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Traveling experiences vs. intertextuality:
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Rui Manuel Loureiro*

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Resumo

Entre 1699 e 1700, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri publicou uma curiosíssima obra, o *Giro del Mondo*, descrevendo a sua viagem de cinco anos em redor do mundo. O autor viajara por mera curiosidade, e a viagem fora financiada pelo próprio. Mas os leitores interrogam-se: teria Gemelli Careri realizado esta viagem ou ter-se-ia limitado a compilar a sua obra a partir de outros livros, construindo uma narrativa alegadamente auto-biográfica? A secção dedicada às Filipinas mostra Gemelli Careri como um viajante experimentado e um habilidoso colecionador de relatos, assim como apresenta um relato coerente e bem informado sobre a vida e a natureza naquele arquipélago em finais do século XVII, e revela métodos de composição que recorrem a amplas práticas de intertextualidade.

Palavras-chave: escrita de viagem, Filipinas, Gemelli Careri, intertextualidade, século XVII.

Abstract

Between 1699 and 1700, Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri published a curious work, the *Giro del Mondo*, which described his five-year pilgrimage around the world. The author traveled out of sheer curiosity, and the journey was financed by him. Yet the readers have wondered: did Gemelli Careri actually accomplish this journey, or did he just compile this work from other books, weaving an allegedly autobiographical narrative? The part dedicated to the Philippines reveals Gemelli Careri as an experienced traveler and a resourceful collector of accounts, and provides a well-informed and coherent report about life and nature in this archipelago at the close of the seventeenth century, together with glimpses at the author's methods of composition, based on intense intertextual practices.

Keywords: travel writing, Philippines, Gemelli Careri, intertextuality, seventeenth century.

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**Traveling experiences vs. intertextuality:
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The extensive group of islands that later came to be known as the *Filipinas* was first visited by Portuguese navigators in the early decades of the sixteenth century whilst, after settling in Malacca in 1511, they were exploring the maritime lanes that extended eastwards, along the Indonesian archipelago. However, they found neither large port-cities nor rare and valuable commodities that justified the establishment of fortresses or factories in the area they styled as *Ilhas dos Luções*. Consequentially, Portuguese sixteenth century chroniclers, though aware of its existence, paid scant attention to the Philippines.¹ The voyage of circumnavigation lead by Fernão de Magalhães (or Magellan) in 1519–1521 brought the islands to the attention of the Spanish Crown, that eventually perceived the *Islas de San Lazaro* as a strategic platform to access Asia's mainland and its coveted luxury trades. During the second half of the sixteenth century the Philippines became the object of wide attention, in the wake of the Spanish occupation and settlement in the archipelago, and the *galeón de Manila* rivalled with the Portuguese *carreira da Índia* in the transfer across continents of men, merchandise, knowledge and beliefs.² In the course of the seventeenth century, sundry reports, accounts and treatises were published in Spanish language, either in Spain, Mexico or the Philippines, dealing with the history, geography and nature of the archipelago. Some of those were translated into other European languages.³ But perhaps no account about the Philippines met with such a wide acclaim and circulation, throughout Europe, as the one included in the *Giro del Mondo* written by the Italian traveller Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri and first published in Naples in 1699–1700.

1 For the first Portuguese contacts and impressions, see José Manuel GARCIA, *As Filipinas na historiografia portuguesa do século XVI*, Lisboa, Centro Português de Estudos do Sudeste Asiático, 2003.

2 See the classic account of William L. SCHURTZ, *El Galeón de Manila*, Leoncio Cabrera (ed.), Madrid, Ediciones de Cultura Hispanica, 1992.

3 A review of relevant Spanish sources will be found in Ana María PRIETO LUCENA, *El contacto hispano-indígena en Filipinas según la historiografía de los siglos XVI y XVII*, Córdoba, Universidad de Córdoba, 1993. See also Donald F. LACH, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. I (“The Century of Discovery”), 2 books, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1994, bk. 2, pp. 623–50.

Gemelli Careri and his *Giro del Mondo*

Between September 1699 and February 1700, in the closing years of the seventeenth century, within the relatively short span of five months, the Italian printer Giuseppe Roselli, based in Naples, published a work in six compact *octavo* volumes entitled *Giro del Mondo* (or *Journey Around the World*),⁴ which totalled more than 2500 pages of text and several dozen illustrations.⁵ From a sheer typographical point of view, this was an outstanding achievement in itself, only explained by the fact that Roselli must have been an experienced professional.⁶ The author of the *Giro del Mondo* was Giovanni Francesco Gemmelli Careri, an Italian lawyer in his late forties, who had just completed a voyage around the world, having disembarked in the port of Naples in early December 1698.

In order to start the printing process of his work less than two months later, since the request for permission to publish the first volume is dated January 1699, it seems quite logical that Gemelli Careri arrived in Naples with an organized collection of his writings, nearly ready for publishing. This fact in itself is significant, for it means that the Neapolitan lawyer, before his return to Italy, had a clear notion of what he wanted to do with the extremely long and detailed manuscript he produced during his world-wide travels.⁷ Perhaps it is important to stress that Gemelli Careri was not without experience in printing matters. In fact, years before, after travelling around Europe for nearly two years, he had published in the presses of Giacomo Raillard, also in Naples, a volume of letters describing his journeys, addressed to Amato Danio, a fellow lawyer who was a reputed bibliophile and classicist. The book was apparently printed in 1693, as *Viaggio per Europa* (or *Journey across Europe*), but met only with a modest circulation. Only years later, afte

4 All translations from the *Giro del Mondo* or other sources into English are my own.

5 In all references to the *Giro del Mondo*, I use the first Naples edition, now widely available on-line: Giovanni Francesco Gemmelli CARERI, *Giro del Mondo*, 6 vols., Naples, Giuseppe Roselli, 1699–1700.

6 For an assessment of Roselli's typographical productions, see Harold Samuel STONE, *Vico's Cultural History: The Production and Transmission of Ideas in Naples, 1685–1750*, Leiden, Brill, 1997.

