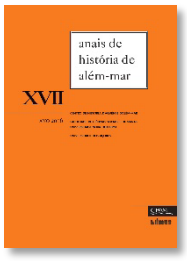

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Chaotic, effeminate and promiscuous "bodies" in John Huyghen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*

Ana L. Méndez-Oliver*

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Resumo

O presente artigo foca-se na forma como o *Itinerario* de Linschoten transmite uma visão tão singular e marcante como estranha — nem portuguesa nem indiana — das condições sociopolíticas do Estado da Índia, a partir das suas impressões curiosas, embora parcialmente ficcionadas. Goa é descrita, simultaneamente, como um lugar favorável aos empreendimentos económicos e como um local onde a mistura de classes e dos grupos de habitantes conduz à decadência dos portugueses. Neste sentido, o artigo procura estudar a imagem de corpo político dos portugueses em Goa apresentada por Linschoten, transformado num todo efeminado, excessivo e caótico que poderia ser facilmente deslocado e conquistado por um outro corpo político europeu mais viril, como o dos holandeses.

Palavras-chave: narrativa de viagem, corpo político, decadência, Portugueses, Goa, viagens holandesas.

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Abstract

This article will discuss how Linschoten's *Itinerario* provides to his audience a singular and distinctive optic as an outsider, neither Portuguese nor Indian, in his interesting yet partially fictionalized impressions of the socio-political conditions of the *Estado da India*. Goa materializes in the text as both a rich place for economic venture, and a site where the promiscuity of classes and bodies of the inhabitants lead to the decadence of the Portuguese. In this way, the article will explore the body politic that the author presents of the Portuguese in Goa as one that has turned into an effeminate, excessive and chaotic body, one that could be easily displaced and conquered by a more virile European political body such as the Dutch.

Keywords: travel narrative, body politic, decadence, Portuguese, Goa, Dutch voyages.

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Ana L. Méndez-Oliver

The first English translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario*, entitled *John Huyghen van Linschoten, his Discourse of Voyages into the East and West Indies*, was published in 1598 by printer and translator John Wolfe.[1] At the time of its publication, the *Itinerario* had already gained popularity in the Netherlands, Germany and England.[2] Moreover, the book's content, the important descriptions of the Portuguese navigation routes to Asia and of the places, their goods and their inhabitants, set the book apart from other travel narratives. The text not only provided key information for the Dutch's first travels to the East, and later to other nations such as England, but it was also regarded as an important contribution to the development and mercantile expansion of the new emerging nation of the Netherlands.

In the prologue "To the Reader," John Wolfe describes the text's narrative as one wherein the reader can perceive a certain distancing between the author and the places and subjects that he depicts in his voyage from Spain and Portugal to Africa and Asia. In Wolfe's narration of a passage from Lucian's *Dialogues*, where Charon and Mercury ask Pluto for a day off from their chores in the Inferno in order to get to see the world from Mount Parnassus and observe men's actions and manners, the translator describes Linschoten's optic as panoramic, superior and quasi-divine, that is, a vision of the East that keeps its distance from the mundane and prevents an intimacy with the places and people present in its account.

Nevertheless, the translator stresses the fact that the book not only fulfills the curiosity of its readers, but also contributes to the political and economic expansion of the Netherlands and other nations. In this manner,

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1 John Huyghen van Linschoten, *John Huyghen van Linschoten, his Discourse of Voyages into the East and West Indies; from the Old English Translation of 1598*, trand. W. Philip, ed. A. Coke Burnell and P. A. Tiele, Hakluyt Society, 1885.

2 The first edition of the *Itinerario* was published in 1596 by printer Cornelis Claesz, and it contained the annotations of Bernardus Paludanus. However, a year earlier, the *Reysgheschrift*, the section of the book containing the navigational material, was published as an important source for the First Voyage of the Dutch to the East. Between 1598 and 1601, a Latin version of the *Itinerario* was included in the prestigious Latin series of *India Orientalis* by the brothers Theodorus and Johann Israel de Bry in Frankfurt. Translations of the text in German and French circulated in the first half of the seventeenth century.

Wolfe presents his translation from Dutch to English both as a translation of knowledge, and as a work for the advantage of the English nation with the future *traslatio* or transferring of Asian goods:

> I doo not doubt, but yet I doo most hartely pray and wish, that this poore Translation may worke in our *English Nation* a further desire and increase of Honour over all *Countreys* of the *World*, and as it hath hitherto mightily advanced the Credite of the Realme by defending the same with our *Wodden Walles*… As also for the further benefite and commodity of this Land by exportation of such thinges wherein we doe abound, and importation of those *Necessities* whereof we stand in Neede: as *Hercules* did, when hee fetched away the *Golden Apples* out of the *Garden* of the *Hesperides* […][3]

After reading the prologue the reader would wonder, what exactly were those precious "golden apples" or the knowledge that Wolfe alludes to as being present in Linschoten's *Itinerario*?

