *Alphabetum barmanorum* (1789), *Indica alphabeta quatuor* (1791). Some of the Orientalist books of this sort appeared in two or three editions often 'improved' or rearranged by new or old editors. The printing success was obviously due to both scholarly and missionary demand. And the missionaries interested in these books were not only Catholic. The cosmopolitan papal Rome from the mid-eighteenth century became a Mecca for Protestant scholars, antiquarians, gentlemen travellers, and missionaries. Both Amaduzzi and Clemens a Iesu acknowledged the gifts of printed books in Tamil and Telugu exchanged with the Pietist missionaries such as Benjamin Schultze from the Tranquebar and Madras (Vepery) missions. Benjamin Schulze brought to Rome a very special, if controversial, gift from the Pietist printing press in India: the Bible translated and printed in Tamil, Telugu, and Malabar (Malayalam).²⁵

Within the Roman group of ecclesiastical savants and ex-missionaries, some considered themselves as experts while others preferred (or not) to remain simple missionary transmitters of knowledge. For example, when Amaduzzi, a philologist of Oriental languages and a professor at the Sapienza University, took the stamperia in his hands in 1770, he wrote at least ten introductions to various publications of alphabets. For this reason, he is often quoted as author, rather than editor. *Alphabetum Grandonco-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, printed in 1772 is a case in point. Although the authorship of Clemens a Iesu is clearly mentioned on the first pages of Amaduzzi's *Prologus*, the erudition of the editor was so overwhelming that the reader is left with the impression that the *Prologus* of the author is something of a poor and bleak repetition.

Within a century and a half, therefore, the Propaganda Fide missionaries enriched already impressive Roman archives and this lush

Friedrich Fritz and Benjamin Schulze published in Leipzig in 1748, *Orientalisch- und Occidentalischer Sprachmeister* with two hundred translations of the Lords' Prayer in a hundred alphabets (including Bengali, Modi, Gujerati, Tamil, Telugu, and Cannada). Phonetically, they were less successful than the *Alphabet*, coming out later from the Propaganda Fide's stamperia. Firth, 'Alphabets and Phonology', p. 519.

²⁵ Henkel, 'The Polyglot Printing', p. 302. See also Gerald Duverdier, 'L'oeuvre en telugu de Benjamin Schultze', *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 63 (1976): 265–312. Schultze even met with Ruggeri (1758–63), the director of the printing press.

harvest stimulated the Republic of Letters and attracted scholars of all religious denominations.²⁶ Not all documents, however, trickled into print nor were available for public use, but remained in the colleges and missionary training institutions or simply stored or hidden away by librarians, or forgotten in individual missionary trunks. When Paulinus started to publish book after book in the last decade of the eighteenth century, he did this not because his and Propaganda Fide's shelves were full of manuscripts, rather it was to valorize the knowledge that was quickly running out of fashion and to salvage his trousseau of Indological documents, conscious that there was a new professional audience on the rise in Europe.

The reason why professional scholars, if still part of the papal ecclesiastical hierarchy, were called to take over the 'missionary' information was the sheer amount of material already amassed and which clearly saturated the offices and archives of the missionary orders and of the Propaganda. The archives of the Society of Jesus were as rich as that of the Propaganda and the information circulated in Rome between the missionaries and institutions either on the basis of private arrangements or under official orders, but they were also embedded in texts that were considered strategic secrets. A similar overload of information, coming from Indian missions, was, in fact, happening in the Protestant bastion of Halle at around the same time.²⁷ One of the ways out of this knowledge overload was systematization, classification, repackaging, and printing of the texts. Then the rest could simply be stored away in the archives.

Missionary edifying and apologetic literature had a long history by the time the Propaganda Fide sent out their agents in the field.²⁸ To stake their claims to the Indian mission field, they wrote and published throughout the seventeenth century a series of texts called *Viaggi alle Indie Orientali* (Travels to East Indies). These books were a

²⁶ On the Propaganda Fide as a centre of accumulation and production of missionary knowledge, see Giovanni Pizzorusso, 'La Congrégation de Propaganda Fide à Rome: Centre d'accumulation et de production de 'savoirs missionnaires' (XVIIe-début XIXe siècle)', in *Missions d'évangélisation et circulation des saviors*, eds Castelnau-Estoile, Copete, Maldivsky, and Županov, pp. 25–40.

²⁷ Duverdiér, 'L'oeuvre en telugu de Benjamin Schultze', pp. 265–312.

²⁸ Županov, *Disputed Mission*, pp. 9–16.

way to signal their own missionary projects in the region, in addition to being useful in raising money and attracting young pious men into profession.²⁹ Philippe de Très Sainte-Trinité's *Itinerarium Orientale*, 1649 (The Oriental Itinerary) was the first in a series of books printed as missionary propaganda for the new mission in India among the St. Thomas Christians in Kerala. Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani's two travelogues of 1666 and 1672 followed, but the best informed was Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena who managed to collect and reutilize Jesuit documents and translations, in particular those by a Jesuit, Francisco Garcia, the Archbishop of Cranganore (1641–59). Vincenzo's *Viaggio*—bearing distant resemblance to the *Viagens pela India* of the anonymous Franciscan discussed in the fifth chapter—is a direct precursor of Paulinus's work with the same name, in that it is partly a travel narrative, partly a compendium of knowledge of botany, literature, customs and manners, rites, zoology, and similar topics.

In the eighteenth century, however, the documents from the mission were more than 'missionary apologetics', they were already built into a Catholic 'Enlightenment' project, responding to the European obsession of the 'advancement of knowledge'. From the early eighteenth century, coinciding with the Malabar and Chinese rites quarrel and with the German Pietist mission in Tranquebar on the Coromandel Coast, the transfer of Indian authentic knowledge was placed high on the list of missionary priorities, almost as high as conversion. The urgency of systematizing knowledge and sifting chaff from grains echoed in loud jousts between missionaries within the same, and between rival orders, accusing each other of ignorance on various topics. The information from Kerala and from Tibet or Patna missions appeared contradictory, the same with the French Capuchins in Madras who fought French Jesuits in Pondicherry. Political, national, and erudite quarrels blended into explosive and public disputes. Paulinus picked up fight with just about everybody who claimed any authority over knowledge of India. He criticized geographers, travellers whom he called 'ambulant suitcases (*bauli ambulanti*)', but

²⁹ Philippe de Très Sainte-Trinité (1603–71) published his *Itinerarium Orientale* in Lyon in 1649 and the French translation, *Voyage d'Orient* was published in 1652. Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (alias Vincenzo Maria Murchio), *Il viaggio all'Indie Orientali* (Venice: Giacomo Zattoni, 1678).

also former missionaries such as the Augustian Antonio Giorgi, the author of *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762) as well as Marco della Tomba in Patna, and of course other non-Catholic Orientalists.³⁰

Paulinus's *Viaggio*, printed in 1796, is a storeroom and an archive of all tidbits he collected, as well as of his Orientalist opinions. But it was with his two Sanskrit grammars, *Sidharubam* (1790) and *Vyacarana* (1804), and the lexicon *Amarasinha*, as well as in his synthesis *Systema Brahmanicum*, that he staked his position in the brand new world of Indian philological scholarship. With these works, based on Catholic missionary documents from the Indian missions, most importantly on the Sanskrit grammar of the Jesuit Johann Ernst Hanxleden, Paulinus was determined to dialogue with his scholarly peers and aggressively corrected mistakes of various European philologists. His correspondence, unstudied but preserved in boxes in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', shows that he exchanged widely on various topics with European savants, but also that those he coveted most turned a deaf ear on his work. Or so it seems.

With all his Indological archives in the Stefano Borgia's Museum in Velletri and in Rome under his command, and that he wanted to share with the learned Orientalists from Europe, Paulinus was, nevertheless, considered by the new sort of professional Orientalists as nothing but an amateur and 'barefoot' friar.

None of the Orientalist came to Rome, they avoided quoting his books and after his death in 1806 and the dispersal of the Borgia Museum in Velletri in 1814, Paulinus's oeuvre sank into oblivion.

As if following Paulinus' fate, Rome in general became a backwater on the map of the nineteenth-century Orientalist scholars. With a loss of political autonomy through French invasion and the internal 'revolutions,' the patronage network for missionary Orientalists disintegrated. A new kind of Orientalists such as Count Angelo de Gubernatis in the late nineteenth century and Giuseppe Tucci in the twentieth had more in common with British, German, and French Orientalists than with their immediate Catholic missionary predecessors like Paulinus.³¹

³⁰ Paulino, *Viaggio*, p. 306.

³¹ For an interesting view of his 'Italian' Orientalist predecessors, see De Gubernatis, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie*.

PARIS: JESUIT ORIENTALISM AND THE BIBLIOTHEQUE DU ROI³²

Paulinus's ebullient, unruly, and overwhelming erudition, of which *Viaggio* is an obvious example, had been read widely by the new breed of learned travellers in India and armchair scholars in Europe. His comparativist ideas and the connections he drew between Egyptian and Indian 'idolatry', and the roots and dissemination of languages (already discussed by generations of missionaries) were also part of the Enlightenment *décor*, debated in academies, journals, books, pamphlets, and in the Parisian salons. A careful reader can sense the Voltairian echoes in his texts, probably in spite of Paulinus's efforts at eliding enemy sources.

By the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, Paulinus's *Viaggio* was translated into German (1798) and English (1800) while for the French edition (1808), the librarian Levrault Senior commissioned Anquetil Duperron, considered the founding father of Indology in France, to prepare the annotations. He accepted, according to his words in the *Avertissement*, in spite of the 'open war with this missionary in all his works' because 'in the present circumstances, this production could be useful for my country (*patrie*)'.³³ In 1805 Anquetil Duperron died without completing his doggedly trenchant and opinionated annotations. The task of deciphering his difficult scrawl fell to his student and successor, Syvestre de Sacy, professor of Arabic in the newly founded *École spéciale des langues orientales vivantes* (Special School of Living Eastern Languages), who added his own annotations to the French edition—all of which amounted to a separate volume.

Parisian circle of scholars interested in India, German, and British included, already knew Paulin de Saint-Barthélemy, as he was known

³² The seventeenth-century libraries and archives were considered useful governing tools. In order to justify policies, the rulers and their advisors had to look back into historical documents for confirmation, especially into legal books of written rights and privileges. See Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 21.

³³ Paulin de Saint-Barthélemy, 'Avertissement', *Voyage aux Indes orientales du père Paulin de Saint-Barthélemy*, vol. 1 (Paris: Tournaisen fils, 1808), p. ii.

in French, from his other publications.³⁴ His status as a 'missionary' was always put forward in their assessment and in order to discredit his statements in spite of the fact that they ransacked his works for details and facts. Catholic missionary knowledge was, by 1808, generally suspected of intolerance, conspiracy, and falsification. So much so that a concerted, if uncoordinated, effort was made to efface it from the map of the scholarly landscape. In the eulogy to the translation and publication of the *Asiatic Researches* in 1805, we can see at work a contradictory effort at eliding Catholic sources and praising their presence in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*. The editor repeats the British opinion that before the enterprise of the Calcutta scholars 'our notions of India were generally false or imperfect', but compliments the work of the translator and of the experts who checked and annotated different parts of the translation. Thus Louis-Mathieu Langlès, librarian and curator of the Oriental manuscripts, checked the translation, rectified 'oriental terms', and added footnotes 'that mostly contain extracts from unpublished oriental works in the imperial Library; a huge depository of riches of which we may not be aware'.³⁵

The manuscripts in question were, as Jean Filliozat wrote in 1987, the foundations of philological studies in Europe.³⁶ However, the first compilers of the catalogue of these sources, Alexander Hamilton and Louis-Mathieu Langlès, reformatted the shape of this Orientalist collection.³⁷ First of all, Hamilton who was on his way to England from Bengal, before being stuck in Paris as a prisoner of war, catalogued only those Sanskrit texts that were in Devanagari script. By doing so,

34 Paulinus is almost 'naturalized' as a French Orientalist. He is included in François Pouillon, ed., *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française* (Paris: IISMM/Karthala, 2008). His work was used by the first Parisian professional Orientalists such as Louis-Mathieu Langlès and Antoine Léonard de Chézy, the first professor of Sanskrit at the Collège de France (1815).