7 It is not impossible that before setting out on his voyage around the world Gemelli Careri read the second edition of the Spanish globe-trotter Pedro CUBERO SEBASTIAN's *Peregrinación del mundo*, published in Naples in 1582 by Carlos Porsile, from which he could have taken the idea of writing his own account. On this suggestion, see Encarnación SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA, "Una edición castellana en la Nápoles de Carlos II: la *Peregrinación del mundo* de Pedro Cubero Sebastián," *The Korean Journal of Hispanic Studies*, Vol. 3, 2010, pp. 211–35; on Pedro Cubero, a rather interesting but neglected travel-writer, see Joaquín María CÓRDOBA, "Pasajes de una vuelta al mundo. El Oriente de Pedro Cubero Sebastián en su periplo universal," *Arbor*, Vol. 180, nn. 711–712, pp. 671–95.

Gemelli Careri had become famous on account of the publication of the *Giro del Mondo*, would the volume of his European travels be repeatedly reprinted and widely read.⁸

Gemelli Careri (see Figure 1) was born in southern Italy in 1651, within what appears to be a relatively modest family, and later moved to Naples, where he studied canon and civil law with the Society of Jesus.⁹ He became a minor civil servant in the judicial structures of the kingdom of Naples, which was then under Spanish rule.¹⁰ When he was 35 years old, for reasons that are unclear but seem to be connected with a strong curiosity to see the world, he went on a tour around Europe, visiting places such as Venice, Paris, London, Amsterdam, Cologne and Vienna. How he managed to finance his travels is still a mystery, but his wanderings across the European continent, as already mentioned, are described in the *Viaggio per Europa*, where cultural activities, events and points of interest are duly underlined, as a testimony to the author's cultivated attitude regarding the art of travel.¹¹

8 I have not yet been able to find a copy of the first 1693 edition, assuming it indeed exists. So, I have used the second edition of the account of Gemelli Careri's European travels: Giovanni Francesco Gemelli CARERI, *Viaggi per Europa*, Naples, Giuseppe Roselli. Careri, 1701; mention must be made that it is a rather understudied travel report. About European travels and travel accounts in the period, see Daniel CAREY, *Continental Travel and Journey's Beyond Europe in the Early Modern Period*, London, Hakluyt Society, 2009. On Amato Danio, an interesting character on his own right, see Cinzia CASSANI, "Danio, Amato" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 32, Rome, Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1986. Cf. [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/amato-danio_\(Dizionario_Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/amato-danio_(Dizionario_Biografico)/) [accessed on 13/10/2014].

9 For Gemelli Careri's biography, see Angela Maccarrone AMUSO, *Gianfrancesco Gemelli-Careri, L'Ulisse del XVII secolo*, Roma, Gangemi Editore, 2000; and also Francisca PERUJO, "Estudio Preliminar" in Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, *Viaje a la Nueva España*, Francisca Perujo (ed.), México, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983, pp. i–xcviii.

10 Concerning the kingdom of Naples in this period, see Tommaso ASTARITA (ed.), *A Companion to Early Modern Naples*, Leiden, Brill, 2013; for cultural matters, see A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 45–62; and also Encarnación SÁNCHEZ GARCÍA, *Imprenta y cultura en la Nápoles virreinal: los signos de la presencia española*, Florence, Alinea, 2007.

11 For an interesting study of the period's "culture of curiosity," see Justin STAGL, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Chur (Switzerland), Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995.



1 Portrait of Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri at the age of 48.

While in Vienna, in 1686, Gemelli Careri decided to travel to Buda, where he enrolled as a soldier in the armies of the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, who, together with his European allies, was then wresting the Hungarian city from Ottoman control.¹² After this successful campaign, the Italian lawyer returned to Naples but, unable to secure a post in the civil service, he went back to Hungary, where he continued to participate in the Habsburg-Ottoman wars. Gemelli Careri later published a second volume about this period of his life, which came out only in 1704, in Naples, at the Roselli print, under the same title, *Viaggio per Europa*, but with a specific subtitle: *Relazione di due Campagne, fatte dell'Autore in Ungherie*. Once again, the work took the form of a set of letters addressed to friends and acquaintances, which described the author's involvement in the Hungarian campaigns. It is not unlikely that this work was written before Gemelli Careri set out for his world-wide tour, but

12 For the larger picture of the Habsburg-Ottoman conflict in Hungary, see Andrew WHEATCROFT, *The Enemy at the Gate: Habsburgs, Ottomans and the Battle for Europe*, London, Pimlico, 2009.

was only published later, after his return to Naples, when he had become a well-known and acclaimed writer.¹³ After two years of European wanderings and adventures, Gemelli Careri travelled to Madrid, where in 1689 he was offered a post in the Neapolitan judicial bureaucracy.

But four years later, again unemployed, the Italian lawyer decided to resume his travels, and in June 1693 he took ship in Naples, on a voyage that eventually would last five years and five months and that would take him all the way around the world. The six volumes of the *Giro del Mondo*, published after his return to Naples, are dedicated to the different parts of his long journey, and through its respective contents it is possible to retrace Gemelli Careri's steps in a very detailed manner (see Figure 2).¹⁴ Volume I is dedicated to "*le cose più ragguardevoli vedute nella Turchia*" (or "the most noteworthy things seen in Turkey"), describing the Italian's travels from Naples to Malta, then to Cairo and Constantinople, where he arrived in January 1694. After a period spent at the Ottoman capital city, the voyager then proceeded to Trebizond and Yerevan.¹⁵ The second volume contains the section "*nella Persia*" ("in Persia"), and we find Gemelli Careri in Tabriz and Isfahan, which he reached in 1694, and where he attended the ceremony of enthronement of Shah Sultan Husayn. He then proceeded to Bandar Kung, a port city in the southern shores of the Persian Gulf.¹⁶

13 I used the first edition of the account of the Hungarian campaigns: Giovanni Francesco Gemelli CARERI, *Viaggi per Europa — Parte Seconda*, Naples, Giuseppe Roselli Careri, 1704. Mention is made in some bibliography about an earlier edition, from 1689, which I have still not located. About the *Relazione di due Campagne*, see P. NONIS, "L'Ungheria de Gianfrancesco Gemelli Careri (1651–1725)" in B. Köpeczi and P. Sárközy (eds.), *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982, pp. 111–7.

14 For details on Gemelli Careri's journeys, see A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 92–168.

15 Concerning the image of Turkey in the *Giro del Mondo*, which has not been thoroughly explored, see A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 92–103 and 192–202, and a larger approach in Marina FORMICA, *Lo Specchio Turco: Immagini dell'Altro e riflessi del Sé nella cultura italiana d'età moderna*, Roma, Donzelli Editore, 2012.