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese Crown delineated their overseas expansion to the East and designated Vasco da Gama in 1498 to undertake the mission of establishing a maritime presence in the Indian Ocean with the creation of forts and settlements. Thereafter, in 1510, Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered the territory of Goa from the Sultanate of Bijapur, Ismail Adil Shah, making Goa the center of the Portuguese presence in Asia, and later, it would become the capital of the *Estado da India*, the seat of the Portuguese Empire in Asia. The Portuguese had the monopoly of the maritime routes to the East, the control of the spice trade to Europe, and the dominium and taxation of other trades in the Indian Ocean for the most part throughout the sixteenth century. Hence, Linschoten's particular position, a Dutchman describing different maritime routes and territories in Africa and Asia either under Portuguese rule or where the Portuguese had established their economic presence, provided to the European reader a unique and insightful portrayal of the socio-political conditions of these territories at the end of the sixteenth century. The following essay will examine how Linschoten's narrative of his travels in the *Itinerario* introduces a more comprehensive and detailed portrayal of the East to the West, and especially of Goa.

Contrary to the texts written by the Portuguese in India during the period, in which the geopolitical representation is exposed in an inevitable binary relation of natives and Europeans, Christians and pagans, Linschoten

[3] J.H.L., op. cit., p. lii.

exposes in his itinerary a particular optic of an outsider[4], a Dutch with his own personal and semi-nationalistic propaganda that observes both the European colonizer and the colonized native under the same scope.[5] In this manner, the author throughout his text aims at a Dutch audience, a nation that was at this moment preparing itself to explore Asian maritime routes, and conjures an exotic, superstitious, chaotic, sensual and exceptionally rich India with its spices, textiles and jewels. Thus, India appears in the text as a territory fertile for European trade.

Moreover, the text and images in the *Itinerario* depict Goa, the center of the Portuguese colonial power in Asia, as an essential feminine locus according to European political precepts, that is, as a fertile, libidinous and unstable space. A classical *topos* that frequently reappeared in art and literature throughout the Middle Ages and early modernity was the portrayal of the land and nation as a feminine locus under the constant threat of foreign invaders.[6] While Linschoten does allude to this *topos* in

[4] Arie Pos describes Linschoten's social position in Goa as kind of in-between position, as a foreigner working for the Archbishop of Goa, yet a comfortable and respected position. Pos also views Linschoten's text as a foreigner writing for foreigners: "he described things that may have seemed perfectly banal and obvious to contemporary Portuguese, but which he found notable and curious, and about which he felt the need to inform his reader" (122).

[5] Various critics have speculated whether Linschoten identified himself with a Dutch nationalistic agenda. Ivo Kamps argues that while Linschoten was Dutch by birth, his heterogeneous background and formation exceed any narrow sense of Dutchness. For Kamps, Linschoten is always functioning as an "other" or "outsider" in his own narrative, occupying a subject position outside of the familiar, binary colonizer/colonized dynamic. On the other hand, Arun Saldanha believes that Linschoten was not looking for the Dutch and the Portuguese to engage in a war, and neither did he have a project of Dutch colonization in mind. Nevertheless, he perceives Linschoten's itinerary and book itself as "the clearest manifestation of Dutch determination to dodge the Iberian ships" (161). This is an aspect that Saldanha conceives as a rebellion of the Northern Provinces against Spain, while he sees the book as a production of knowledge contributing to the new national project. In my opinion, Linschoten did know that he was collecting in his account pivotal navigational and political and economic information that would definitely be of interest for the Dutch. However, I believe it was for his own personal interest that Linschoten framed his text in a nationalistic narrative at the moment of publication, and that the circulation of the text ended up taking its own course.

[6] In *The Eve of Spain*, Patricia E. Grieve analyzes the longstanding equivalency between the women of a nation and the land in art and literature and how the notion of possessing the land's women symbolically represented the appropriation of the land. In addition, Grieve describes how the conquest or invasion of a land was frequently depicted with the *topos* of rape, the usurpation of the feminine locus. As Grieve illustrates: "The image of the female chaste nation abounded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly the vulnerable chaste nation who needed male protection, for she faced the constant threat of rape, invasion by enemies" (37). The rape of a female as the cause either of the fall or birth of a nation was a recurrent *topos* found in foundational myths, such as the story of the rape of Lucretia in Rome or the story of La Cava in Spain as the main cause for the Muslim invasion in the Iberian Peninsula.

his description of Goa, he plays with its conventions while introducing different elements. I will discuss how it is in the author's portrayal of the relationship between the Portuguese men with the women inhabiting the territory and with the Portuguese offspring, that the Portuguese decadence is especially poignant. As I will argue in this essay, Linschoten draws an equivalency between the lush fertility of the land, the transgressive behavior of the men and women residing in Goa, and the political instability of the Portuguese colonial government.

I will also show how the book reveals to a European audience what the Portuguese colonial body politic had become by the end of the sixteenth century: disordered, full of excess, and lacking its virility to the point of being an effeminate body politic. Therefore, Linschoten confirms the rumors circulating in Europe regarding the troubles of the Portuguese dominium in Asia. Furthermore, Linschoten transmits to his audience the idea that the Portuguese colonial government had become a tropicalized body politic that could easily be conquered by a more "virile" and ambitious European nation, such as the Netherlands, with their sight on infiltrating and expanding their economic ventures in the Indian Ocean.