35 *Recherches Asiaticques ou mémoire de la Société établie au Bengale* (Paris: Imprimerie imperiale, 1805), vii.

36 Jean Filliozat, 'Deux cents ans d'Indianisme', *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, 76, no. 1 (1987): 87.

37 Hamilton's manuscript catalogue is particularly reductionist. The published edition included other Sanskrit texts as well. A. Hamilton and L. M. Langlès, *Catalogue des manuscrits samskrits de la Bibliothèque imperiale, avec des notices du contenu de la plupart des ouvrages* (Paris: Imprimerie bibliographique, 1807).

he excluded Sanskrit texts in other scripts such as Grantha and Telugu. Accordingly, Paulinus's texts in Grantha were not Sanskrit, he wrote, but a vulgar Malabar (Malayalam?) tongue. He even chastised his colleague Langlès for annotating the French translation of the *Asiatic Researches* with citations from Paulinus's works. 'In this discrepancy of authorities, is it wonderful that learned men [such as Langlès], personally unacquainted with the facts, should sometimes mistake confident assertion for genuine truth, and arrogant presumption for conscious merit; that the modest and unassuming information of a Jones or a Wilkins, should sometimes give place to the misrepresentation of Fra Paolino?'³⁸ Arrogance versus modesty is how Hamilton perceived the relation between Catholic missionary and British 'Eastern learning'.³⁹ The 'labor of the French orientalists' was somewhere in the middle and 'might not prove unacceptable'.⁴⁰

What Hamilton's cavalier opinion of an ignorant 'Roman missionary', who seemed to be in his view the representative of all Catholic missionaries, neglected to mention is the fact that the manuscripts he worked on in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale* were collected, bought, repackaged, and sent to Paris, more than half a century earlier by the French Jesuit missionaries. Moreover, one of them, Jean-François Pons prepared a catalogue of the books he collected in Chandernagor, a commission by Abbé Bignon who wanted to enrich the royal collection. The package was sent from Pondicherry in 1733.⁴¹ In this

38 Alexander Hamilton, 'Art. 6. Asiatic Researches: Or Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, Volume the Seventh. London, 1804', review article, *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal*, IX (London: October 1806–January 1807): 92–3.

39 On the concept of 'modest witness', see Steven Shapin, 'Pump and Circumstance: Robert Boyle Literary Technology', *Social Studies of Science*, 14, no. 4 (1984): 481–520.

40 Hamilton, 'Art. 6', p. 94.

41 Etienne Souciet, the librarian of the Jesuit College Louis-le-Grand was also interested in manuscripts from India, while Etienne Fourmont, professor of Arabic at the Royal College approached in 1727 the Compagnie des Indes in Pondicherry with a demand of buying ancient manuscripts. The order was proceeded to the Jesuit superior P. le Gac, see Županov, 'Jean-François Pons', in *Dictionnaire des orientalistes de langue française*, ed. François Pouillon (Paris: IISMM/Karthala, 2008), pp. 772–3. Fr. Pons, *Catalogue General des Livres qui ont été envoyés de Chandernagor dans le Royaume de Bengale pour la Bibliothèque du Roi*, Pondicherry 20 January 1733, Bibliothèque National de France, NAF 5442.

very first catalogue, he classified 168 works, which represented, according to Filliozat, 'all branches of Sanskrit literature' in seven sections: philological books (31); mythological and historical poems (22), among which was a special genre of *nataka* that contained *Sacuntala*; *pouranams* with 'historical theology of the natives' (25); astronomy and astrology (8); diverse poetry among which the *Hitopadesha* (9); books of laws, customs, and divine cults (25); the list of 'philosophical books', the longest in the catalogue is prefaced with description of the six *darśana*, or 'schools'.⁴² Not enumerated, but added to the list were ten books in Persian and some eleven books in an unspecified language.

The four Vedas were not among these acquisitions coming from Bengal, but at least three of them were, in fact, already in Paris. The Jesuit Etienne Le Gac, the superior of the Carnatic mission, had sent Rig Veda in 1730.⁴³ The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and the Yajur Veda were on the list of 1732 and the Sāma Veda of 1735.⁴⁴ The missionaries stationed in South India added other manuscripts in Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, and old Syriac and by 1739 when Etienne Fourmot published his *Catalogus codicum Bibliothecae Regiae*, they amounted to 287 manuscripts. This was an impressive Indological library, although what was lacking in Paris were scholars to read and study the texts. But, they were lacking everywhere in Europe at that particular point in time.

The first steps of French Indology in the late eighteenth century, closely linked with German Indological debut, were possible because of the rich archives full of collections of Oriental manuscripts that for almost half a century nobody was able to decipher. If we consider the efforts of Abbé Bignon and his ambition to enrich the Royal library in the 1720s, the beginning of interest in India, and not just for the

42 Henri Omont, 'Liste de manuscrits envoyé de l'Inde par les jésuites (1729-1735)', in *Missions archéologiques française en Orient, au XVIIe - XVIIIe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), pp. 1179-92. Filliozat, 'Deux cents ans', p. 113.

43 Henri Omont, 'Mémoire préservé concernant l'acquisition des manuscrits parsiens qu'il conviendrait de faire aux Indes pour la Bibliothèque du Roi', in *Missions archéologiques françaises en Orient, au XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), p. 843. See Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. NAF, 6556, f. 159-60.

44 Omont, 'Liste', pp. 1189 and 1192. Under the name of *Atharvaveda*, sent to Paris in 1734, there was a *tantric* text on the worship of the Goddess.

purpose of learning, goes back at least to Colbert, Louis XIV's finance minister, and his vision of French colonial and global intervention.⁴⁵ In their somewhat belated Indian colonial project, compared to the British and Dutch whose merchant-led Companies had already wrestled a big part of the Portuguese coastal territories and markets, the French emulated, perhaps more than they wanted to, the Catholic model of colonization. Commerce and conversion were, in this colonial scheme, inextricably bound, even if, as it was clear from the Portuguese case, they also engendered irresolvable tensions. The French missionary model was however different in that it emphasized the 'scientific' side of the enterprise. As is well known, the first French Jesuits sent to China, some of whom became the founders of the Carnatic mission were *mathématiciens du Roi* and were sent with a specific mission: 'To look for [the] most curious Chinese books, to do astronomic observations, such as longitudes and latitudes, the magnetic variation.'⁴⁶

The Jesuit mission, with its headquarters in Pondicherry was an outcome of various royal efforts at acquiring territory and establishing relations with the eastern rulers. In the aftermath of the unsuccessful embassies to and from the king of Siam in 1686, three Jesuits were sent to India, and one of them, Jean Venant Bouchet, worked for more than ten years in the Madurai Mission in spite of the problems with the Portuguese Padroado.⁴⁷ When Guy Tachard (1651-1712) established the Carnatic mission north of Pondicherry in 1700, under the patronage of the French king, he summoned all French Jesuits to join the new mission.

For the next seventy-three years, the Carnatic mission was the place of incredible missionary and intellectual effervescence. By emulating the method of accommodation and looking up to Madurai mission achievements, the new French mission was built on the same principles: immersion in local culture by learning vernacular languages; preferring, when possible, the conversion of the Brahman and other

45 Colbert was in office from 1665 to 1683.

46 Omont, 'Mémoire', p. 806.

47 The personal ties of the Jesuits regardless of nationalities softened the jurisdictional borders imposed by the Portuguese royal Padroado. Bouchet was a personal friend of João de Brito and the last person to have seen him alive.

local literati in order to get hold of their 'sacred' texts, especially those in their sacred language (Sanskrit); adapting Christianity to local 'social' idioms; and in addition keeping the Catholic flock safe from the Pietists in Tranquebar with their Bible translated into Tamil, their printing press and their 'books, infected with their heresy, which they liberally distribute in these lands and which do great evil'.⁴⁸

In fact, some of the French Jesuits were sent to the Madurai mission to learn Tamil and Telugu, and the method of accommodation in order to apply it in the Carnatic mission. From the catalogue of documents sent from Pondicherry between 1729 and 1739, it is clear that the Jesuits also acquired in Madurai a whole lot of catechetical works produced in the mission. In the 1729 shipment, the superior Etienne le Gac sent the manuscript of the *Big Catechism* by Roberto Nobili in two volumes, with the promise of sending in the next batch Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries, some of them in Portuguese, and the Vedas, 'the books of Indian laws'.⁴⁹

From Le Gac's letters to Abbé Bignon and to Etienne Souciet, the librarian of the Jesuit college Louis-le-Grand, it is clear that collecting these documents was costly, time consuming, an organizational nightmare, and an extraordinary effort at enticing, cajoling, and softening the Brahmans who were unwilling to disclose their sacred texts. When the first Vedas were finally sent, Le Gac complained that the purpose of these books in Paris is just for a 'parade' given that nobody would be able to use them. However, his disinterest in Sanskrit literature was not shared by other missionaries. Jean Calmette in the South and Jean-Francois Pons in Bengal acquired a taste for Sanskrit literature. They not only identified the authentic Vedic texts, but they were truly interested in understanding the inner working of the Indian 'sciences' and philosophical schools.

The missionary purpose was always simultaneously present in all missionary actions, and the learning acquired in the field was primarily meant to be applied in proselytism and conversion. The braiding of the two goals was showcased in the best-selling collection of the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* with which the Jesuits, and especially the French Assistance of the Society of Jesus, tried to shore up their authority

48 Omont, 'Mémoire', p. 838.

49 Omont, 'Mémoire', p. 838.

considerably undermined by the Malabar and Chinese rites quarrel. Thus they presented two faces to their European public, already divided along religious, intellectual, political, and national lines: the face of Catholic universalism foregrounded in moral virtues and worth dying for, and the face of Enlightened Catholicism responding with 'scientific' learning and proofs against the onslaught of 'atheists' and other enemies of the Church. This split goal and the tension it created was both the reason of the sustained popularity of this series and the apogee of accusations levelled progressively against Jesuits, from the early seventeenth century, of dissembling and world conspiracy.

The quest for and transmission of the ancient sacred texts—the Jesuits were only the best suited for the job in their missions among highly literate societies—was part of a plan of defending Biblical chronology and Christian history. From the sixteenth century, the Jesuit missionaries advanced the thesis of the fragmentation of the Glad Tidings from the apostolic times onwards to or through hostile political landscapes. It was the early modern missionaries who were picking up the pieces of this *prisca theologia*. This is precisely what Jean Calmette wrote in his letter from 1735, printed in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.

Ever since their Vedam, which contains their Sacred Books, are in our hands, we have extracted [from it] their own texts to convince them of the fundamental truths which ruin their idolatry, because the unity of God, the qualities of true God, salvation and condemnation are in the Vedam; but the truths which we find in these Books are spread like gold flakes on the pieces of fables.⁵⁰

The ultimate goal was to recover these 'gold flakes' and recompose the puzzle that was itself under attack in Europe by the *esprits forts* (strong spirits) and by competing Christian religious specialists outside the Roman church.⁵¹

50 'Lettre du Père Calmette, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jesus, Au Père Delmas de la même Compagnie. A Ballapouram, ce 17 Septembre 1735', in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, XXIII. *Recueil* (Paris: Nicolas Le Clerc, 1738), p. 161.