16 For the Iranian part of Gemelli Careri's travels, besides A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 104–10 and 203–12, there is no detailed study; see a general approach in Rudi MATTHEE, "The Safavids under Western Eyes: Seventeenth-Century European Travelers to Iran," *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 13, 2009, pp. 137–71.



2 The itinerary of Gemelli Careri around the world.

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 Cairo | 7 Bandar Kung | 13 Manila |
| 2 Constantinople | 8 Daman | 14 Acapulco |
| 3 Trebizond | 9 Galga | 15 Mexico |
| 4 Yerevan | 10 Goa | 16 Cuba |
| 5 Tabriz | 11 Macau | 17 Cadiz |
| 6 Isfahan | 12 Beijing | 18 Naples |



3 Front cover of the first edition of the fifth volume of Gemelli Careri's *Giro del Mondo*.



4 The Philippine Islands.

The next volume describes Gemelli Careri's travels "*nell'Indostan*" ("in Industan"), from his arrival at the Portuguese controlled port of Daman in January 1695 to his departure from the Portuguese controlled territory of Goa several months later. In the meantime, the Italian lawyer managed to visit the camp of Galgala, where he was able to meet the powerful Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, in March 1695.¹⁷ Volume IV of the work, the longest of the six parts, is dedicated to the author's travels "*nella Cina*" ("in China"). From Goa, Gemelli Careri found passage on a Portuguese ship bound to Macau, which he reached in August, 1695. He then travelled to Beijing, where he allegedly participated with the Jesuits of the China mission in an audience with the Kangxi Emperor in November of the same year. Several months later, the Italian traveller was back in Macau, where he boarded a ship bound for Manila.¹⁸ The following volume (see Figure 3) recounts the Italian's sojourn "*nell'Isole Filippine*" ("in the Philippine Islands"), where he arrived in May, 1696, and is also dedicated to the voyage across the Pacific Ocean, accomplished on board a Spanish galleon (see Figure 4). This section of the *Giro del Mondo* will be analyzed later. Acapulco, on the western coast of Mexico, was reached in January, 1697.¹⁹ Volume VI, the last one, comprises the sections of Gemelli Careri's journey "*nella Nuova Spagna*" ("in New Spain"), that is, through Mexico, his visit to Cuba, and also the Atlantic crossing, his arrival at Cadiz, in southern Spain, in March, 1698, and the final stretch of the voyage to Naples, where the traveller-writer finally arrived in December, 1698.²⁰

17 References about the Indian part of the *Giro del Mondo* may be gathered in A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 111–20 and 213–20, and also in Donald F. LACH and Edwin J. VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III ("A Century of Advance"), 4 books, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1993, bk. 3, *passim*.

18 For detailed studies of the Chinese section of the *Giro del Mondo*, certainly one that has raised interest among historians, see: Philippe de VARGAS, "Le 'Giro del Mondo' de Gemelli Careri, en particulier le récit du séjour en Chine. Roman ou vérité?," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, Vol. 5, 1955, pp. 417–51; Adolfo TAMBURELLO, "La civiltà cinese secondo un viaggiatore italiano di fine Seicento: Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri (1651–1725)" in Sandra Marina Carletti, Maurizio Sacchetti and Paolo Santagelo (eds.), *Studi in onore di Lionello Lanciotti*, 3 vols., Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996, Vol. 3, pp. 1365–83; and Michele FATICA, "L'itinerario sinico di Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri: saggio di decrittazione degli antroponomi europei e dei toponimi cinesi nel Giro del Mondo" in Sitti Faizah Soenoto Rivai (ed.), *Persembahan — Studi in Onore di Luigi Santa Maria*, Napoli, Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1998, pp. 45–67; more recently, see also Elisabetta COLLA, "Fiction or Reality? A voyage round the world by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri" in Luís Filipe Barreto (ed.), *Tomás Pereira, S. J. (1646–1708): Life, Work and World*, Lisboa, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2010, pp. 253–75.

19 Recent studies of the section on the Philippines and the Pacific include Salvador BERNABÉU ALBERT, "El abogado Gemelli: memoria viajera y cultura letrada," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Vol. 69, no. 1, 2012, pp. 233–52, and also José María GARCÍA REDONDO, "Sailscapes. La construcción del paisaje del Océano Pacífico en el *Giro del Mondo* de Gemelli Careri," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, Vol. 69, no. 1, 2012, pp. 253–74.

20 This is the section of the *Giro del Mondo* more thoroughly studied. See F. PERUJO, op. cit., pp. xi–xcviii.

	1699–1700	Naples	Italian	6 volumes
	1700	Venice	Italian	6 volumes ²¹
	1704	London	English translation	1 volume ²²
	1708	Naples	Italian	7 volumes ²³
	1719	Venice	Italian	9 volumes ²⁴
	1719	Paris	French translation	6 volumes ²⁵
	1721	Naples	Italian	9 volumes ²⁶
	1721	Paris	French translation	6 volumes

5 European editions of the *Giro del Mondo* during the author's lifetime.

The *Giro del Mondo* soon became a huge best-seller, with multiple editions being published in Italy and numerous translations being printed across Europe, and namely in Paris and London (see Figure 5). Some of the later Italian editions included the two volumes of his *Viaggio per Europa*, already mentioned, and also a third volume entitled *Aggiunta á viaggi di Europa*, originally published in Naples, in 1711, at the printing presses of Felice Mosca, where the author recounted, among other subjects, his travels to Spain in 1708.

Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri became quite a literary celebrity, and an authority on overseas travels, being regularly invited to talk at Neapolitan cultural gatherings about his extended adventures, while he continued to work on corrected editions of his *Giro del Mondo*. However, several facts contributed to suspicions in certain circles about the authenticity of his recounted experiences, even before his demise in Naples in 1725. First, and unlike most other contemporary travellers, Gemelli Careri had journeyed for so long and to such exotic destinations without a clear mission or purpose, be it diplomatic, scientific, religious or commercial. Then, as far as we know, during his travels the Italian lawyer had not benefited from any kind of sponsorship on the part of European powers or authorities, civil or ecclesiastical. Thirdly, he had no evident means of revenue: how could he have lived and travelled world-wide for more than five years, without a regular stipend of

21 This appears to be a reprinting of the first edition.

22 “A Voyage around the World by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Careri” in John CHURCHILL (ed.) *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, Vol. IV, London, Awnsham & John Churchill, 1704.