Linschoten's background

Linschoten's particular vision of an outsider may be a product of his own background. The author grew up in a Catholic minority community in the predominantly Protestant town of Enkhuizen. The city of Enkhuizen was an old center for herring trade between the Baltic and the North Sea. During the Eighty Years' War, he left Enkhuizen for Spain, where one of his brothers lived, in order to satisfy his desire for adventure and travel. Linschoten's desire for adventure probably emerged from growing up in an important port city, but also from the travel books that he read in his youth: "Beeing young, [and living idlelye] in my native Countrie, sometimes applying my selfe to the reading of Histories, and straunge adventures, wherein I tooke no small delight, I found my minde so much addicted to see and travaile into strange Countries […][7] During his years in Spain, Linschoten learned Spanish and began his instruction in international trade. He lived several years between Spain and Portugal at a time when the Iberian Empire is forged with the union of the Spanish and

[7] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 1.

Portuguese Crown after the death of Don Enrique of Portugal, followed by the take over of the Portuguese Crown by Phillip I of Portugal.

In 1583, the author sailed off from Lisbon as an accountant to the newly appointed Archbishop of Goa, João Vincente da Fonseca, for his journey to the East, traveling to Mozambique and India, among other places. Through his voyage, the author certainly enjoyed of enough leisure time for reading, making observations of the places and people he encountered, sketching maps, objects and people, and acquainting with the Portuguese and other Northern Europeans.[8] Critics believe that it was in his sojourn in Angra, the capital of the Azores, where Linschoten collected most of his material. The author somehow got access to maritime routes and navigation logs and journals, which were at the time under the vigilant control of the Portuguese. Linschoten's biographer speculates that it was the disorder and discontentment of the Portuguese naval officers which contributed to Linschoten's access to the information: "top secret rutters, or sea journals, of royal [Portuguese] navy and of the *Carreira da India* would not have been available to Jan had not the ill-used Azorean pilots and masters hated the mainland administration of the Spanish conquerors."[9]

The *Itinerario* is composed of the narration that Linschoten gives of his life before his voyage, his account of his journey departing from Lisbon and the routes and places that he saw in Africa and Asia, including stories of the travelers that informed him of the places and cultures that he met, maps, and illustrations, among others. Saldanha comments on the multiplicity of subjects that are present in the text: "without being trained as navigator, mercantilist, natural historian, or artist, Linschoten built on the qualities of all of them. His humanist scholarship was a *multiplicity* of knowledges and voices that could be read and used in many ways." [10] In a similar manner, Linschoten recurred to an array of different sources for the creation of his book, from travel narratives such as Ludovico di Varthema and Duarte Barbosa, several Iberian historians, such as Gaspar da Correia, João de Barros and Juan González de Mendoza, the influence of classical literature and, especially, Luis de Camões' *Os Lusíadas*. He had access to

[8] Arun Saldanha, "The Itineraries of Geography: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* and Dutch Expeditions to the Indian Ocean, 1594-1602", *Annals of the Association American Geographers*, Vol. 101, Nº1 (2011), p. 153.

[9] Charles Mcknew Parr, *Jan Huygen van Linschoten: The Dutch Marco Polo*, New York, Crowell, 1962. p. 165.

[10] A. Saldanha, art. cit., p. 150.

the *noteiros* or navigation data written by Portuguese sailors, and maps and information of other outposts in Asia. He also gathered the testimonies of other European travelers of the places he had not visited himself.

Even though Linschoten's journey was propelled by his thirst for adventure for traveling to far away lands and probably his personal economic interest, his travel accounts did satisfy the Dutch curiosity and economic appetite. Linschoten's journey took place at a time when Dutch maritime explorations to the East were at their early planning stages. As critics and historians of the period have pointed out, the *Itinerario*'s detailed descriptions of the maritime routes to the East did contribute in a significant way to the expansions and conquest agenda of the Dutch, English and French in the Asia continent. As Ivo Kamps indicates, one of the ways that the text contributed to the maritime expansion of the Netherlands was by drawing the attention of the Dutch to the isle of Java: "he drew his countrymen's attention to the Indonesia isle of Java, which eventually became a crucial part of an expansive Dutch colonial Empire, he is credited as one of the cause of the rapid rise of Dutch power in the Indies."[11]

Socio-political context of the Portuguese Empire in Asia

Early modernity is known as a period where various European nation-states were emerging and designing their national projects, however, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were also an effervescent time for the creation and transformation of empires throughout the world. Therefore, these empires were under constant interaction and competition with each other. Some of the empires that were present at the time in the socio-political context of South Asia were the Mongol, the Ottoman, the Portuguese and Spanish under the Habsburg dynasty. Throughout the seventeenth century, the Dutch, the English, the Germans, and the French began to expand their political and economic dominium in the area. While these empires were rival and fierce competitors, they were also emulating each other's economic and political structures, practices and institutions.[12]

[11] Ivo Kamps, "Colonizing the Colonizer: A Dutchman in *Asia Portuguesa*", in Ivo de Kamps *Travel Knowledge: European 'Discoveries' in the Early Modern Period*, New York, Palgrave, 2001, p. 160.