51 The Libertines (and atheists) self-designated themselves as *esprits forts* (strong spirits) as opposed to *esprits faibles* (weak spirits) or those who were too credulous. See Denise Leduc-Fayette, 'Les "esprits forts" au "Grand Siècle"', *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, 126, no. 1 (2001): 55.

In the early eighteenth century, the French Jesuits in Pondicherry were probably sitting on a heap of missionary documents, catechisms, grammars, and vocabularies collected or copied from the Madurai Mission, under Portuguese Padroado, and from their own Carnatic mission. Moreover, they were surrounded by the second or third generation of catechists and Catholic translators and intermediaries. They were probably the most erudite Orientalists in India when the Society of Jesus was formally abolished in Europe, starting with Portugal in 1759 and ending in Rome in 1773.

The suppression of the Society of Jesus is not the only, perhaps not even the most important reason for the dispersal of Orientalist knowledge produced during the three centuries. It was rather a combination of internal, structural, and institutional factors that blocked the building of a comprehensive system or synthesis. Thus they failed to profit from a long-term accumulation.

As said before, a common missionary practice of copying each other's works disrespectful of individual authorship condemned certain text to extinction, either through excessive overwriting (not always competent) or personal whim or neglect. In addition, perhaps in order to justify their own missionary and linguistic efforts, the missionaries reported writing grammars and dictionaries but simply failed to 'quote' the earlier texts that they consulted. In a word, if there was an institution that coordinated their apostolic efforts, since each missionary order tried to keep in line their 'foot soldiers', there was no institution organizing their knowledge production.

Symptomatically, the Jesuits who were otherwise obsessed with writing history of their order and careful in constructing their institutional image, never even thought of writing a history of their philological (astronomical, botanical, etc.) achievements. For example, the Catholic missionary knowledge of Tamil and Tamil literature was immense, but they mismanaged their efforts and expertise by failing to prioritize, systematize, and stake out their 'ownership' of the field. They seemed to have been incapable of sustaining their own memory of philological research. Thus, already in 1750, a Jesuit Domingos Madeira, a sixty-five-year-old missionary in Madurai wrote his 333-page-long *Vocabulario Thamulico Lusitano*, without mentioning Antão Proença's *Vocabulario Tamulico*, printed in Ambalacatta in

1679.⁵² He rather praised the work of his contemporary 'Constancio Joseph Beschi' whose work, especially his two Grammars of 'vulgar' and 'elegant' Tamil, were consulted by 'native teachers who were surprised to see in a stranger so much science'.⁵³ Madeira on the other hand, compared his 'action (*acção*)' to that of 'a diligent bee that collects from the most fragrant flowers what it needs to produce a sweet honeycomb for the common good'.⁵⁴ Obviously, he failed to provide a comprehensive genealogy of the Jesuit diligent 'bees' who preceded him. Was this a self-conscious omission, carelessness, oblivion, discontinuity in dissemination channels? Or a mixture of these contingent circumstances?

Before and after Madeira there were dozens of diligent Jesuit, Capuchin and Oratorian philologists in the Tamil mission field: Henrique Henriques, Ignacio Bruno, Gaspar de Aguillar, Louis Noel de Bourzes, Dominique de Valence, Onorato da Udine, Jacome Gonçalves, and probably other even humbler, anonymous collectors of the 'sweet' Tamil learning.⁵⁵ It is clear that their manuscripts are affiliated in one way or another, in direct genealogical relation or by following a template. Nevertheless, these grammars and vocabularies had been treated as ephemeral, unfinished, if important and necessary instruments for learning the language before getting at the tough task of conversion. As if each missionary in the field started on his own to

52 The only extant copy of the printed version from Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Rome) has been printed by Xavier S. Thani Nayagam, ed., *Antão Proença's Tamil Portuguese Dictionary, AD 1679* (Kuala Lumpur, 1966). Manuscript version of the dictionary can be found in various archival collections (in Panjim Central Library; in Lisbon: Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa; in Paris: Bibliotheque Richelieu). For bibliography see Muru, *Missionari portoghesi in India nei secoli XVI e XVII*, 207–10.

53 'Prologo ao Leitor', Panjim Central Library, Goa, MS 37, n.p.

54 'Prologo ao Leitor'.

55 Ignacio Bruno is mentioned in Antão de Proença's dictionary as the author of *Vocabularium Tamulicum*. A short version of Gaspar de Aguillar's grammar in Hamburg and Baltasar da Costa's in Panjim Central library still need to be properly studied. Beschi refers to the *Dictionarium Tamulico-Latinum* by the French Jesuit Louis Noel de Bourzes. Gregory James, *Tamil Lexicography* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1991), p. 67. A Capuchin, Dominique de Valence wrote *Dictionnaire et grammaire François Tamoul* in Pondicherry in 1743. His coreligionist in Madras, Onorato da Udine compiled as well a grammar and Portuguese–Tamil vocabulary, preserved in Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 'Vittorio Emanuele III', Manoscritti e rari, MS. Varia 53 [598].

learn the language by copying and 'improving' older manuscripts. In this light, we may cease to read missionary apologies for 'unfinished' or 'imperfect' work as *captatio benevolentiae*, but take them as statements of fact.

Moreover, the network channels through which missionaries communicated and exchanged information has been already extolled by historians as global and capillary, but if we look into the grain of Catholic missionary landscape in India, we can see that not all was communicated to everybody. And we have to take a closer look to understand those local dynamics. For example, on the list of manuscripts for the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris there is a conspicuous absence of German Jesuit philologist Johann Ernst Hanxleden, or at least some of his texts. Obviously, French Jesuits did not have access to these works at the time they collected the manuscripts for the royal library.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, and even after the suppression of the Jesuit order, Pondicherry was an important stopover for many European visitors who came to consult the learned Jesuits or their archive. The story of Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, one of the last Jesuits in the mission before the abolition of the order, and the reappropriations of his ethnographic text—*Mœurs et coutumes des indiens* (1777)—has been recaptured and reconstructed by Sylvia Murr in the late 1980s.⁵⁶ Not only was his work plagiarized and later sold to the British by Abbé Dubois, but his astronomical calculations, philological, and historical texts were also used with or without acknowledgement.⁵⁷

Catholic missionary knowledge of India, however, came to Europe with a price. Literally, when Jean-Paul Bignon and Etienne Fourmont started the campaign of collecting 'ancient' and curious Indian manuscripts, the market for Indian manuscripts and books came into being. The missionaries may have paid even before for the services of the copyists, but in the early eighteenth century, they had the means for the first time to engage in prospecting, negotiating, and buying 'monumenta'. According to the deal with the European buyers, the Jesuits made a copy of each manuscript for themselves while the

⁵⁶ Sylvia Murr, *L'Inde Philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire*.

⁵⁷ Sylvia Murr, 'Les conditions d'émergence du discours sur l'Inde au Siècle des Lumières', *Puruṣārtha*, 7 (1983): 244.

buyer was to foot the bill.⁵⁸ With money, as if by magic, the 'ancient' texts on palm leaf and on paper appeared for sale in spite of the usual adage of secret Brahmanical knowledge kept jealously by the local literati and Brahman 'priests'. Although financial dealings did not fit into Jesuit hagiographies, the missionaries were acutely aware of the economic side of their enterprise. In the eighteenth century, it was the price of knowledge and documents, especially those 'needed' in Europe that acquired a prominent place in missionary correspondence.⁵⁹ By the end of the century, the heftiest purse in India and willing to swamp the market, was in the hands of the British.

BRITISH MARKET: CATHOLIC ORIENTALIST KNOWLEDGE FOR SALE?

Complaints about money were as real as they were part of a particular early modern topos in the official correspondence by merchants, administrators, and missionaries in the Portuguese Asian Empire. Catholic missions in particular had been under financial strain from the start, and the situation only deteriorated, the fact that prompted the Papacy to react in the late sixteenth century and became a pretext for the creation of the Propaganda Fide in 1622. In the eighteenth century, the French Jesuits in South India, the Discalced Carmelites in the Verapoly mission, and the Italian Capuchins in the Patna mission were all obsessed with their finances and often courted and received patronage of quite unlikely benefactors. As we have seen, Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo hobnobbed with the British officials at Anjengo, just as fifty years earlier his coreligionist Matteo di San Giuseppe befriended the Dutch in Kochi. At times gifts of manuscripts, curious objects, and services were exchanged, depending on individual demand, supply, or on a calculated or ad hoc generosity. From the mid-eighteenth century the financial and political fortunes

⁵⁸ Because they have made copies of all the documents, the Jesuits were finally able to constitute a solid Orientalist library, which was taken over by the Missions-étrangères de Paris when the Society of Jesus was dissolved and to which the visitors such as Paulinus, Abbé Dubois and Muttusami Pillai sent by Frances Whyte Ellis, and others came to mine for documents and information.

⁵⁹ For pricing of acquired and copied manuscripts see, Omont, 'Liste' and 'Mémoire'.

of the Catholic missionaries in South India and elsewhere were rapidly dwindling, so did those of the French East India Company, for a few decades the only serious competitor of the British. It is no wonder then that the conventional historical narrative plots British history in India as on the rise from the second part of the eighteenth century with just about all other historical actors in 'decline'.

The heroic narrative of the British quest and conquest of knowledge is an additional subplot, in which linguistic discoveries of the Indo-European language family leading to *Oriental Renaissance* in Europe, but also revivifying interest in Indian classical literature and tradition, which mobilized in turn Indian elites and fed into *Bengal Renaissance* and other *revivals*, has been told many times over from different ideological angles and historiographical view points.⁶⁰ The Baptist missionaries in Serampore are seamlessly included on the list of Orientalist heroes, side by side with British administrators who worked themselves to premature deaths, inhaled unventilated musty archives with the same result, and were tortured by the heat and dust of the *mofussil* towns and incessantly cheated by 'cunning natives'. Protestant missionaries in Serampore had, in fact, a huge impact on the direction of Orientalist learning with their own Sanskrit-centred 'Christian Orientalism'.⁶¹ Although missionary and administrative goals were not identical—and we have argued the same for the Portuguese empire—the British imperial machinery was hungry for correct information and authentic knowledge, and was ready to reward the diligent and talented missionary linguists such as William Carey, William Ward, and Joshua Marshman.

There is no doubt that from the moment the British self-consciously started building their Indian Raj, from the Battle of Plassey onwards, their need for linguistic expertise and willingness to pay for it made them attractive patrons to local literati and experts. In Bengal they took up reigns as successors of the Mughals and

60 Schwab, *La Renaissance orientale*; Kopf, *Orientalism and the Genesis of the Bengal Renaissance*. For the role of colonial philology in South India, see excellent articles in Trautmann, ed., *The Madras School of Orientalism*.

61 Sujit Sivasundaran, "'A Christian Benares': Orientalism, Science and the Serampore Mission of Bengal", *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 44, no. 2 (2007): 111–45.

the Nawab of Bengal, and gradually enticed all those literati who worked for the former governance. Persian language and literature became the first target of the British Orientalist queries and collecting impulses, not only for the 'beauty' and 'elegance' in the composition so dear to William Jones, but also because it was the language of the empire which the British in the eighteenth century intended to imitate and supplant. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi have brilliantly described the moment of the encounter between the 'oriental intellectual bazaar and its literate communities of pandits and Persianate scholars' and the East India Company agents in the middle of the eighteenth century. While indigenous patrons were 'sucked into' the Company fold, the new Orientalists such as William Jones, Charles Wilkins, and the Calcutta circle were flushed with manuscripts, and attracted those who were ready to sell their intellectual services to read and explain these texts—such as *munshis* and Sanskrit pundits.⁶² In addition, while the prices of collectors' items were rising in proportion to their rarity such as illustrated manuscripts and the most sacred books, the Vedas, the labour of the expert literati remained cheap. Each and every British Orientalist had a few of the local pundits and translators at his own cost or employed by his office.⁶³ These were also exchanged between friends for particular projects. Govardhana Kaula was recruited for the post at the Supreme Court by Jones (at the recommendation of Wilkins's pundit Kāśinātha), but continued to be one of his private

62 Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The Ijaz-i Arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773–1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 36–7. On William Jones and his pundits, see Kate Teltscher, *India Inscribed: European and British Writing on India, 1600–1800* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995). On the office of 'munshi' at the Mughal court, which has been very popular among and coveted by the Hindu literati (Khatris, Kayasthas, and Brahmins) who for that reason learnt Persian, see Muzaffar Alam and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, 'The Making of a Munshi', *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, 24, no. 2 (2004): 61–72.