23 Besides the 6 vols. of the *Giro del Mondo*, this edition also published by Giuseppe Roselli included the “second edition” of the *Viaggi per Europa* (does this mean that the “first edition” was the 1701 one?). The front pages of the volumes of the *Giro del Mondo* in this edition include the notice “In questa seconda Edizione di molto accresciuto e ricorretto, e di nuove figure adornato” (“In this second edition largely expanded and corrected, and adorned with new figures”), Giovanni Francesco Gemelli CARERI, *Giro del Mondo*, 7 vols., Naples, Giuseppe Roselli, 1708, Vol. 4.

24 An edition in 9 volumes, printed by Sebastiano Coletti, which included 6 volumes of the *Giro del Mondo* and 3 volumes of the European travels.

25 *Voyage autour du Monde*, trans. L. M. N. [Eustache Le Noble], 6 vols., Paris, Ganeau, 1719.

26 This 9 volume edition was printed by Domenico Antonio Parrino.

some kind? Where did he find the monetary resources to keep going? Then, and according to Gemelli Careri's own testimony, he had enjoyed everywhere he had been the hospitality and tolerance of all authorities, from powerful rulers such as the Mughal and Chinese emperors to regional or local European civil servants, such as the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa or the governors of the Philippines and New Spain. How was such a thing possible, even conceivable? Lastly, it was soon detected that many of the pages of the *Giro del Mondo*, those that did not pertain to the author's direct experience of travel, could be linked to other previously published books. That is to say, the Italian traveller had used in his travelogue a vast array of contemporary sources, most of them easily identifiable in any well stocked library.²⁷

Modern assessments of the *Giro del Mondo*, however, have contributed answers to some of these questions and re-established the credibility of Gemelli Careri as an authentic traveller and a reliable reporter of his journeys. There appears to be no doubt that the Italian lawyer, in fact, travelled around the world, for independent contemporary sources place him in Beijing or Mexico, at times and circumstances similar enough to those registered in the *Giro del Mondo*.²⁸ And in the account of his experiences he offers details of travel and life that would be impossible to acquire from second hand sources: in the Ottoman territories, in Safavid Persia, in the coastal towns of India, in mainland China, in the Philippines, on board the Manila galleon, and in New Spain. Also, he frequently mentions individuals whose existence and presence in the place where he meets them is confirmed by other sources. The fact that almost anywhere in the world he was able to mingle with the higher echelons of society seems to be an indication of his developed social skills and also of the surprise that his status of independent and cultivated traveller must have caused in all those that had dealings with him. Until then, persons who set about travelling the world for mere purposes of recreation and education had been extremely rare, for the logistical difficulties of voyaging to distant places were only faced by those who had an obligation to do so, or otherwise expected to obtain some gain out of it.

In fact, Gemelli Careri seems to have had no other agenda than to keep moving around the world and to get back to Naples, his original point of

27 The first serious study of Gemelli Careri's sources was accomplished by Alberto MAGNAGHI, *Il Viaggiatore Gemelli Careri (Secolo XVII) e il suo "Giro del Mondo"*, Bergamo, Alessandro e Fratelli Cattaneo, 1900, who identified numerous travel accounts used by the author of the *Giro del Mondo* (I acknowledge the invaluable help of Angelo Cattaneo in obtaining a copy of Magnaghi's study). For a summary of these questions, with bibliographic references, see P. VARGAS, art. cit., pp. 417–51.

28 See A. M. AMUSO, op. cit., pp. 92–168.

departure.²⁹ In the meantime, he limited himself to travel and enjoying the views, like a modern tourist, so to speak, without any other purpose than to collect experiences and encounters. Regarding the logistical aspects of the Italian lawyer's travels, it is Gemelli Careri himself who reveals his secret in later editions of the *Giro del Mondo*. Thus, each volume of the 1708 Naples edition, also published by Giuseppi Roselli, opens with a chapter concerning the most important commodities that should be bought and sold in each specific region.³⁰ According to these instructions, the well-advised traveller would do best to engage in trade, in order to support his voyages, always seeking information about valuable and portable merchandises that he could buy in one destination and sell in the next with a profit, and so on and on.

Another relevant critical observation that has been advanced involves the rhythm of composition and publication of the *Giro del Mondo* after the author's return to Naples in 1698, which was, as previously stated, quite intensive. So, it was alleged that Gemelli Careri worked in collaboration with one of his closest friends, the Neapolitan scholar Matteo Egizio, in whose dwellings he lived for several months upon his return to Naples and who appended a note to the readers (“*A chi vuol leggere*”) in the second volume of the work. Egizio, apparently, possessed a large library, and was a diligent writer, well capable of assisting his friend in the writing process of the *Giro del Mondo*, especially in the case of the (many) transcriptions and translations of other works.³¹ However, in a letter written to the German scholar Christian Goetz in 1700, and published years later in Egizio's own *Opuscoli Volgari, e Latini*, he claimed that he had only contributed with minor grammatical corrections to the final text of Gemelli Careri's work,³² which should be proof enough to settle the matter of the authorship of the *Giro del Mondo*. The contribution of Egizio, besides a literary revision of the final texts of the six volumes, was perhaps to make available to his friend the most recent accounts of overseas matters published in Europe while Gemelli Careri was away.

29 In China, when asked about his motives to travel, he answered “che per sola mia curiosità viaggiava” (“that I only traveled for my own curiosity”), G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 4, p. 29.

30 Concerning the Philippines, see G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1708, Vol. 5, pp. 1–2, with the chapter title “*Si ragiona delle Mercatanzia, di cui può provvedersi nelle Filippine un Viaggiatore che passi in America*” (“Considerations about the merchandise that a traveller bound for America may purchase in the Philippines”).

31 On Matteo Egizio and his scholarly network, see Salvatore USSIA, *L'epistolario di Matteo Egizio e la cultura napoletana del primo Settecento*, Roma, Liguori Editore, 1977.