[12] Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, Nº 5 (2009), p. 1.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Portugal extended its empire to the East, creating a maritime economic monopoly based on the trade of spices and other goods. Before the fifteenth century, trade between Europe and the East took place through the Mediterranean, crossing the Middle East, and finally reaching India. Nevertheless, with the deterioration of the *Pax Mongolica*, the trade route collapsed by the second half of the fifteenth century. In this manner, the Portuguese maritime routes through the Cape of Good Hope provided a necessary alternative for conducting trade across Eurasia. In *The Indian Ocean*, historian M.N. Pearson indicates that, to a certain extent, the Portuguese introduced European politics, which he describes as a state controlled violence, into the Indian Ocean in the sixteenth century.[13]

Almost a century earlier than the English translation of Linschoten's *Itinerario*, in 1502, the Portuguese Crown designated to Vasco da Gama the mission to settle forts and to establish a permanent maritime presence in the Indian Ocean. The primary objective of the Portuguese in India was the political and economic expansion of its empire. As Pearson explains: "The general object was two-fold: try and monopolize the supply of spices in Europe, and to control and tax other Asian trade. Right from the start the method was force."[14] In 1530, the Portuguese had already settled in Malabar, and Goa becomes the Portuguese capital in India. All through the sixteenth century, Portugal established around fifty forts and fortified areas, and a total of a hundred ships in the Indian Ocean.[15] However, the Portuguese economic monopoly between Europe and Asia declined in the second half of the sixteenth century with the re-emergence of the trading routes between Asia and the Mediterranean. Therefore, Portuguese demand for European export declined, in this way debilitating their

[13] M. N. Pearson, *The Indian Ocean*, London; New York, Routledge, 2008, p. 123.

[14] M. N. Pearson, *The Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1987, p. 30.

[15] In *The Indian Ocean*, Pearson indicates that the Portuguese presence in Asia during the sixteenth century was fundamentally maritime and littoral, since they were unable to conquer large areas of land. While in the first half of the sixteenth century the Portuguese tried to implement a tight control of all trades in the region, by the second half of the century, they aimed to focus more on the taxation of Asian trade (121). Pearson underlines that the Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean hardly changed its trade during the sixteenth century, for there was a continuity of the preexisting production areas, goods, and trading posts (136-7). Moreover, it was not until the end of the seventeenth century, and throughout the eighteenth century, that the Portuguese presence did alter the political and economic landscape of the region: "the estado now moved from being a maritime entity to a land based one, for northern provinces of Bassein… and Daman became flourishing agriculture-based areas where many Portuguese did well…" (137).

economic monopoly in the region; a monopoly that finally succumbs later on with the Dutch maritime expansion in Asia during the seventeenth century.[16]

At the end of the sixteenth century, when Linschoten arrived at Goa, the Portuguese dominium was already deteriorated. There were various factors that contributed to its decline. One of the main factors was the Portuguese Crown's precarious economic situation, an element that contributed to an effective development of a capitalist imperial monarchy. As Pearson illustrates: "Portugal's still-born bourgeoisie also suffered from lack of capital, and unequal competition from mercantile-minded king and nobility. Portugal's failure to profit from and build on her sixteenth century success stemmed in the large part from the inability of her merchants to evolve into mercantile capitalists."[17] The king also relied mainly on foreign capital and trade. On the one hand, the fact that the *Estado da India* did not have a full economic support from the central government in Portugal lead to an increasing practice of incurring in loans with local merchants for the acquisition of pepper in exchange for *cartazes* or permits for private business ventures. On the other hand, the Portuguese had to compete with different local trading groups and illegal trafficking of spices. All these factors, plus the taxing challenge of maintaining a maritime monopoly in Asia without an appropriate military capacity, given their low numbers and the poorly trained soldiers, contributed to the deterioration of the Portuguese economic dominium in Asia.

Linschoten's depiction of Goa

Throughout the Middle Ages, the Orient and/or East emerges in the medieval cultural imaginary, in literature, history and art, as an exotic, rich, and lustful place. While the East was a place of wonder and a site to be explored and conquered, it was also in the medieval imaginary a terrifying place at the edges of the Christian world. Monsters, hybrids, any man/animal with a deformity, hypertrophy or a missing limb were located at the edges of Christianity, the Middle East or Asia; those terrifying lands inhabited by the frightening people of the Gog and Magog. With the Age

[16] The First Voyage of the Dutch to the East took place in 1595, and later, in 1602, the (VOC) Dutch East Indian Company was created. While the Portuguese resisted the intrusion of the Dutch, they gradually lost several post and ports to them throughout the seventeenth century: Melaka in 1641, Colombo and all of Sri Lanka in 1658, and all of the ports in Malabar in 1660's, among others.

[17] M. N. Pearson, op. cit., p. 20.

of Discovery, travels to the East increased, likewise the production of books and images of the East proliferated in Europe. A new production of knowledge gathered by travelers that ventured to the East and wrote of its places, products and inhabitants that they observed, flourished and circulated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe.