63 According to Trautmann, the salary of Colin Mackenzie enabled him to support 'an establishment of scholars'. Trautmann, *The Madras School of Orientalism*, p. 7. David Lorenzen also points to the greater access to financial resources as one of the key reasons for the success of British Orientalists. David Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Banaras: Missionaries, Orientalists, and Indian Scholars', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 65, no. 1 (February 2006): 118.

advisors. Jones paid for the services of all his writers and translators Rs 500 a month with as much charged to the government.⁶⁴ As a judge, however, Jones earned 6,000 pounds sterling or around Rs 63,000 per month and his savings were about 50,000 pounds sterling at the time of his death in 1795.⁶⁵ These numbers clearly show the unprecedented purchasing power of the British Orientalists. Combined with the British power and rule in the region, and the decline of Indian princely patronage of literature, this cash overflow allowed them to build their imperial Tower of Science and siphon in coveted information.

Money, poured steadily from the charitable contributors in Europe to the Protestant missionaries in Tranquebar and in Serampore.⁶⁶ Not only were they thus able to acquire documents and manuscripts, they had enough funds to introduce new communication instruments such as the printing press, and employ learned and eager Indian helpers. Catholic missionaries never had nearly as much money at hand, and mostly relied on their wealthy converts and, sometimes, on their own inheritance. In some of the private letters, a Jesuit Antonio Vico, Roberto Nobili's companion in the Madurai Mission in the seventeenth century, tried unsuccessfully (it seems) to reclaim his family inheritance to support the mission. Because of the poverty vow, Franciscans as well had few financial means for acquiring manuscripts, copying the texts and paying for translations.

The first time the French Jesuits in the Carnatic mission acquired enough money to buy Indian manuscripts on the larger scale was when they were commissioned to buy 'curious' books for the royal

64 Rosane Rocher, 'Weaving Knowledge: Sir William Jones and Indian Pundits', in *Objects of Inquiry: The Life, Contribution, and Influences of Sir William Jones (1746–1794)*, eds Garland Cannon and Kevin R. Brine (New York: New York University Press, 1995), pp. 55, 61.

65 Garland Cannon, *The Life and Mind of Oriental Jones: Sir William Jones, the Father of Modern Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 159. This is a very rough estimate. For exchange rate between rupees and pounds, see Warden Grand, *Considerations of the State of Colonial Currency and Foreign Exchange, at the Cape of Good Hope* (Cape Town: W. Briderkirk Jun., 1825), p. 68.

66 Tranquebar mission received funding from different sources in payment and goods (such as the printing press), see Jeffrey Cox, *The British Missionary Enterprise Since 1700* (New York: Routledge, 2008), p. 45.

library in Paris.⁶⁷ The Jesuits negotiated wisely in exchange of their services as 'book' hunters to have an additional copy of each collection paid for the mission. It was perhaps at this very point between 1729 and 1735 that they acquired manuscripts that the Brahmins were hiding from them such as Vedas. However, the king's money did not pay enough to hire versatile literati intellectual labour. The Jesuits painfully tried and succeeded in deciphering some of the books, but apparently never found any translator versed in the Vedic Sanskrit.

This is the reason why by the end of the century, the British in India appeared rich, arrogant, but still ignorant to the impoverished Catholic missionaries. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo complained that 'the English have promised, in the second volume of their *Asiatic Researches*, that they would give us Indian Botany, but I do not have much confidence in these promises, because to do it, one needs men who know local languages, time and money'.⁶⁸ If the readers of the *Viaggio* were meant to understand that the Catholic missionaries such as Paulinus at least had superior 'knowledge', Anquetil Duperron, who annotated the French translation disagreed completely: 'Father Paulinus's remark is easily refuted. The English have the *time* and the *money* necessary for such an enterprise: and when they will want to choose their subjects, they will have no lack of their own to learn the languages of India.'⁶⁹

67 According to Jean Filliozat, the first demands were made in 1719. See Jean Filliozat, 'La naissance et l'essor de l'indianisme', *Laghu-prabandhah* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), pp. 1–34. Gerard Colas, dates the first order to 1728, while the Jesuits started sending manuscripts a year later. It seems that between 1729 and 1730 they mostly made copies of the manuscripts, while from 1732 to 1735, according to the wish expressed by Abbé Bignon, they sent mostly 'ole' (*olai*) or the palm leaf manuscripts. Gerard Colas, 'Les manuscrits envoys de l'Inde par les jésuites français entre 1729 et 1735', in *Scribes et manuscrits du Moyen-Orient*, eds François Déroche and Francis Richard (Paris: BNF, 1997), p. 355.

68 Paolino, *Viaggio*, p. 365.

69 The third volume of the French edition contains comments and footnotes on the text of the *Viaggio*: Anquetil du Perron, *Voyage aux Indes orientales par le P. Paulin de S. Barthélemy, Missionnaire; traduit de l'Italien par M*** [Marchesan] Avec les observations de MM Anquetil du Perron, J. R. Forster et Silvestre de Sacy: Et une dissertation de M. Anquetil sur la propriété individuelle et foncière dans l'Inde et en Égypte*. Tome troisième (Paris: Chez Tournaisen, 1808), p. 486.

With the establishment of the printing presses in Calcutta and the mission press in Serampore, books about Indian languages and those translated from Indian languages to English grew exponentially from the end of the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Most of them were strictly utilitarian, a pedagogical material for improving education of the civil servants in India such as grammars and dictionaries of vernacular languages, history books, law collections, and other translations, while some of the books were already considered of a higher scientific and artistic quality and eager to dialogue within the global, if somewhat patchy, Orientalist Republic of Letters. Only from the Serampore Press 212,000 volumes appeared in 40 languages between 1801 and 1832.⁷⁰ Until the middle of the nineteenth century, the Press could boast of 330 titles, of which 31 were Bible translations into different languages.⁷¹

Neither Catholic mission presses from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century in Kochi, Kollam, Rachol, Ambalacatta, and perhaps Punnaikayal, nor the Portuguese printing press in Goa, could be more distant, according to Rochelle Pinto, 'to domain of nineteenth century print'.⁷² The actual number of printed books, their reach, and the discursive location may even appear insignificant in the larger history of printing in India. But most importantly, they poorly correspond and respond to questions historians of printing culture commonly feel they need to answer, which have to do with the processes and dynamics responsible for the formation of the 'Nation' and the 'State'. The early missionary printed books do not fit into the teleological narratives of these two mega-concepts.

For example, the fact that the first three books printed in Bengali appeared in Lisbon in Roman script in 1743 is barely mentioned in

70 M. N. Nagaraj, 'Debt to European Scholarship: William Carey and His Achievements', in *Libraries and Information Studies in Retrospect and Prospect, Essays in Honor of Prof. D. R. Kalia*, ed. J. L. Sardana, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 2002), p. 211.

71 Katherine Smith Diehl (with the assistance in the Oriental languages of Hemendra Kumar Sircar), *Early Indian Imprints: An Exhibition from the William Carey Historical Library of Serampore* (Serampore, West Bengal: The Council of Serampore College, 1962).

72 Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 12.

later histories of Bengali literary revival. It appears as an anecdotal event without a follow-up. Of course, all three books were works of the Catholic missionary diligence. Two were catechisms and the third was a Bengali-Portuguese and Portuguese-Bengali dictionary-cum-grammar. All were results of the missionary long-term engagement in producing grammatical/lexicographical and catechetical works that were circulated in manuscripts from the middle of the seventeenth century.⁷³ The question, however, remains: to what extent, if at all, Catholic missionary early grammatical works and translations found their way into later 'pioneer' and 'mature' colonial philological works. In Calcutta, the centre of British government and Orientalist learning in the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century, Catholic knowledge seemed to have been assimilated very quickly without a trace, so were those who served as intermediaries in this process. The elite and learned Luso-Indian community in Bengal also blended in with Anglo-Indians and even adopted English sounding names from the early nineteenth century onwards.⁷⁴

It is hard to believe that the ideas leading to the Indo-European concept announced by William Jones as his own discovery in 1786 were not already 'in the air'. It was discussed by the Jesuits already from 1728, when a Jesuit missionary Memnius René Gargam stationed in Ballapuram wrote about *samcroutam* as a 'mother language coming from another country ... not spoken more than Greek is in France'.⁷⁵ Jones, with his perfect French, may have also caught a whiff of the debates going on in Paris later between 1767 and 1771 in the

73 Siddiq Khan, 'The Early History of Bengali Printing', *The Library Quarterly*, 32, no. 1 (1962): 51–61. See also Henry Hosten, 'Three First Type-Printed Bengali Books', *Bengal Past and Present IX* (July–December, 1914): 46. Even the Bengali alphabet first appeared in Athanasius Kircher's work, but the historiography of printed Bengali language and literature placed Englishmen at its beginning.

74 Ujjayan Bhattacharya, 'Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011', unpublished paper for a conference—*Singapore and Melaka* (28/09/2010–30/10/2010), organized by Institute of Southeast Asian Studies and Embassy of Portugal in Singapore.

75 Memnius René Gargam to Etienne Souciet, Ballabaram, 26 September 1728, AFCJ, Fond Brotier 82, 73v–4. See Margherita Trento, 'Sanskrit knowledge making in the 18th century Carnatic mission', unpublished paper presented at the *Fifth European PhD Workshop in South Asian Studies*, Centre d'Études de l'Inde et de l'Asie du Sud, Paris, 22–4 September 2011, p. 9.

Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres in spite of, or, perhaps, because of Anquetil Duperron's involvement.⁷⁶ It is also possible that Duperron mentioned these philological hunches as his own lest they be connected with the discredited Jesuit scholarship. An additional important source of the British Orientalist ideas and Jones's key concept of 'affinity of languages', came from Persian and Persianate scholarship, admirably studied by Tavakoli-Targhi.⁷⁷

Compared to Calcutta, the situation in the Madras presidency was rather different. The Jesuit presence in the region dated to the mid-sixteenth century, as did Portuguese relatively haphazard possessions and settlements, but the extent of intellectual and cultural engagement of these often solitary missionary agents was enormous. As we discussed in the fifth chapter, there was a steady increase in linguistic knowledge by way of grammars, dictionaries, and other catechetical texts, all of which, of course, served the purpose of conversion and Christianization. With the establishment of Pondicherry (1674), the French missionaries were directly solicited for gathering information about indigenous sciences, arts, and crafts. It is well known that, especially in the eighteenth century, the French scientists-cum-adventurers-cum-travellers collected information in India with the help of the local missionaries, but mostly failed to acknowledge their debt. They often behaved as downright smugglers, snatching information, manuscripts, objects, and plants and selling them under their name in the European markets. Pierre Sonnerat, Pierre Poivre et G. J. H. J. B. Le Gentil, Anquetil Duperron were only some of the actors in what Dhruv Raina calls 'the era of [European] secular enchantment with India'.⁷⁸ This enchantment was translated into quest by all means for information and objects, from manuscripts

76 John J. Godfrey, 'Sir William Jones and Père Coeurdoux: A Philological Footnote', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 87, no. 1 (1967): 57–9. Gaston-Laurent Coeurdoux, 'Réponse au mémoire de M. L'Abbé Barthélemy (c. 1768)', in *Mémoire de littérature, tirée des registres de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, ed. Abraham Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron, 49 (1783–93), pp. 647–67.