32 Matteo EGIZIO, *Opuscoli Volgari, e Latini*, Naples, Angelo Vocola, 1751, pp. 192–3.

Impressions of the Philippines in Gemelli Careri's *Giro del Mondo*

In the first four volumes of the *Giro del Mondo*, dedicated respectively to Turkey, Persia, India and China, Gemelli Careri's text is normally organized around two different components. First, there are the author's regular annotations about his experiences of travel: the route followed and the means of transportation, the geographical landscape and the physical obstacles, the interactions with other people, observations about relevant events and circumstances of daily life on the road. This is the more personal and original part of the *Giro del Mondo*, based on a diary written during the journey, which appears in daily annotations and is repeatedly mentioned.³³ Secondly, there are in the *Giro del Mondo* numerous historical digressions along with geographical descriptions of the regions being visited, and also sundry notes about the social, political, military, cultural and religious customs of the peoples that inhabit therein. Some of these descriptions are based on first-hand observations; others are the result of oral reports from many local informers that he met during his travels, still others are taken from previously published works; and others may be inspired in manuscript writings, or drawings, that came into the possession of Gemelli Careri by some direct or indirect way. The Italian lawyer has been repeatedly accused of plagiarism.³⁴ But this would be a rather anachronistic point of view, given that the pages and especially the margins of the *Giro del Mondo* are filled with explicit and implicit intertextual references to a wide array of titles read, used or quoted by the author. Meanwhile, contemporary intellectual practices in Europe included the use and abuse of written sources in any work of such a nature, scope, and dimension, not necessarily with due acknowledgment.³⁵

The structure of the volume dedicated to the Philippines, however, is slightly different, at least in the first two books,³⁶ for one simple reason.

33 For instance, while in Manila, Gemelli Careri mentions the "*Diario, cominciato in Europa*," observing that there was a one day difference in the dating (G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 20). Always curious about singular details, he occupies several pages explaining this difference in the accounting of time (*Idem, ibidem*, pp. 10–5). On this subject, see Damon L. WOODS, "Measuring Space and Time in Seventeenth-Century Philippines" in María Dolores Elizalde, Josep M. Fradera and Luis Alonso (eds.), *Imperios y Naciones en el Pacífico*, 2 vols., Madrid, CSIC, 2001, Vol. 2, pp. 235–50.

34 For a typical instance of this position, see A. MAGNAGHI, op. cit.

35 On the topic of plagiarism, see Marilyn RANDALL, *Pragmatic Plagiarism: Authorship, Profit, and Power*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2001.

36 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 1–254. There is an English translation of volume V of the *Giro del Mondo*: Giovanni Francesco Gemelli CARERI, *A Voyage to the Philippines*, Mauro García (ed.), Manila, Filipiana Book Guild, 1963, but I have used the first Italian edition in all quotations and references.

While in other parts of Asia the Italian lawyer had to travel extensively, in long overland and maritime journeys, each of which took weeks or months to achieve, in the Spanish controlled archipelago Gemelli Careri basically spent around six weeks in Manila and the surrounding areas (see Figure 4), a significant part of these days being occupied with time-consuming embarking and disembarking procedures, while another part of the period was dedicated to meetings with relevant political and religious figures of Manila's society. Besides short residences in the cities of Cavite, where the main port was located, and Manila, siege of the governing bodies, the only important journey he undertook was to Laguna de Bay, not far from the Manila area.³⁷ Thus, most of books 1 and 2 of volume V of the *Giro del Mondo* are filled with topographical, historical and geographical annotations about the Philippines, while only very few diary entries are noted, starting with the 8th (or rather 7th) of May 1696, date of the arrival of the Italian lawyer at Cavite,³⁸ and ending with the 22nd of June of the same year, when the Spanish galleon on board which he managed to embark raised sails on its long voyage to Acapulco.³⁹ Apparently, most passengers had to acquire their places on board the galleon with more than a year in advance, frequently spending large sums of time and money in the process; not Gemelli Careri, who upon arriving in Manila was immediately able to secure cabin and board on the ship which was being prepared to set sail just a few weeks later.⁴⁰ Rumours accompanying him all the way from China suggested that he was a secret “Inviato Apostolico,” charged with investigating noteworthy divergences within the Iberian overseas clergy.⁴¹ And so, once again, as it had happened before in Goa and in Macao, the Italian traveller was received with utmost respect by Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities, being granted all sorts of privileges, while all the important doors were opened up for him. No sooner disembarked in Manila, Gemelli Careri was granted an audience with Fausto Cruzat y Góngora, then governor-general of the Philippines, whom he deemed “un Cavaliere quanto curioso, altrettanto virtuoso.”⁴² And again, as it had happened in all other

37 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 40–6.

38 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 17–30.

39 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 243–54.

40 Gemelli Careri claims to have paid for a “Cate (ch'è un letto ben picciolo, incassato di tavole)” and for board during the entire length of the journey to Acapulco (six to eight months) only 100 “pezze d'otto” (*reales de a ocho*), when the standard fares amounted to four, five or six times more (*Idem, ibidem*, Vol. 5, pp. 30–1).

41 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 10.

42 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 16 (“a curious and virtuous Gentleman”). As far as I am aware, no specific study has been dedicated to the overseas career of this rather interesting Spanish nobleman. However, see Ángel SANZ TAPIA, *Corrupción o necesidad? La venta de cargos de Gobierno americanos bajo Carlos II (1674–1700)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2009.

parts of his transcontinental journey, he easily secured free lodgings with Manila's religious congregations, first with the Jesuits, then with the Franciscans. The third book of the Philippines volume, on the other hand, once again follows the diary structure, with daily annotations documenting the long Pacific navigation.⁴³