Nonetheless, the new accounts and images of the East were a mixed of empirical knowledge and the re-articulation some of the old *topoi* or stereotyped notions and images of the East. As Sanjay Subrahmanyam explains, the idea of "India" materializes in different cultural imaginaries through a series of stereotyped images. Moreover, these images did not exemplify the diverse geographical and cultural boundaries that were in a constant process of change and interaction; processes that involved acculturation, imperial, travel and commercial projects. Therefore, the diverse notions of what was conceived as India, were for the most part foreign ideas, used both in Europe as well as in Asia, and projected onto the actual land and its inhabitants.[18] While Linschoten was an ocular witness residing in Goa at the end of the sixteenth century, his description of India and Goa is a combination of facts and fictions. His account of the Goa is full of hyperboles in order captivate the attention of the Dutch audience.

In the *Itinerary*, the author begins his impression of Goa with a brief history of the territory. The narrative turns into a vertiginous description of kingdoms, names of various important kings or leaders, and different ethnics groups, among them Arabs, Turks, and Persians, that live in the neighboring territories. Nevertheless, the author mentions that in order to write about Goa and of the places where the Portuguese reside, he must begin his account with a history of the region. In this manner, Linschoten creates some type of notion of origin or beginning to his narrative of what he conceived as the true history of India: "I thought it convenient to begin with the same somewhat further off, then at the present time, the better to understand the originall [of the people, together with the principall causes of] the divisions of the same countries and nations, as also their Kings names and surnames."[19] Linschoten summarizes three hundred years of Indian history. Most of the places mentioned are accompanied by a description of which goods or products come from those locations. These products were the ones already circulating in Europe through the

[18] Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, *Explorations in Connected Histories: From the Tagus to the Ganges*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 9.

[19] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 165.

Portuguese exportations. Hence, the Indian sites become visible to the European reader through their goods and products. In a similar manner, he sketches in his narrative a geographic map of India's different locations by naming those places occupied by the Portuguese, and mentioning the people that ruled the locations before the Portuguese conquered the territories.

In the next chapter, he then proceeds to situate Goa in its geopolitical relation to the rest of Asia: Goa as the capital of the Portuguese Empire in Asia and the center or base for all maritime traffic in the region. Goa materializes in the text through a series of contrasts: the sea and river that surrounds it, the green hills and the dry places, the cohabitation of Jews, Muslims, pagans, Armenians, Brahmins, Catholics, and the presence of the Inquisition. The capital is portrayed as an architectonic and institutional copy of Lisbon. The author describes the architecture of the city with its houses, churches and convents as replicas of the Portuguese architecture. Nevertheless, in these descriptions, the tropical element always prevails with the references made of its numerous gardens, flowers, and sumptuous fruits. Even the dessert and arid parts of Goa, which could be perceived as a deficiency of the site, can be supplied with the infinite foreign products that traffic through the capital or by the possibility of some metals that still remain undiscovered in those barren parts of the location.

Nonetheless, it is in the images that Linschoten provides of the society of Goa where the author illustrates the decadence of the Empire. For Linschoten, the intermingling of the social classes in the capital transgressed all social and political decorum. The boundaries between the elite classes and the soldiers, as well as the difference between Portuguese, *Castiços* and *Mestiços* were not well delineated. Linschoten also perceived Goa's tropical climate as one libidinous in its essence that incited the promiscuity of the bodies of its inhabitants: bodies that did not remain in their appropriate space, and that were exchanged as if they were profitable goods. The tropical element and the Portuguese decadence made Goa's society one of excess and laxity, where boundaries of decorum and impudence, reason and chaos were blurred. In a way, Portuguese society in Goa and the *Estado da India* had become a parody of the metropolis and what was expected of an empire.

In his description of the Portuguese circulating through the streets of Goa, the author narrates how not only these walked in a grandiose and pompous manner, but he notes what he conceives as a lack of distance or boundary between the social classes:

> The Portingals are commonly served with great gravitie, without any difference betweene the Gentleman and the common Citizen, [townesman] or soldier, and in their going, curtesies, and conversations, common in all thinges: when they go in the streetes they steppe very [softly and] slowly forwards, with a great pride and vaineglorious maiestie, with a slave that carrieth a great hat or vaile over their heads, to keepe the sunne and raine from them.[20]

Linschoten does mention that there was a visible boundary between Portuguese and slaves. However, according to the author, the precepts of a stratified society according to class and background as it was the norm in Europe, were not enforced in Goa. The Portuguese were intermingle as one social corpus, all of them interacting and acting in the same pompous manner; something that disturbed the author.

While Linschoten portrayal of the Portuguese society in Goa was one that lacked differentiation or distancing between the classes, historians have argued the contrary. According to Pearson, the masculine society in Goa was very stratified, and was divided according to three criteria that often overlapped: blood purity, status and marital status (94). The first criterion was the Iberian classification, beginning with those Portuguese born in the Peninsula (*Reinoes*), followed by the Portuguese descendants born in India (*Castiços* or *Indiaticos*), and those born of a Portuguese father and an Indian mother or a Portuguese father and an African mother (*Mestiços* and *Mulattoes*). In addition to these groups, there were the Christian natives. At times, the Portuguese elite in Goa regarded the *Castiços* and *Mestiços* as dubious and inferiors to the *Reinoes*.