77 Mohamad Tavakoli Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), pp. 23–9.

78 Dhruv Raina, 'Evolving Perspectives on Science and History: A Chronicle of Modern India's Scientific Enchantment and Disenchantment (1850–1980)', *Social Epistemology: A Journal of Knowledge, Culture and Policy*, 11, no. 1 (1997): 3–24.

to plants and even *in loco* exploration and measurement of the land, the sky and the sea. The passage through Pondicherry or any other French settlements meant necessarily a visit to the Jesuit residence until 1764, if for no other reason to inquire about the authors of the letters published in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*.⁷⁹ It was also a stopover for British and German missionaries circulating between Tranquebar and Madras, and one of the safe spots for the Propaganda Fide missionaries stationed in Kerala and elsewhere in South India.

Even without passing through Pondicherry, Englishmen could acquire knowledge by travelling through Europe, profiting from a famous Enlightenment sociability. Alison Gopnik provided an interesting snapshot of a possible transfer of knowledge of Buddhism between a seasoned Jesuit, Charles François Dolu, in his retirement years in the College of La Flèche and a young David Hume, cogitating his *Treatise of Human Nature*, during the two year stint there between 1735 and 1737. Proximity, casual or recreational conversation, lunching, taking a walk, or travelling together may be an enjoyable and profitable learning experience, but it may have been the cause of easy forgetting of the information source.⁸⁰ As Gopnik claims, the 'source amnesia' is the rule rather than exception because the 'facts' to be stored are not encoded in the same type of memory as its information source.⁸¹

The fleeting, work-in-progress nature of Catholic Orientalist knowledge combined with the lack of printed documents, stable information networks, and uninterrupted future may have played a role in its dissolution, but one need not exclude conscious 'denial of coevalness' which shaped the core of Enlightenment epistemology at work in High Orientalism and British imperialism.⁸²

79 See Dhruv Raina on Le Gentil's 'planned silence about his Jesuit sources'. Dhruv Raina, *Nationalism, Institutional Science and the Politics of Representation: Ancient Indian Astronomy and Mathematics in the Landscape of French Enlightenment Historiography* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Göteborgs Universitet, 1999), p. 100.

80 Alison Gopnik, 'Could David Hume Have Known about Buddhism? Charles François Dolu, the Royal College of La Flèche, and the Global Jesuit Intellectual Network', *Hume Studies*, 35, nos 1 and 2 (2009): 5–29.

81 Gopnik, 'Could David Hume Have Known about Buddhism?', p. 7.

82 Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983). See also Johannes Fabian, 'The Other Revisited: Critical Afterthoughts', *Anthropological Theory*, 6, no. 2: 139–52.

Thomas Trautmann has brilliantly chronicled, in his own work and in a recently edited volume, the history of the 'Madras School of Orientalism' and the Dravidian proof, following in the steps of his work on the discovery of the Indo-European concept by William Jones and the Calcutta Asiatic Society.⁸³ He convincingly showed to what extent the British colonial rule stimulated the rise of ethnological and linguistic theories. There is no doubt that the rich indigenous grammatical tradition, Sanskrit grammar by Pāṇini and Tamil grammar by Tolkappiyar in particular, were decisive for the development of the new British linguistic knowledge. However, focusing only on English actors, Francis Whyte Ellis, William Erskine, John Leyden, and others, the earlier Catholic efforts are swiftly brushed aside.

The story of Catholic learning is again told in the interstices of British acquisition of knowledge. Beschi's exceptional Tamil proficiency and scholarship is obligingly praised, rarely going into details and without providing the context of his linguistic and literary production.⁸⁴ In our sixth chapter we made a modest claim in that direction by exploring the Jesuit philological field. Another story remains to be written about Christian- and Jesuit-trained Tamil literati such as Mariadas Poullé, A. Muttusami Pillai, and other Catholic pundits from Pondicherry. A. Muttusami Pillai (Appāvu Muttucāmi Piḷḷai) is an important linchpin between Catholic and British Orientalism because he was employed by the College of Fort St George and was sent by Ellis on book hunt for Beschi's works in 1816.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, there is no catalogue of his collection, which was, according to Trautmann,

83 Trautmann, *Languages and Nations* and Trautmann, *The Madras School of Orientalism*.

84 For the un-self-conscious omissions regarding the contribution of the Catholic Tamil scholarship see otherwise excellent article by Sasha Ebeling, 'The College of Fort St. George and Tamil Philology', pp. 233–60.

85 See A. Muttusami Pillai's biography of Beschi written in Tamil in 1822 and published in English translation as 'A Brief Sketch of the Life and Writings of Father C. J. Beschi or Viramamuni', translated from the original Tamil. By A. Muttusami Pillai, Manager of the College of Fort St George and Moonshee to the Tamil translator to Government, *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 11 (1840): 250–300. A munshi or a language teacher meant in this case the teacher of the Tamil teachers who taught East India Company civil servants. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, p. 204.

the core collection and a source for the Tamil literary renaissance of the nineteenth century.⁸⁶ We are obviously still missing many pieces in the jigsaw puzzle that may enable us to grasp the contours of the production of knowledge in colonial South India.

One piece is so **big and** obvious that it is hard not to notice, but its presence only confirms the rule of omission. The case of Abbé Dubois who sold a manuscript in French—*Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*—written in 1808 when he was a missionary in Mysore, and where he preferred hobnobbing with British administrators such as Major Wilks than his Christian charges, is worth looking into. Sylvia Murr's detailed textual detective work showed that a big chunk of his text was borrowed from the manuscript by a Jesuit Laurent-Gaston Coeurdoux, which had disappeared in the meantime.⁸⁷ Quentin Garreau has recently reconstructed the life of Dubois and the intellectual and social climate in Pondicherry at the turn of the century. He showed how easy it was to pillage the rich Jesuit library which fell into the hands of the Société des Missions-Etrangères to which Dubois belonged after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus.

According to Garreau, at the time when the British were eagerly looking for 'authentic documents', keen as they were of writing a definitive 'history' of India, Dubois claimed that he was in possession of 'some loose pages [of documents] which fell into **my hands by chance**'.⁸⁸ That the Jesuit library in Pondicherry was a **mine of documents**, some of them from the pen of the Jesuits, while others from various Indian literati was well known by the British, and is indirectly confirmed in Ellis's report on the search for the sources of the *Ezour-Vedam*, called variously a 'hoax' or a *fraus pia* (pious fraud).⁸⁹ Garreau

86 Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, p. 204.

87 She actually proved that Coeurdoux was the 'third man' and a source for two manuscripts, one by Dubois and another by Nicholas Desvaulx. See Sylvia Murr, *L'Inde Philosophique entre Bossuet et Voltaire-II: L'Indologie du Père Coeurdoux*.

88 Quentin Garreau, *Fuir la mission. L'abbé Dubois, un missionnaire français au service des Britanniques en Inde*, (unpublished MA dissertation, Paris: EHESS, 2011), p. 66.

89 Francis Whyte Ellis, 'Account of a Discovery of a Modern Imitation of the Védas, with Remarks on the Genuine Works', *Asiatic Researches*, 14 (1822): 1–59. He does everything in his article, not to mention clearly if he had gone himself to **compare** the manuscripts of 'false' Vedas or if it was, again, his literary spies such as A. Muttusami Pillai who were sent to Pondicherry. The philological analysis he made of

convincingly argues that the sources used by Dubois came from the Jesuit Pondicherrian office, but were not necessarily produced solely by the Jesuits. He sees Mariadas Poullé, a Christian Brahman and Jesuit translator, whom Dubois may have met between 1782 when he arrived in India and 1789 when Poullé died in Pondicherry, the key to the *Moeurs* book and other documents he collected and passed on to the British.⁹⁰ Highly literate Catholic converts, who like Poullé (Pillai), knew a few Indian languages in addition to Latin and French were probably the most qualified Catholic Orientalists, and continued to be so when they were employed by the British such as Swaminatha Pillai and A. Muttusami Pillai.⁹¹ However, Catholic missionaries considered their knowledge 'subaltern' to their own, that is, a 'raw' native knowledge in need of proper framework. In the same way, Catholic missionary knowledge was considered subaltern to that of the British. As if following a principle of Russian dolls, Indian informants such as Poullé were resource persons and 'sources' for the Jesuits, while Dubois took Jesuits as his 'sources', all the while being himself considered a 'source' by the British.

Nevertheless, Dubois enjoyed playing the role of a self-appointed ethnographic intermediary for the British. He boasted of possessing 'ancient' documents and of being an 'ocular' witness. In the preface to the English translation printed in London in 1816 it is clearly stated that he 'meditated and composed [the *Moeurs*] in the midst of the people whom he describes'.⁹² At the same time, he also insisted on the fact that his book contained 'curious' documents, some of which

these texts required that, if he had not been working in situ, he had these documents copied. If these documents were copied, there is a possibility that they are preserved in the Bodleian Library or elsewhere in England. It is interesting that Ellis went so far in denouncing a literary forgery just when he was committing the same by writing a *Purāṇa* in Tamil for the sake of small pox vaccination campaign.

⁹⁰ Mariadas Poullé is still largely unstudied. J. B. More has recently printed Poullé's translation of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*: *Bhagavadam ou Bhagavata Purana: Ouvrage religieux et philosophique indien traduit par Mariadas Poullé de Pondichéry en 1769* (Tellicherry: IRISH, 2004).

⁹¹ Blackburn, *Print, Folklore and Nationalism*, p. 99.

⁹² Jean-Antoine Dubois, *Moeurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, t. 1 (Paris: J. S. Merlin, 1825), p. iii.

reappeared in Colonel Mackenzie's manuscript collection: "Observations on the sect of Djeinas" communicated to Mr. Dubois by a Djeina Brahmin and Vaidica of that sect'.⁹³ According to Leslie Orr, Mackenzie and Ellis were 'very much engaged with Jainism as a living tradition' and Dubois's interest may have been directly related to the British desires to reconstruct its religion and history.⁹⁴

All in all, Dubois sold his manuscript for two thousand *pagodas* in 1807, and continued to provide paid services to the British. The reason why the British became interested in Dubois's manuscript was his involvement in the vaccination campaign in Mysore. He presented himself as an intermediary and an informant able to provide cultural reasons for Indian 'objections' and resistance to inoculation with cow's pox.⁹⁵ Dubois's book was seen, therefore, as providing information on indigenous 'civility code', which the British had to understand in order to be able to rule Indian subjects efficiently.⁹⁶ After barely scraping enough financial resources to continue as a missionary in Mysore, ethnographic intelligence services to the British made him a rich man among Catholic missionaries, which caused him some trouble in the missionary headquarters in Pondicherry, but also allowed him to return to Europe where he continued to bask in and solicit British East Indian Company patronage. His manuscript *Arcana Bramanica* is prefaced with this opportunistic dedication: 'This miscellany is most respectfully presented to the Honorable the [*sic*] Court of Directory as a testimony of his respect and gratitude by the compiler

⁹³ Leslie Orr, 'Orientalists, Missionaries and Jains: The South Indian Story', in *The Madras School of Orientalism*, p. 267. The inclusion of an appendix on Jains is one of the original features in the *Customs and Manners*, since neither Coeurdoux nor Deslvaux mention them.