The two books of the volume of the *Giro del Mondo* dedicated to the Philippines open with a long description of the *Intramuros* of Manila, the urban area enclosed within the city walls. Gemelli Careri, as the proverbial city guide, sets about visiting and describing all significant sites, which comprise government facilities (the palace, the *Real Audiencia*, the fortifications) and most of the religious buildings, such as colleges, convents, churches and chapels. The information is basic, but it emerges from the author's experience, including relevant architectural or artistic features, religious affiliations, the occasional anecdotes or historical details, and sometimes the name of the persons in charge.⁴⁴ Among the city's outer boroughs, the Italian traveller pays a special attention to the Parian, where the Sangleys dwelled, remarking the extraordinary importance of the Chinese to the economic life of the Philippines.⁴⁵ Manila was then a cosmopolitan metropolis, and the different population groups he was able to observe are mentioned, some of their social practices being touched upon. A more developed note regards cockfights, a most popular entertainment, witnessed by the Italian traveller in Manila's streets.⁴⁶ In the meantime, Gemelli Careri appears rather perplexed by the curious names the Spanish used to distinguish the "qualità, e colore"—"quality and colour"—of the city's inhabitants, on the basis of the ethnicity of their progenitors: "Crioglio," "Mestizzo," "Castizzo," "Quartaron," "Mulato," "Grifo," "Sambo" and "Capra," considering these to be "nomi ridicoli" ("ridiculous names").⁴⁷

After touring Manila for a few days, Gemelli Careri, probably on the recommendation of one of his local acquaintances, headed southeast, for a

43 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 255–54. Regarding the Pacific crossing, see S. BERNABÉU ALBERT, *art. cit.*, pp. 233–51, and J. M. GARCÍA REDONDO, *art. cit.*, pp. 253–74.

44 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 17–39. Regarding this urban area, see Ramón María ZARAGOZA, *Old Manila*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, 1990.

45 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 21. The early modern Chinese community of Manila has been recently studied by Juan GIL, *Los Chinos en Manila, Siglos XVI y XVII*, Lisbon, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2011.

46 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 36. The cockfights in the Spanish overseas possessions were studied by María Justina SARAVIA VIEJO, *El juego de gallos en Nueva España*, Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-americanos de Sevilla, 1972.

47 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 19. On Manila's multi-ethnicity, see Robert Richmond ELLIS, *They Need Nothing: Hispanic-Asian Encounters of the Colonial Period*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2012, pp. 129–77.

sightseeing visit to Laguna de Bay, the largest lake in the Philippines. The exotic landscape is carefully described, with sundry references to the natural environment, and also to several religious establishments built on the margins of the lake that he had the opportunity to inspect.⁴⁸ Back in Manila, the Italian lawyer seems to have met again with Cruzat y Góngora, to whom he pays an elaborate compliment, considering him “uno de’ migliori Capitani Generali ch’abbiano avuto l’Isole, dopo la loro conquista.”⁴⁹ Elaborate information about the organization of the government of the Philippines is provided, with annotations about civil, military and religious posts, functions, rents and salaries. These notes seem to have been collected by Gemelli Careri from several of the officials he was able to meet during his short residence in Manila. Some of his informants, besides the Governor-General, are duly noted: “D. Juan de Morales,” captain of Manila’s castle (Don Juan de Morales Valenzulea⁵⁰); “D. Juan del Pozzo,” royal accountant in Manila (Don Juan del Pozo y Bobadilla⁵¹); “D. Manuel d’Arguelles di Oviedo,” royal official in Manila (Don Manuel de Argüelles⁵²); and many others, whose presence contributes to the credibility of Gemelli Careri’s visit to the Philippines in the final years of the seventeenth century. There mustn’t be any doubt whatsoever, the Italian traveller in fact stayed in the island of Luzon for a short period. The last days of the traveller’s visit to the Philippines were spent in Cavite, the main port of the archipelago, where the large Spanish galleons used to lay at anchor. The most important public and religious buildings are described, as well as the military defences, along with an explanation of the topographical organization of that port city. Also, some interesting elements about the logistics of the galleon’s preparation for the long journey that lay ahead are added.⁵³

48 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 40–6.

49 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 55–6 (“one of the best governor-generals that these island had since their conquest”).

50 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 94; on Morales, see Antonio MORENO HURTADO, *Egarbenses en Indias*, Cabra (Córdoba), Ayuntamiento de Cabra, 2010, pp. 253–58.

51 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 155 and 160; on Pozo, see Antonio PICAZO MUNTANER, “Redes invisibles: cooperación y fraude en el comercio de Manila-Acapulco,” *Anales del Museo de América*, Vol. 19, 2011, pp. 140–52.

52 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 93–4; on Argüelles, see Alexandre COELLO, “Corruption, Greed, and the Public Good in the Mariana Islands, 1700–1720,” *Philippine Studies: Historical and Ethnographic Viewpoints*, Vol. 61, no. 2, 2013, pp. 193–222.

53 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 243–54. On old Cavite, see Regalado TROTA JOSE, “The eight churches of Cavite Puerto (1586–1800),” *Philippine Quarterly of Culture and Society*, Vol. 15, no. 4, 1987, pp. 311–51. Concerning the organization of these voyages, see Shirley FISH, *The Manila-Acapulco Galleons: The Treasure Ships of the Pacific*, Milton Keynes, AuthorHouse, 2011; and also Arturo GIRALDEZ, *The Age of Trade: The Manila Galleons and the Dawn of the Global Economy*, Lanham (Maryland), Rowman & Littlefield, 2015.

These descriptions—including Manila, Cavite and Laguna de Bay—sum up Gemelli Careri’s practical experiences in the Philippines, during his short residence on the island of Luzon. Unlike in other regions he visited in Asia, the Italian traveller didn’t stay long enough to be able to give his readers a more complete picture of the other islands in the archipelago. However, these parts of volume V of the *Giro del Mondo* only had up to one fifth of the total number of pages dedicated to the Philippines. In the other four fifths of books 1 and 2, totalling about 200 pages, the Italian author presents further accounts of Luzon and many other islands, including information about the tory of the Iberian discovery of the archipelago, the Spanish military occupation and the organization of the Catholic missions, the main geographical landmarks, the most relevant flora and fauna, the leading economic productions, and the nature and characteristics of the indigenous inhabitants, with their languages, social practices and religious beliefs. But if Gemelli Careri did not have time to travel any farther than the Manila region, how did he go about collecting news about the more remote areas of the Philippines, such as Mindanao, Jolo, and the Visayas (see Figure 4)? As he did in all the other volumes of the *Giro del Mondo*, wherever the available information he possessed was not enough to supply and fill the pages of his travel account, he turned to reports by other European travellers or writers, either published or still in manuscript form.