The second criterion was the division of the Portuguese population according to the three estates: nobility, clergy and peasantry. This division would become more visible with the commemoration of some sort of festivity, such as the alliance with a new king: "On the feast days in Goa anyone who could claim any sort of 'nobility', 300 or even 400 of them, rode to church on horseback."[21] The third criterion was the division between the Portuguese and the *Castiços* and *Mestiços* that were married, who would establish themselves in India, and the single Portuguese men, usually the soldiers. Those inhabitants that reside outside of these categories were Christian natives, and pagan Indians, such as Hindus and slaves.[22]

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[20] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 193.

[21] M. N. Pearson, op. cit., p. 95.

[22] M. N. Pearson, op. cit., pp. 95-96.

The passages in which the author discussed the female presence in Goa were those where the decadence and tropicalization of Portuguese society were emphasized the most. The chapter that describes the customs and behavior of the Portuguese women, *Mestiças*, and Christian Indians is somewhat perplexing and paradoxical. Linschoten begins the passage by explaining how Portuguese women barely left their households, only venturing out to go to church or to an acquaintance's home. The author stresses the fact that even in those rare outings the women would rarely be seen in public, since they would move around in *pallamkins* or litter vehicles with their faces covered and always surrounded by their servants. This custom is portrayed in the first image, where a Portuguese woman is transported with her daughters. What is striking in the image is the fact that the woman's face is hardly seen by the spectator. The woman is distanced from the public gaze not only by the fact that she is encapsulated in her *pallamkin*, but also she is surrounded by a series of servants, slaves, and the attentive and jealous gaze of a Portuguese man.

What is a paradox in the passage is the contrast between what the author perceived as the women's public and their domestic decorum. The author mentions the extreme jealousy of Portuguese men with their women: "The men are very iealous of their wives, for they will never bring any man into their houses, how speciall a friend [soever]… If any man commeth to the doore to aske for the master [of the house], presently the wives and their daughters run to hide them, and so leave the man to answer him […]."[23] Linschoten even comments on the common practice of the Portuguese men killing wives suspected of adultery. Even their clothing contributes to the portrait of decadence: the text provides a detailed description of the attire worn by the women in their households, the *baju*. The *baju*'s delicate and see through material exemplifies for the author the women's intrinsic lustful nature: "Within the house they goe bare headed with a wastcoate called Baju, that from their shoulders covereth [their] navels, and is so fine that you may see al their body through it, and downewardes they have nothing but a painted cloth wrapped three or four times about [their] bodies."[24] The laxity of the women's domestic attire illustrates what the author depicted as the women's libidinous and adulterous nature, since according to him, the domestic sphere is an adulterous one where women indulged in the common practice of having soldiers as lovers.[25]

Linschoten establishes a direct correlation between women's sexuality and the Portuguese descendants. For the author, the Portuguese sexual incontinence in the tropics, conjoined with the native women's lascivious

[23] J.H.L., op. cit., pp. 208-209.

[24] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 206.

[25] In the same passage, Linschoten expresses how it was a practice among married Portuguese women and *Mestiças* to have one or two soldiers as lovers. Their servants served as the go-between in order to plan their mistresses' rendezvous. Moreover, the author describes how the women even drug and/or get their jealous husbands drunk, in order to freely engage in their lewd activities:

> They haue likewise an hearbe called *Deutroa*, which beareth a seed, whereof brusing out the sap, they put it into a cup or other vessell, and giue it to their husbands, eyther in meate or drinke, and presently therewith, the man is as though hee were halfe out of his wits, and without feeling, or els drunke, doing nothing but laugh, and sometime it taketh him sleeping, whereby he lieth like a dead man, so that in his presence they may doe what they will, and take their pleasure with their friends, and the husband neuer know of it. In which sort he continueth foure and twentie houres long, but if they wash his feete with colde water hee presently reuiueth, and knoweth nothing thereof, but thinketh he had slept. (210)

behavior, results in the miscegenation and degeneration of the Portuguese.[26] What stands out in the text's discussion of *Castiços* and *Mestiços*, is that, even though for the author both groups are biologically different, in his eyes, they are both non-Portuguese or non-European because of the "yellowish color."[27] According to Linschoten, third generation *Castiços* and *Mestizos* looked like the native Indians: "so that the posteritie of the Portingales, both men and women being in the third degree, doe seeme to be naturall Indians, both in colour and fashion."[28] In this way, both the descendants of the Portuguese, and the mixed offspring between Portuguese and natives are comparable in the text, for a gradual merging and degradation of the European lineage with the tropical and native elements occurs.[29]

[26] Ann Laura Stoler's *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power* mentions that the topic of the sexuality of the Europeans in the tropics was a recurrent topic in colonial literature. Nevertheless, Stoler explains that the subject of sex in the colonies was frequently invoked in order to promote racist stereotypes of European society. Moreover, sexual contact with native women lead to racial degeneracy which was thought to have social and political consequences: "Through sexual contact with native women, European men 'contracted' diseases as well as debased sentiments, immoral proclivities and extreme susceptibility to uncivilized states" (68). While at the end of the sixteenth century there was not a precise notion or conception of race in Europe, Linschoten does describe to his Northern European readers the degeneracy of the Portuguese lineage, descendants and/or generation in both *Castiços* and *Mestiços* since it seems that all Portuguese have degenerated in the tropics.