⁹⁴ Orr, 'Orientalist, Missionaries and Jains', p. 267.

⁹⁵ Neils Brimnes, 'The Sympathising Heart and the Healing Hand: Smallpox Prevention and Medical Benevolence in Early Colonial South India', in *Colonialism and Civilizing Mission: Cultural Ideology in British India*, eds Haarald Fischer-Tiné and Michael Mann (London: Wimbeldon Publishing Company, 2004), p. 202. Dubois's 'reasons' for Indian rejection of vaccination are perfectly consistent with British imperial perspectives, which stigmatized Indians as slaves of Oriental despotism, apathetic, and superstitious.

⁹⁶ Ellis wrote a pseudo-Purāṇa in Tamil, a dialogue between the Goddess and the gods' physician Dhanvantari for the sake of persuading Indians about the utility of the

their most obedient and faithful servant J.A. Dubois former missionary in Mysore, London 13th June 1823'.⁹⁷

From the first edition onwards, Dubois's book acquired wings as well and became the standard manual of British colonial ethnography for at least half a century. Through this book, by the early nineteenth century, the British assimilated and paid for a sizable part of the Catholic Orientalist knowledge.

This is not the place to account for every single itinerary or case of appropriation, given that most of them are still invisible for lack of documents and of interest historians paid to them, but perhaps the best indirect 'proof' that the British successfully extracted from Catholic Orientalist jetsam and flotsam comes from the contemporary location of many of the important works in print and manuscript produced as early as the sixteenth century.

Not just Catholic knowledge was appropriated, of course. Anquetil Duperron lamented the fact that an ignorant collector Samuel Guise managed to purchase 'hundred and thirty seven volumes in all' of Zend Avesta manuscripts from the widow of a Parsi scholar, Destour Darab, who was Anquetil Duperron's Persian and Zend Avesta teacher in Surat, and who never shared all his treasures with his student. 'It is England', he wrote, that is 'now rich in Zend and Pahlavi works'.⁹⁸ Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo ranks Guise's collection of Oriental manuscripts among one of the four most important collections

vaccination. Trautmann, *Languages and Nations*, pp. 114, 231–42. On the afterlife in the British press and the translation to Sanskrit of this 'pious fraud', see the article and the 2011 postscript by Dominik Wujastyk. Dominik Wujastyk, 'A Pious Fraud': The Indian Claims for Pre-Jennerian Smallpox Vaccination', in *Studies on Indian Medical History*, eds, Jan Meulenbled and Dominic Wujastyk (New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987), pp. 121–52. A Tamil version of the Purāṇa has been recently (April 2013) discovered in the Tamil collection of the Bibliothèque universitaire des langues et civilisations in Paris by Emanuel Francis, whom we thank for the information.

⁹⁷ British Library, India Office Record, MSS Eur C24.

⁹⁸ Anquetil Duperron's annotation is the following: 'Mr Guise, as I noted in my *Oupnek'hat* (tom. 2, suppl. pp. 844, 845, footnote 1), knew neither *Zend*, nor *Pahlavi*, nor *Persian*; and all he said in his Catalogue of manuscripts concerning Parsis is taken from the notes in my *Zend-avesta*.' Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy, *Voyage aux Indes orientales du père Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy*, vol. 3 (Paris: 1808), p. 138. From the letter to Mrs Crosier, it appears that Paulinus knew Samuel Guise, who also spent some time in Anjengo, personally. See Chapter 6, footnote 27 in this volume.

in Europe, the three other being: the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in Paris, the Propaganda Fide, and Borgia's museum in Velletri.⁹⁹

Here it is necessary to go back to the question of money with which we started. That the British bought everything was a feeling Anquetil Duperron shared with other European savants lacking the necessary resources. Some collectors like Collin Mackenzie, Francis Whyte Ellis, William Erskine knew more or less what they were looking for, while some collected out of curiosity, for the sake of connoisseurship and as investment. Most, if not all British collectors, as Maya Jasanoff showed for those around Antoine Polier in Lucknow, were some sort of Orientalists 'in both senses too, devoted students of Indian culture as well as agents embedded in the workings of imperial expansion'.¹⁰⁰

If by the mid-eighteenth century the *Bibliothèque du Roi* in Paris became loaded with Indian and other oriental collections, while a similar situation occurred in Portugal even earlier, and in Rome by the end of the century, it was British private and public libraries that ultimately became the richest in Oriental manuscripts. Among these cherished Oriental manuscripts, the collectors often included Catholic and other Christian works. If we take a quick look into the collection of Tamil manuscripts in the British library, we find that out of 179 titles, 42 are easily identified as Christian (grammars, dictionaries, translations), while only a casual glance into unpublished catalogue of the Dravidian language collections by George Uglow Pope in the Bodleian Special Collection Reading Room reveals that Christian texts and texts by Christian missionaries abound. Some of the important Catholic texts, preserved nowhere else but in Britain point to the fact that both Protestant missionaries and British manuscript collectors considered those works worthy enough to be acquired, such as Henrique Henriques's, *Kiricittiyāṇi vaṇakkam* and *Confessionairo*.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ *A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, collected in Indoostan*. By Mr. Samuel Guise, Surgeon to the General Hospital at Surat, From the Year 1777 till 1792 (printed), pp. 1–32, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Borg. Lat 529, 1–18. R. Langella and R. Mammucari, eds, *Stefano Borgia. La famiglia - la storia - il museo* (Velletri: Veliternografica srl, 1995). Mario Nocca, ed., *Le quattro voci del mondo: Arte, culture e saperi nella collezione di Stefano Borgia, 1731–1804* (Naples: Electa, 2001).

¹⁰⁰ Jasanoff, *Edge of Empire*, p. 65.

¹⁰¹ We discussed these works in the Chapter 6.

These Catholic works and manuscripts prove two things: the presence and circulation of Catholic literary culture in translation among the Catholics, but also among the Protestant missionaries, and the British interest in acquiring these documents regardless of the low esteem they had for Catholic missionary literary products.

One of the important collectors was William Marsden, Charles Wilkins's son in law and a former writer of the East India Company in Sumatra, who managed to acquire a huge Jesuit library with documents concerning both Portuguese Asian empire and Catholic missions.¹⁰² Hosten is of the opinion that these documents come from the Jesuit archives in Goa, which were sold or sent to Lisbon after the dissolution of the Society of Jesus in 1757, or perhaps sold after the death of Marquis de Pombal who may have kept them in his possession as it is known that he kept the archives of the Estado da Índia.¹⁰³ The itineraries of these documents were complicated before and after the sale, but on the pages of the catalogue of his collection published in 1827—*Bibliotheca Marsdeniana philologica et orientalis*—Catholic manuscripts rub shoulders with other Asian manuscripts.¹⁰⁴ Thus the memoirs of Jahangir in Persian appear on the same page as the seventeenth-century translation of the four gospels from the Jesuit mission in Agra and the *Lives of Twelve Apostles of Jesus Christ* (1609) by Jerome Xavier. The question still remains however: How much of the Catholic Orientalist knowledge, even when available and purchased by the British collectors and scholars from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century, were actually studied or known at all?

102 E. Denison Ross, 'The Manuscripts Collected by William Marsden with Special Reference to Two Copies of Almeida's "History of Ethiopia"', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 2, no. 3 (1922): 513–38. See also Henry Hosten SJ, 'The Marsden MSS and Indian Mission Bibliography', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies* 3, no. 1 (1923): 129–50.

103 Hosten, 'The Marsden MSS', p. 148. The indication on one of the boxes reads: 'Archives of the Romish church in Goa' and the press mark *Gau* (eta) with a number, which indicates that they were kept in 'drawers' as were many Portuguese documents in that period. The name 'gaveta' is still a title of an important collection in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon.

104 Even the catalogue of his collection published as *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana philologica et orientalis* (London: J. L. Cox, 1827), seems to be incomplete and not always clearly described. Some of the Catholic titles are scattered today between the British Library, the SOAS, and the King's College.

To try to answer this question, one would have to study and disentangle in detail the material that was available to British Orientalists, what they chose or were able to read, and what they decided to quote. The catalogues of books and manuscripts of individual readers, of the Royal Society in Bengal, of the library of the East India Company, and of the books sold after the death of the owners and dispersed by sale or donations to the British Library or other institutions may give us a better glimpse into the matter. The policy of quoting or omitting references to Catholic Orientalist works in the texts of the British Orientalists could then be checked against the books and manuscripts in their possession. For example, a collection published by de Guignes in 1770, *Le Chou-king: Un des livres sacrés des Chinois*, is on the list of books in William Jones's library sold by his widow in 1832.¹⁰⁵ In his 'Dissertation on the Chinese', he chose to quote it extensively, as well as the two Jesuits, Visdelou and de Prémare, included in it.¹⁰⁶ He also quoted his dealings with Father Marco (della Tomba), whom he qualified as 'not a scholar of the first rate', only to dismiss his translation of *Rāmāyaṇa* from old Hindi.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, he did not quote at all Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, although a copy of Paulinus's *Systema Brahmanicum* is described in Jones's catalogue as 'cuts, with some MS corrections by Sir William Jones'.¹⁰⁸ He obviously read and annotated *Systema Brahmanicum* carefully, a book that is absolutely packed with citations of Catholic and non-Catholic erudite publications and manuscripts.

Even with these two coordinates—ownership of books and citations—we may not exactly understand who read what or claimed to have (or not) read. However, with the roughest rule of thumb, it is obvious that references to Catholic Orientalist knowledge, especially missionary information, ceased in learned and 'scientific' texts on

105 *Catalogue of the late Sir William Jones ... sold by auction by Mr. Evans, (1831), p. 8, Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces Relating to the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature, of Asia ... Volume First Containing the Dissertations by Sir William Jones* (London: Nicol, Walter, Sewell, 1792), pp. 225, 211.

106 *Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces*, pp. 225, 211.

107 *Dissertations and Miscellaneous Pieces*, p. 52.

108 *Catalogue of the Late Sir William Jones*, p. 15.

India, or were mentioned furtively, even apologizingly in the new type of 'enlightened' Orientalism around the turn of the century.¹⁰⁹

By mid-nineteenth century, Horace Hayman Wilson, the first occupant of the Boden Chair of Sanskrit in Oxford from its foundation in 1832, spelled out clearly and dispassionately the sins of Catholic Orientalism in his paper presented to the Numismatic Society on the history of Sanskrit scholarship. He contrasted the early European settlers in India, who were merchants and soldiers, and uninterested in knowledge, with learned missionaries who 'did not deem it incumbent upon them to impart any of their discoveries to the European public'.¹¹⁰ This accusation levelled against Catholic missionaries is parallel to another accusation further on in the text about Brahman pundits not willing to teach their arts and sciences. The second sin of the Catholic scholarship was plagiarism. Thus he accused Paulinus for using the work of another missionary 'Hanxleden' whom Wilson defined ethnically and incorrectly as 'Danish', perhaps signalling unconsciously that northern Europeans were somehow better at working on Sanskrit grammars. Moreover, the 'Danish' mission in Tranquebar, entirely staffed by Germans, had a good reputation for their early 'scientific' efforts and Tamil philology. The final, third sin, and a *coup de grace* to Paulinus's work came from the fact that his information was 'tinted by coloring of local origin, and blended with fictions peculiar to the Peninsula of India'.¹¹¹ Not only Paulinus had been guilty of following too closely the 'native' scholarship, a much more 'accurate' work by 'Dr. William Carey' published in 1806 was also 'modeled upon the plan of the native grammars'. '[Carey's] "Grammar" is in truth a compilation of very great merit, although from its adhering so

109 Claire Gallien studied references to missionaries in the published corpus of the major Calcutta Orientalist figures in the eighteenth century, such as Alexander Dow, Nathaniel Brassey Halhead, William Jones, Georg Foster, Charles Wilkins, David Dalrymple, Edward Leigh Kindersley, and Thomas Maurice. She found only seventeen references to missionaries and only one Catholic missionary mentioned by name, Father Marco [della Tomba]. Paper read at the workshop, *Hinduism, avant la lettre*, Paris, CEIAS/EHESS, November 2012.