[27] In "Whiteness in Golden Goa: Linschoten on Phenotype", Arun Saldanha argues that emergence of white identities during early modernity occurred with the encounters between different groups or people on the coasts of the Indian and Atlantic Oceans. For Saldanha, every mercantile or intervention carried out by Europeans in the East engendered some sort of coding of human phenotype. Saldanha analyses Linschoten's depiction of the inhabitants of Goa not as a distortion of the reality, "but as witnesses of embodied encounter, of how real phenotypical differences were concretely produced and negotiated through practices. This approach presumes a basically realist assumption that there exist physical differences between populations that are noticed, stereotyped, and elaborated through interaction" (343).

[28] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 184.

[29] Different accounts of the period describe Goa's society as an Indian city with a governing Portuguese population. Even what was conceived as Portuguese, was racially more Indian than European (Pearson 101). Both government and religious authorities, such as Albuquerque and Francis Xavier, tried to reduce the practice of concubinage by encouraging the Portuguese to marry their native concubines. As Pearson explains:

> In the absence of the Portuguese woman in Goa conscupiscence on grand scale took place, especially as far more local woman were baptized, for this seems to have lessened clerical hostility to their being used as concubines. The hope of course, was that marriage would occur sooner or later, though it is hard to see how this could happen in the many cases of Portuguese with whole harems of concubines. (102)

Nonetheless, during the seventeenth century, the English and the Dutch adopted stricter policies by prohibiting interracial marriages with the natives.

However, the passage and images in the *Itinerario* that best illustrate the *Estado da India* as a locus of economic trade, an amalgam of social classes, and chaos, portrayed the activities in the town's market. Linschoten depicted the market as a place where both products and bodies are interchangeable through the commerce of slaves and the slaves' crafts. The slaves' bodies and their pleasure are turned into goods to be sold in the market under the guise of the false demands for the crafts. In this manner, the slaves' bodies become their vehicle for supporting themselves. The women slaves must adorn their bodies and turn themselves into attractive commodities. As the author emphasizes, the fact that pearls, gold, chains, among other commodities, as well as slaves are sold in the market space exemplified the Portuguese economic market as one where everything is a commodity: "likewise they have running about them, many sorts of [captives and] slaves, both men and women, young and old, which are daylie sould there, as beasts are sould with us, where everie one may chuse which liketh him best, everie one at a certaine price."[30]

Also, the decadent lifestyle of the Portuguese in the tropics is exposed in the inheritance auctions in the market, where numerous auctions take place during the year given the multiple fatalities associated with their chaotic life, venereal diseases and the tropical diseases of the region: "everie yeare there is a great quantitie of ware sold [within the Citie], for that there die many [men] within the Towne, by meanes of their disordered living, together with the hotenes of the country: the like assemblie is holden in all places of India, where the Portingales inhabite" (185). The image of the market in Goa illustrates the activity in market at the center of the city: the auctions, the slave trade and the rapport of the social classes. (figure 2) Interestingly, this is one of the few images that do not include any clouds. Many of the portraits of India in the *Itinerario* exhibit a contrast between rays from the sun and shadows created by clouds or by umbrellas, making it difficult to observe some of the aspects depicted in the image. In most of the images, the clouds hover over the people portrayed in the scenes. (figure 3) Therefore, the lack of clouds and shadows in the market scene presents all of the inhabitants of Goa on a same level; the tropical sun manifests and/or evidences in the public sphere of the market the social and economic condition in Goa. In addition, it is interesting the spatial division of the scene in the market: the commercial space, a masculine space, resides in the center of the image; the women, on the right side, the

[30] J.H.L., op. cit., p. 185.


O Leilaõ que se faz cada dia pela menhã na Rua direita na Cidade de Goa Feito Polo natural por Ioan de Linschoten framengo.
Porteiro Wreeper
Pinques Arbeiders
Ama Voeffer
Sande. Peert yder.
Goënsi se quanta foro viden area pandat
Plana frequens tectis splendida dives opum?
Vt mercem hic properet gemmis auroque nitentem
Ille abducta procul vendere mancipia?
Congesta huc videas Ganges quę portat c
Insulę et Eoo maxime in Occano.


A. Misericordia.
Sande. Peert yder.
Joannes à Doetechum fecit.
huc videas Ganges quę portat et Indus
lę et Eoo maxime in Occano.
Hoogerh.
Fori Goensis tabernarum mercium et mer-
catorum illud frequentantium aperta ex-
plicatio. per Linschoten.
Claere opdoeninge vande merckt van Goa
met haer winckelen waren en dagelicksse
Coopluyden. door I.H.V. Linschoten.
44 en 45

Portuguese and *Mestiças,* and on the left side, the Indian women, are on each side of the central image. In a way, the market place, the center of the city, could be seen as one framed or delimited by the feminine presence.

Throughout the chapters describing the socio-political situation of the Portuguese territories in Asia we see how the description of the inhabitants, where the isolation and the disordered living in the region in conjunction with the gradual tropicalization of that which is considered European, is narrated side by side with the author's perception of the Portuguese Imperial decline. The Portuguese and *Mestiço* inhabitants barely work, since most of the work was done by their helpers or slaves. At the same time, Linschoten describes the lack of order and structure in the colonial government and commerce, as well as the increasing losses of maritime posts, and the difficulties in keeping the ones they still had.[31] Thus, the texts point to the idea that Goa's exotic nature, its sumptuous odors, colors, foods and vegetation in accordance with the heat and sensuality of the natives, contaminate the body politic of the *Estado da India*.

Among the different political theories of the metaphor of power as a body, like the one discussed by Francisco de Vitoria in his political writings of the first half of the sixteenth century, reveal that all of the members of the body in a society must be subordinated to the rule of one head, either the head of the State, the Church or the family in order to avoid chaos or the monstrosity of the body politic.[32] Vitoria explains how no community can exist without a head or central power ruling over them, for without the presence of that power, the community or society will fall into chaos: "If all the members of a society were equal and subjected to no higher power, each men would pull in his own direction as opinion or whim directed,

[31] The author gives his impression of the chaotic and inefficient Portuguese government in Goa, this was as the result of the self-serving Viceroys, whose greed for personal gain translated into failed governance:

> For they say, and it is found to be most true, that the first yeare of the Viceroyes time, hes hath enough to doe to repaire and furnish his house, and to know the manners and customes of the countries, without any further troubling [of himselfe]. The seconde yeare to gather treasure, and to looke unto his particular profits, for the which cause he came to India. The third and last yeare to prepare himselfe and set al things in order, that he be not overtaken or surprised by the new Viceroy when he commeth, but that he may returne to Portingall with the goods which he scraped together. The same is to bee understoode of all the Captaines in the Fortes, and of all [other] officers in India… the inhabitants and married Portingales doe continually speake, but they are farre from the Kings hearing, who knoweth not, but that his Officers doe him good service, wherby there is small remedie or amendement to be hoped for. (222)

[32] Francisco de Vitoria, "On Civil Power", *Political Writings*, eds. Anthony Pagden e Jeremy Lawrence, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1991.

and the commonwealth would necessarily be torn apart."[33] The head of the State or the community must be a masculine head, and, in theory, a rational one. However, what happens when the head of the State is in a process of decadence and a thousand miles away? What occurs when the colonial government has become a parody or copy of the same body politic? And what happens if this colonial government has been contaminated by the tropics, intermingled with the native cultures, and blurred most of the boundaries and hierarchies that must be guarded in the body politic? As Linschoten exposes in the *Itinerario*, all of these factors contribute to the creation of an altered, irrational, chaotic body politic; a body politic diseased, effeminate and/or feminized. The government turns into an upside down body politic, almost ready for its inevitable fall.

As we have seen, the *Itinerario* presents to its readers a particular vision of the socio-political context of Goa at the end of the sixteenth century. Linschoten exposed a different optic of the Portuguese Empire in India; an outsider that witnessed the decay of the empire. Returning to the idea

[33] F. de Vitoria, op. cit., Question 1, Articulo 2.

of the panoramic view of Charon and Mercury in Mount Parnassus that Wolfe invoked in his prologue to the translation, Linschoten described Goa's society with his omnipresence and/or panoramic vision. He transmitted to the reader the impression that he was narrating the true reality of Goa at the end of the sixteenth century. Linschoten provided to his European audience a view of both the life in the public domain of the capital as well as the customs and events that transpired in the domestic domain. In his book, the author wrote a travel narrative with its share of fiction, where some aspects were based on facts and on his observation, while in others he recurred to the frequent use of hyperbole, *topoi*, and stereotypes. Linschoten narrated from the most general events and perceptions of Goa and its inhabitants to the detailed accounts of domestic secrets that not even the Portuguese husbands knew. Hence, in order to render an interesting account of his travel, while anticipating what would attract the attention of the Netherlands as well as other nations, he supposedly made visible through his text and images aspects that the Portuguese themselves did not perceive.

The panoramic vision of the Portuguese debilitated maritime dominium in India, as a disordered, effeminate, and tropicalized body politic reached the eyes and head of other nations and/ or more European and virile body politics, like those of the English and the Dutch; body politics that will displace the Portuguese Empire throughout the seventeenth century. The routes and navigational information of the *Itinerario*, the *Reys-gheschrift*, was published a year earlier than the publication of the book for Dutch navigational purposes. Copies of the *Reys-gheschrift* were on board of the Dutch's First Voyage to the East in 1595. The First Voyage organized by the Dutch aimed to dodge the Portuguese fleet, and looked to establish their own navigational routes and trade posts. In the end, Linschoten's book, the elusive "golden apples," helped the Dutch to surpass the Portuguese mercantile empire during the seventeenth century with the creation of the (VOC) Dutch East India Company.

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