110 *Proceedings of the Philological Society from 1842-43 and 1843-44*, vol. 1 (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1844), p. 15.

111 *Proceedings*, 16.

closely to native technicalities, it cannot ever be of much advantage to European students'.¹¹²

In fact, all Sanskrit grammars seemed to have been based on 'native grammars', but what Wilson insistently reproached them for is their varying lack of 'general principles' and 'connectivity' and inconvenient classification. When comparing Franz Bopp's comparative grammar, which was advertised by some as the most systematic and hence more distant from the structure of 'native grammars', to his own grammar published in 1841, Wilson enunciated the persistent problem facing the grammarians of Sanskrit. How to combine European philological tools with native grammatical rules? The worst one can attribute to Sanskrit grammar, wrote Wilson, is to merit 'the sentence which was pronounced upon Mr. Colebrooke's *Grammar*', that 'whilst it is of value as an introduction to the study of native grammars, it is insufficient and excessively obscure as a grammar of the language'.¹¹³ In spite of difficulties, Wilson's enlightened optimism in advancement of philology defined the first fifty years of Sanskrit scholarship as the age of 'pioneer' efforts 'rough and incomplete; but the path had been laid open, and it remained for succeeding exertions to smooth, to level, and to embellish it'.¹¹⁴

It was precisely by smoothing, levelling, and embellishing the path to perfect Sanskrit and Orientalist scholarship that the rough, fragmentary, and devalued Catholic knowledge disappeared from the stage, but continued its dusty existence in the archives.

As for the Portuguese empire in India, it started with the utopian imaginary and dreams of surpassing the Greeks and the Romans, which the Jesuit António Viera tried to revive in his *História do Futuro* (History of the Future) in the late seventeenth century, but ended, as empires mostly do, in tragedy.

112 *Proceedings*, 18.

113 *Proceedings*, 33.

114 *Proceedings*, 36.

Catholic Orientalism as Tragedy

Since the beginning of their overseas campaigns in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the Portuguese kings had been compared frequently to Alexander the Great.¹ This analogy was rapidly internalized and we find its echo everywhere from poetry to daily correspondence between anonymous officers of the crown established in India and the Portuguese court. The same imaginary continued to thrive in the following centuries in public rituals mobilized to celebrate Portuguese prowess and achievements. As a persistent cultural reference, it seem to confirm W. J. T. Mitchell's intuition, that just like the fate of the sixteenth century elephants in Europe, the myth of Alexander became 'new totemism' for its capacity to synthesize the relation between Europeans and Indians.² The poetry written in private literary circles, the scripted celebrations of royal marriages, such as the one between Afonso VI and Marie Françoise Élisabeth de Savoye, Comtesse de Nemours, in 1666, were other places where this topos reappeared, braiding together the identity of Portuguese kingship with Alexander the Great.³

The same similes inspired or haunted the eighteenth-century academicians. On 2 August 1731, some years after Conde de Ericeira's

¹ Vincent Barletta, *Death in Babylon: Alexander the Great and Iberian Empire in the Muslim Orient* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

² W. J. T. Mitchell, *What Do Pictures Want?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), chapter 9.

³ See also Ângela Barreto Xavier, 'The Tragedy of Porus: Empire and Politics in 18th century Goa', *Enlightenment in India*, special issue of *Puruṣārtha*, 31 (2013): 13–34.

speech with which we opened this book, José da Cunha Brochado, another member of the Royal Academy of History, imagined an intimate conversation between the king Manuel and the king Alexander. Hesitating about sending Vasco da Gama to India, Manuel asked Alexander for advice. The answer, somewhat predictably, moved the king to 'conquer' India.⁴ Two decades later, Alberto da Fonseca Rebelo published *Historia abbreviada de Alexandre Magno* (A Short History of Alexander the Great), an abbreviated version for wider readership.⁵ And in 1755, the opening season of the newly built Royal Opera Theatre in Lisbon started with a representation of *Alessandro in India* by Pietro Metastasio, 'the most successful mythographical poet of his time'.⁶ This piece had already been staged in Lisbon and continued to be on the programme all through the eighteenth century.

The intense presence of Alexander in the Portuguese collective memory was also shared by the Goans. The myth of Alexander had been disseminated though Islamic world and swept through the Indian subcontinent before the arrival of the Portuguese. With the beginning of the colonial period, the Goans incorporated it into a new set of cultural images.⁷ In his *Promptuario de Definições Indicas*, Leonardo Paes claimed that he was a direct descendant of the mythical king Porus, well known for being 'a giant in height, terrible in strength, valorous in a marvelous way, extremely wise among his people, and very handsome'. Porus had been defeated by Alexander the Great, 'who had asked him to be his vassal'. While attempting to link Indian and Christian history, Paes also fabricated a genealogy of the kings of Goa as descendant from Porus, and he inscribed the local history

4 *Collecção dos Documentos, Estatutos, e Memórias da Academia Real da história Portuguesa ... ordenada pelo conde de Vilarmayor*, 1721–1736, vol. XI.

5 Alberto da Fonseca Rebelo, *Historia abbreviada de Alexandre Magno rei da Macedonia, Conquista da Índia* (Lisbon: Officina de Miguel Rodrigues, 1753).

6 Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 230. Pietro Metastasio, *Alessandro nell'Indie* (Rome: Zempel e De Mey, 1730).

7 For references, see among others, Joel L. Kramer, *Humanism in the Renaissance of Islam: The Cultural Revival During the Buyid Age*, 2nd ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1992) and Zachary David Zuwiyya, *Islamic Legends Concerning Alexander the Great: Taken from Two Medieval Arabic Manuscripts in Madrid* (Albany, NY: Global Academic Publishing Books, 2001).

of Goa and the history of his family into one of the most important European identity narratives.⁸

The same narrative inspired the rival powers that disputed Portuguese sovereignty over Asian territories.⁹ The use of Hellenistic imagination with an Orientalist slant was identified by Nicholas Dew in the 'classical period' of the French monarchy.¹⁰ In 1665, Racine staged at the Théâtre du Palais Royal in Paris his tragedy *Alexandre le Grand* (Alexander the Great).¹¹ Around the same time, Charles le Brun produced his magnificent paintings, which illustrated, fixed, and activated for new audiences, similar images of Alexander's Indian victories. Five years later, Colbert, a patron of the République des Lettres, ordered albums to be made with copper plate prints of these paintings and offered them to French aristocracy and to the ambassadors of the foreign courts. By way of a visual feat, the association between Alexander the Great and Louis XIV spread through European courts.

Asian histories were familiar to the London public as well.¹² For example, in the early eighteenth century the Royal Academy of Music founded in London in 1719, became a stage where the stories of Alexander were frequently rehearsed, together with other operas with Orient-inspired librettos. Georg Friedrich Händel was the most important name associated with these operatic productions.

8 Paes, *Promptuario de Definições*, p. 69.

9 On these connections, and the role of opera, see Jonathan Bellman, ed. *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon, eds. *Music and Orientalism in the British Empire: 1780–1840, Portrayal of the East* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); David Chaillou, *Napoléon et l'Opéra: La politique sur le scène: 1810–1815* (Paris: Fayard, 2004); Jane Fulsher, *Le grand opéra en France: Un art politique, 1820–1870* (Paris: Belin, 1988); Jackie Assayag, *L'Inde fabuleuse, le charme discret de l'exotisme français (XVII–XXème siècles)* (Paris: Editions Kime, 1999).

10 Nicholas Dew, *Orientalism in Louis XIV's France* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), chapter 1.

11 A rival play was the one of Claude Boyer, *Porus, ou la générosité d'Alexander* (Paris: chez Toussaint Quinet, 1648).

12 Andrew Pinnock, 'Play into Opera: Purcell's Indian Queen', *Early Music*, 18, no. 1, *The Baroque Stage II* (February 1990), pp. 3–4 and 6–21. Moreover, during the seventeenth century, one-third of the operas were inspired by the Orient. Francesco Cotticelli and Paologiovanni Maione, eds, *L'Arti della scena e l'Esotismo in Età moderna*. (Naples: Turchini Edizione, 2006).

He wrote two operas on the theme of Alexander, the first called *Alessandro*, composed in 1726, and the second called *Poros, re dell'Indie* (Porus, King of the Indians), based on Pietro Metastasio's libretto. Portuguese claim of being connected with Alexander the Great's genealogy was therefore nothing extraordinary, but part of a larger European template.

Opera performances with the theme of Alexander were also staged in Goa in December of 1751, the fact that Edward Said would have certainly appreciated when he wrote about the connections between opera and empire in his *Culture and Imperialism*.¹³ They were part of the courtly pageants organized by the viceroy Marquis of Távora (1750–4) and his wife. Francisco de Távora, accompanied by Leonor Tomásia de Távora, had been viceroy in India between 1750 and 1754. The year 1750, in which João V died and José I was proclaimed king, was a turning point, frequently considered as the beginning of Enlightenment politics in Portugal.¹⁴ It was at this precise moment that the Marquis of Távora and his wife crossed the seas, with a large retinue in order to recreate a splendid (vice) royal court in Goa. They wanted to reproduce in miniature the court of Lisbon where the nobility already looked up to the Enlightenment models. Goa, however, was not any more a rich and bustling Rome of the Orient, but a decadent town and almost irrelevant against the backdrop of the immense Indian political landscape.¹⁵

The quantity of printed accounts and poetic performances during the rule of the Távoras demonstrates that they strived to evoke a utopian grandeur as an antithesis to the actual fragile political *status* of the Estado da Índia. The sumptuous productions focused on important political events and celebrations: viceregal entries, deaths and anniversaries in the royal family. Among all those events, the ceremonies for the acclamation of the king José I, in December 1751, were the most important and lasted for more than two weeks.

13 Edward H. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993).

14 Manuel Carlos de Brito, *Opera in Portugal in the 18th century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 2.

15 Just before the Távoras, the viceroy Marquis of Alorna also invested in magnificent political rituals. See, for example, Jose Monterroio Mascarenhas, *Epanaphora Indica, na qual se da noticia da viagem, que ... Senhor Marques de Castelonovo fez con o Cargo de Vice-Rey ao Estado da India* (Lisbon: n.p., n.d.).

The street events were dominated by military parades, many of them promoted and created by Francisco Assis de Távora.¹⁶ Described in the sources as realistic, these events also evoked the real battles taking place in those same years in the territories near Goa. Távora may have consciously replayed the topos of Alexander the Great as a way of predicting (or reassuring his audience of) his own victories.¹⁷ In addition, the battle between Alexander and Porus had a special place in Portuguese imperial *imagination*, in Goa in particular. It was a linchpin between colonizers and colonized and their respective political imaginaries.

While these memories were displayed in the street theatre, they were also staged in the palace of the viceroy. Immediately after their arrival in Goa, the viceroy (or his wife) employed a French engineer, Pierre Vincent Vidal, to build a theatre in the palace, crowned with the coat of arms of the Távora family. It was in that theatre that the two operas—*Tragedy of Porus* and *Adolonimo of Sidon*—were rehearsed and performed.

Leonor of Távora, for all what is known, was their main promoter. A sophisticated woman, Leonor was extremely well read and most willing to flaunt her learning. This is an image left in the memoirs of her son-in-law. Other sources depict her as knowledgeable in sciences, speaking at least three languages. She was praised as Minerva, the goddess of Arts, Learning, Reason, and Thought.¹⁸ In *Relação da Viagem* (A Travel Account), a very detailed account of the trip between Lisbon and Goa, Francisco Raymundo de Moraes, judge of the Court of Appeals in Goa, initially a protégé of the viceroy, describes Leonor's literary interests. He writes that she was an avid reader of books on religion, poetry, and history. Ironically—or significantly—Leonor learnt the history of the Portuguese empire by reading Joseph-François

16 The essay of Laurie Nussdorfer's ('The Politics of Space in Early-Modern Rome', *Memoirs of The American Academy in Rome*, 42 (1997): 161–86) enlightens one about the importance of the appropriation of space by street rituals.

17 It was also an effort at forgetting the great losses of the 1730s and the effective decline of the Estado da Índia.

18 Caetano Manuel de Barros, *Novas Aplaudidas* (n.p., 1752) 4 pages. See also José Mascarenhas Pacheco Pereira Coelho de Melo, *Glorias de Lysia nos felicíssimos desposórios de D. Eugenia Mariana, filha dos condes de Távora, com Manuel Telles da Silva, conde de Assumar* (n.p., n.d.).

Lafitau's *Histoire des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau monde* (A History of the Discoveries and the Conquests of the Portuguese in the New World), a French Jesuit's history, instead of reading Portuguese books about their own history.¹⁹ Moreover, if we consider some of the remains from Távora's summer palace library in Lisbon, French cultural influence is visible everywhere, with shelves full of French books, among which are theatre pieces by Molière and Corneille, as well as the Jesuit collection of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. Looking up to French culture was very common among Portuguese aristocracy, all seduced by the style of Louis XV.²⁰ Nevertheless, in Távora's library there was also a collection of the libretti by Pietro Metastasio.

Leonor tried to transfer to the capital of the Estado da Índia those tokens of civility, learning, and culture she enjoyed in Lisbon, where she most certainly held her own *salon*. She acted as a producer for the *Tragedy of Porus* and organized everything from the decorations and clothes to the translation of a French libretto into an abridged Portuguese version. Even for the performance, the Távora had chosen French singers.

Francisco Raymundo de Moraes wrongly attributed the Goan *Tragedy of Porus* to Corneille. It was probably a version of Racine's *Alexandre le Grand* (1665) with new music and chorus composed for the occasion. Unlike a more conceptual version of Pietro Metastasio, with a universal story plot, Racine's version was pragmatic and, predictably, drew a clear connection between Alexander the Great

19 Francisco Raimundo de Moraes Pereira, *Relação da Viagem que do Porto de Lisboa fizeram à Índia os Illustísimos e Excelentíssimos marqueses de Távora* (Lisbon: Officina Manescal da Costa, 1752), pp. 67, 87–8. Joseph-François Lafitau, *Histoire des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le Nouveau monde: Avec des figures en taille-douce*, 2 vols (Paris: Saugrain Père, 1733–4).

20 On the Italian influence on the Portuguese theatre, see the bibliography, José da Costa Miranda, *Teatro italiano, manuscrito (século XVIII): Sobre alguns textos existentes em bibliotecas e arquivos portugueses* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, 1975) and other texts by this author. On Italian opera singers in this period, see Sergio Durante, 'The Opera Singer', in *Opera Production and Resources*, eds Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli vol. 4 of *The History of Italian Opera, Part II—Systems* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 345–417. On this general preference for French aesthetics and culture, see Angela Delaforce, *Art and Patronage in Eighteenth Century Portugal* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

and Louis XIV. Alexander appears in the beginning of the play as a great but greedy conqueror. He then learns his lesson in the agonistic encounters with Indians, then changed his heart and became a clement and magnanimous ruler by the end of the play. With these newly recognized qualities, even his enemies conceded his military and moral superiority.²¹ Porus, the Indian king (conquered, but proud) accepted Alexander as his superior and sovereign, but was allowed to 'govern the universe according to his own laws'.²² The same reasoning was to be applied to the relation between the Portuguese and the Indians.

We know very little about the formal aspects of this performance. There are, unfortunately, no documents about stage design. However, visual testimonies of the event described the performance as a great success, more realistic than the European operas. The sumptuous textile decoration and costumes, and the exotic atmosphere of Goa provided for an authentic atmosphere. No artificial devices were needed!

The opera, played a day after the *Tragedy of Porus*, was otherwise quite familiar to Portuguese audience in Lisbon where it was performed already in 1740 and 1742. Antonio Alexandre de Lima's *Adolonimo of Sidon* was an adaptation of the libretto by Apostolo Zeno entitled, *Alessandro in Sidone* (performed in Vienna in 1721).²³ Zeno's piece was based on Alexander's liberation of Sidon from a horrible tyrant. The Portuguese version differed from the original in at least one important way: it introduced a second major protagonist: Adolonimo! He was a Sidonian noble, in love with Syrene, the daughter of Estrato and the tyrant king of Sidon. After many adventures, Adolonimo was freed by Alexander from Estrato's prison where he was locked. The story ends with Alexander arranging the marriage of Syrene and Adolmino, who is also appointed a new king of Sidon. 'It

21 There were other French versions of the history of Alexander: Claude Boyer, *Porus, ou la generosité d'Alexandre* (1648), or Donneau de Visé, *Alexandre le Grand et Porus, roi de l'Inde*, played in 1666, as a response to the play of Racine.

22 Jean Racine, *Alexandre le Grand*, 2nd edition, epistre au Roi (Paris: Chez Pierre Trabouillet, dans la salle Dauphine, à la Fortune, 1666), Act 5, scene III.

23 Probably based on the libretto published in 1679 under the same name by Aurelio Aureli. It was performed around the same time in Naples. António Alexandre de Lima, *Adolonimo na Sydonia*, in *Theatro comico portuguez* (Lisbon: Off. de Ignacio Rodrigues, 1746).

is known that the nobles, just as the erudites, are the main targets of all disgraces', Adolonimo said, and this statement, when pronounced in the eighteenth-century Goa, was ringing very true in the ears of the impoverished Portuguese nobility.²⁴ It was only with the arrival of Alexander—alias Francisco de Távora—that the true nobility was recognized.²⁵

This second opera was conducted by two Goan members of nobility, the sons of the viscount of Asseca, José Correia de Sá, and Caetano Correia de Sá. Their father, a powerful viscount of Asseca, Diogo Correia de Sá, was also one of the most influential members of the Royal Academy of History. Caetano Correia de Sá had already been captain-general of Mozambique between 1746 and 1750, and accompanied Marquis of Távora in his military campaigns of 1751. His brother José Correia de Sá had a similar career. Both had been educated in the intellectual atmosphere of the Portuguese academies, and were certainly acquainted with poetic contests, with the production of theatre and opera, and other aestheticizing practices.²⁶

Culture and politics—or culture and imperialism—were proudly intertwined in those glorious days of the Távora viceregal court in Goa, and the decades preceding them. The viceroys sent to India belonged to the highest Portuguese aristocracy, the same who were active in the Royal Academy of History, in producing, acting, and promoting new theatre and opera, in patronage of library collections, as well as in imperial and court politics.

As we have already shown in the previous chapters, from the very beginning, viceroys were also involved in the production of knowledge in/about Indian territories that were under the Portuguese rule. However, if their engagement was very clear in the sixteenth century all the way until 1580, during the period of the Iberian Union (until 1640) it was less so. Headed by the Jesuits and the Franciscans, it was

24 Lima, *Adolonimo na Sydonia*, p. 9. See *Colecção de manuscritos originaes acerca do Estado da India*, Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, MS 4180.

25 Lima, *Adolonimo na Sydonia*, p. 78.

26 Francisco Raimundo de Moraes Pereira, *Annal Indico-Lusitano dos sucessos mais memoraveis, e das acçoens maisparticulares do primeiro anno do felicissimo Governo do Illustrissimo, e Excellentissimo Senhor Francisco de Assis de Távora, Marquez de Távora, Conde de S. João, do Conselho de Estado de S. Magestade Fidelíssima, Vice-Rey, e Capitão Geral da Índia...* (Lisbon: off. Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1753), p. 54.

missionary orders who promoted knowledge gathering in the Estado da Índia under the Habsburg Dynasty. Catholic Orientalism acquired increasingly religious shades, a trend which left an indelible mark and defined its future.

During the same period in which religious specialists were the dominant knowledge producers, the Dutch and the British (and later the French) in Asia in general, and in the Indian Ocean in particular, were steadily advancing politically and economically. Even if it is far from true that the Dutch and British production of knowledge was secular, while the knowledge gathered in the context of the Portuguese empire was religious, this is how they ended being perceived: as opposite sets, based on different intellectual routines and practices, the first more 'scientific', the other more 'religious'.

Already starting slowly in the seventeenth century, the loyalty and trustworthiness of religious orders under the Portuguese royal Padroado was increasingly challenged, especially in the eighteenth century by the missionaries of the Propaganda Fide and by the Portuguese crown. Simultaneously, the Catholic Indian elites, already well versed in Portuguese imperial idiom, tried to take over the place previously occupied by Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Augustinians. This also corresponded to a new investment by the Crown and by the Portuguese metropolitan elites in the processes of knowing the history of Portugal and the Portuguese empire, the star project of the Royal Academy of History. Aiming at these pragmatic goals, these efforts contributed to the knowledge of history and ethnography of India, becoming part of the Catholic Orientalism archive.

However, most of the Catholic Orientalist knowledge had been misconstrued and misrepresented in the later periods. This is the main plot woven through the eight chapters of this book: a rather tragic (when not comic) story of these Catholic men—soldiers, nobles, humanists, merchants, adventurers, lawyers, priests, and missionaries—who burst upon the Indian and world scene in the early sixteenth century with a lot of enthusiasm and pluck.

Even the memory of the empire was compromised by various agents, and by avoidable and inexorable actions and events such as, among many others, the dispersal and the sale of the Jesuit archives and the destruction of the House of India and of the Royal Library in the earthquake of 1755.

Before Távora returned to Lisbon to face their own grand finale and before Lisbon faced, what some thought was close to a Judgement Day punishment, Portuguese Orientalist archives were probably the richest in the world. There was so much documentation collected that all that was needed was order and systematization. However, the tools to do just that were being sharpened in France and elsewhere, and even if the Távora and other erudite nobles in the Royal Academy of History were opening their own tool kit to these new enlightened instruments, things worked themselves out differently.

After their returning to Lisbon, and after the opening season of the Portuguese Royal Theatre with Giziello singing the main role in *Alessandro nell'Indie*, the earthquake struck on All Saints Day of 1755.²⁷ A few years later the Távora were back on the stage with a 'libretto', printed and disseminated under the title *Teatro de morte* (A Theatre of Death). Accused of conspiring against the new king, they were executed in 1759. The remains of their belongings, namely their books, were dispersed and sold in auctions, becoming part of other people's lives and stories. About the Távora, the collective memory essentially remembers their 'crime', as well as the essentialized image of conservative nobles who were against the modernization and the Enlightenment values introduced with the iron fist by Marquis of Pombal. Portuguese historical narratives encapsulated the Távora in a pre-modern condition, in a similar way that Catholic Orientalism was considered as 'lesser knowledge'.

Parallel to the destruction of the Távora, the old regime of Catholic Orientalism seems to have run out of steam in Portugal. It persisted for another half a century in Italy and in France, but the threads of that story still need to be properly unravelled.

²⁷ With Farinelli, Giziello was one of the most famous Italian *castrati* of this period. He had sung some of Haendel's operas, in London, and was at the opera of Milan when José I contracted him for the Royal Opera House of Lisbon. Brito, *Opera in Portugal*.

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