Intertextuality in the *Giro del Mondo*

A close analysis of the parts of Gemelli Careri’s travel account dedicated to the Philippines reveals that his basic source of information was the work by Francisco Colín, *Labor Evangelica, Ministerios Apostolicos de los Obreros de la Compañía de Jesus*, which was published in Madrid in 1663.⁵⁴ The Spanish missionary had lived and worked in the Philippines for about 25 years, when

54 Francisco COLÍN, *Labor evangelica, ministerios apostolicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesus, fundacion, y progresos de su Provincia en las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, Joseph Fernandez de Buendía, 1663. There is a critical edition: Francisco COLÍN, *Labor evangélica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la Compañía de Jesús, fundación, y progresos de su provincia en las islas Filipinas*, Pablo Pastells (ed.), 3 vols., Barcelona, Heinrich y Compañía, 1900–1902. This was the first part of a larger work, the second part being published years later by Pedro MURILLO VELARDE, as *Historia de la Provincia de Philipinas de la Compañía de Jesús. Segunda Parte, que comprehende los progresos de esta Provincia desde el año de 1616 hasta el de 1716*, Manila, Imprenta de la Compañía de Jesús, 1749. On Murillo Velarde, see Eduardo DESCALZO Yuste, “Las crónicas jesuíticas de Filipinas en el siglo XVIII: Pedro Murillo Velarde” in Eliseo Serrano (ed.), *De la tierra al cielo: Líneas recientes de investigación en historia moderna*, Zaragoza, Institución Fernando el Católico, 2012, pp. 233–48.

in 1651 he began writing the history of the Jesuit missions in the archipelago, using his own experience, a wealth of coeval documents, a large library, and especially an extensive manuscript account prepared by his confrere Pedro Chirino half a century before.⁵⁵ Francisco Colin died in 1660, and his work was published a few years later, immediately becoming the standard history of Jesuit endeavours in the archipelago. While the three later books of the *Labor evangelica* were dedicated to the history of Jesuit missions proper, the first book included an extremely detailed description of the Philippines, with the most relevant geographical, ethnographical and historical information about the islands and its peoples.⁵⁶ Particularly noteworthy was the section on natural history, with extremely innovative data concerning the flora and fauna of the larger islands of the archipelago.⁵⁷ Curiously enough, Gemelli Careri does not mention Francisco Colín's work on his account of the Philippines included in the *Giro del Mondo*, although many of the pages of this volume read as transcriptions, adaptations or paraphrases of corresponding sections in the *Labor evangelica*. Only in volume VI of his travelogue, dedicated to “Nuova Spagna” (or “New Spain”), does he mention in a marginal note “l'hist. de las Filipinas” written by “il P. Colin,” proving that in fact he knew and probably possessed a copy of the “History of the Philippines”, as he styles the Jesuit's *Labor evangelica*.⁵⁸

Among many possible instances, two or three short examples will be enough to demonstrate the *Giro del Mondo*'s dependence regarding Francisco Colín's monumental chronicle. The first example refers to the naming of the islands.

55 Pedro CHIRINO, also a missionary in the Philippines, published a *Relacion de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los padres de la Compañia de Jesus*, Roma, Estevan Paulino, 1604; but his larger manuscript was only published recently: Pedro CHIRINO, *Historia de la Provincia de Filipinas de la Compañia de Jesús, 1581–1606*, Jaume Górriz (ed.), Barcelona, Pòrtic, 2000. On Chirino, see José Luis BETRAN and Eduardo DESCALZO YUSTE, “Allende los mares: La Historia de la provincia de Filipinas del padre Pedro Chirino, 1581–1606,” in Louise Bénat-Tachot et al. (eds.), *Les jésuites et la Monarchie Catholique (1565–1615)*, Paris, Éditions Le Manuscrit, 2012, pp. 315–65.

56 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 1–166. About Colin, see Eduardo DESCALZO YUSTE, “Las crónicas oficiales de la Compañía de Jesús en Filipinas en el siglo XVII: Pedro Chirino y Francisco Colín” in Ángela Atienza López (ed.), *Iglesia Memorable: Crónicas, historias, escritos [...] a mayor gloria — Siglos XVI–XVIII*, Madrid, Editorial Sílex, 2012, pp. 275–90.

57 As far as I am aware, this rather interesting aspect of Colín's chronicle has not yet been explored by historians. For a general approach, however, see Arnel E. JOVEN, “Colonial Adaptations in Tropical Asia: Spanish Medicine in the Philippines in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” *Asian Cultural Studies*, Vol. 38, 2012, pp. 171–86.

58 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 6, p. 235 (bk. 3, ch. 2).

Francisco Colín

El nombre de Filipinas fue impuesto año de 1543, por el General Ruy Lopez de Villalobos, à contemplación del Principe (que al presente era) y unico heredero de la Monarchia de España, Don Felipe [...]. Despues, reynando ya el Catolico Filipe, renovò, y confirmò este nombre de Filipinas el Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi, ano de 1564, quando vino à la conquista, pacificación, y población destas Islas.⁵⁹

Gemelli Careri

Ebbero il nome di Filippine, nel 1543. dal General Luis Lopez de Villalobos, in onore del Principe successore della Monarchia di Spagna, appellato D. Filippo; o secondo l'opinio più ricevuta da altri, nel 1564. regnante Filippo il Cattolico; allor che venne all'acquisto delle medesime l'Adelantado Miguel Lopez de Legaspi.⁶⁰

The second case alludes to the origins of the population of Luzon:

Francisco Colín

Esta Nacion de los Malayos nace la de los Tagalos, que son los naturales de Manila, y su comarca, como lo demuestra la lengua Tagala, que es muy semejante a la Malaya: el color, y facciones de todo el cuerpo; el trage, y habito que usauan quando llegaron acà los Españoles, y ultimamente las costumbres, y ritos, que todo era tomado de Malayos, y otras Naciones de la India.⁶¹

Gemelli Careri

Da costoro traggono origine los Tagalos, che sono i nazionali di Manila, e sue vicinanze; come si scorge dalla lorolingua, molto simile alla Malaya; dal colore, fattezze del corpo, portamento dell'abito, (che usavano, quano vi entrarono gli Spagnoli) e in fine da' costumi, e riti presi da' Malay, ed altre nazioni d'India.⁶²

And the third example concerns the description of Luzon:

Francisco Colín

Aqui comienza la Provincia, y jurisdicion de Cagayan la mayor de la Isla, pues tiene ochenta leguas de largo, y cerca de quarenta de ancho. Su cabecera es la ciudad de la Nueva Segovia, fundacion del tiempo del Governador Don Gonçalo Ronquillo, en que tiene su asiento, y Iglesia Cathedral el Obispo.⁶³

Gemelli Careri

Quivi comincia la Provincia, e giurisdizione di Cagayan, ch'è la maggiore dell'Isole; poiche è lunga ottanta leghe, e larga quaranta. Sua Metropoli è la Città detta nueva Segovia, fondata dal Governadore D. Consalvo Ronquillo; e in essa è la Chiesa Catedrale, nella quale fu elletto per primo Vescovo, nel 1598, Fray Miguel de Benavides.⁶⁴

There are hundreds of other instances where Gemelli Careri closely follows in his text the exact words of Francisco Colín, which he diligently translates into Italian, presenting them as his own. In book 1 of volume V of the *Giro del Mondo*, chapters 6 to 10 are a copy or an adaptation of sections in the *Labor evangelica* describing several of the archipelago's islands, their

59 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 2.

60 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 56–7.

61 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 16. On the interesting topic of the written languages of the pre-Spanish Philippines, see Geoff WADE, “On the Possible Cham Origin of the Philippine Scripts,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 24, no. 1, 1993, pp. 44–87.

62 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 63–4.

63 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 23.

64 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 77.

topography, geographical features, administrative organization, natural productions, valuable merchandises, and so on.⁶⁵ The same method is used in book 2 of the Italian lawyer's volume dedicated to the Philippines, where chapters 1 to 5 continue to follow more or less closely the corresponding sections in Colín's chronicle, in matters such as the nature and mores of the indigenous populations, the diversity and characteristics of the several branches of the animal kingdom, and the variety of vegetal resources, including exotic and/or useful trees, flowers, fruits and herbs.⁶⁶ Materials included in the *Labor evangelica* are also summarized by Gemelli Careri in chapters 8 and 9 of book 2 of the *Giro del Mondo*, dedicated to the history of the discovery and conquest of the islands by the Spaniards.⁶⁷

And finally, Francisco Colín's texts relating to the discovery and control by the Iberians of the "Archipelago Maluco" are transcribed by the Italian traveller in chapter 7 of book 2 of his volume on the Philippines, "Dell'Isole Molucche, ed alter dell'Arcipelago Molucco."⁶⁸ The fact that the Maluku archipelago, and also the neighbouring islands of Banda and Ambon, had been during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the object of persistent controversies and disputes between the Portuguese and the Spanish was reason enough to include a chapter about them in the *Giro del Mondo*.⁶⁹ While Francisco Colín begins his exposition with the allegation "Maluco se dixo de Moloc, palabra Malaya, deducida de la Hebrea Malach, que significa, cabeça de cosa grande, por averlo sido siempre las Islas Malucas de todo el Achipielago," Gemelli Careri faithfully translates "Moloc è parola Malaya, che tragge forse origine dalla Ebreja, Malach, che significa, capo di cosa grande: e veramente sono state sempre l'Isole Molucche capo di tutto l'Arcipelago."⁷⁰ And the Italian traveller moves on, following in the wake of his privileged historiographical source.

Gemelli Careri's interest in the natural world of the Philippines is perhaps worthy of particular notice. In fact, although closely following the information provided in the work of Francisco Colín about the flora of the islands, which he summarizes, the Italian traveler is quite attentive to all the

65 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 56–126; cf. F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 147 (bk. 1, chs. 1–11).

66 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 127–93; cf. F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 59–103 (bk. 1, chs. 14–7).

67 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 226–43; cf. F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 114–33 (bk. 1, chs. 19–21).

68 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 209–25; cf. F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 103–13 (bk. 1, ch. 18).

69 Regarding the history of the Maluku islands, see Leonard Y. ANDAYA, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, Honolulu, University of Hawaii Press, 1993.

70 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 209; F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 103.

plants or parts of plants that could be used for medical purposes, as if he had a professional interest in the subject. It was quite common, in the seventeenth century, to find European travelers in Asia posing as physicians, in order to obtain support from the authorities of the regions they were crossing. Perhaps the Italian lawyer also used this expedient during his extended journeys across the world.⁷¹ And frequently, while mentioning Spanish or indigenous names of plants, fruits or herbs he is describing, Gemelli Careri adds the Portuguese equivalents, which he certainly had learned while visiting Portuguese enclaves in maritime Asia, and namely Goa and Macao.⁷² Thus, in a chapter dedicated to the “Alberi, e frutta dell’Isole Filippine” (“Trees and fruits of the Philippine Islands”), he mentions the *bilimbini*, “da’ Portughesi chiamati Carambolas,” the *macupa*, “detta da Portughesi Giambo,” the *mangas di Siam*, “chiamatte da’ Portughesi Mangas de Papagallo,” and so on.⁷³

One instance where the *Giro del Mondo* clearly departs from its main source of information—Francisco Colín’s chronicle—is when the Italian author is describing the Visayan islands and alludes to Catbalogan, a town in the western part of the island of Samar. Suddenly, and interrupting the translation from the *Labor evangelica*, Gemelli Careri calls attention to a plant “di prodigiosa virtù” (“of incredible virtue”), scarcely known in Europe, which the Visayans term “Igasur,” while the Spaniards style it “di S. Ignazio.”⁷⁴ He states that his intelligence comes from Jesuit informants, and namely from one father “Molero,” who learned it from the local population, “che son intendentissimi della virtù delle loro erbe” (“who are extremely knowledgeable about the virtues of their herbs”). Then follows a large list of the alleged properties of the *igasur*, also known as “bean of St. Ignatius”, which can be used against any sort of poisons, against stomach aches, against spasms, against fevers, against bleeding, and so on.⁷⁵ While the

71 On the subject of travelling-physicians, see Françoise de VALENCE, *Médecins de fortune et d’infortune: Des aventuriers français en Inde au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose, 2000.

72 See G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 3, pp. 74–95 (Goa); Vol. 4, pp. 1–9 (Macao).

73 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 169–70, meaning, respectively, the starfruit or *Averrhoa carambola*, the rose-apple or *Syzygium jambos*, and some sort of mango, a fruit from the family of *Anacardiaceae*. See Elmer D. MERRILL, *A Dictionary of the Plant Names of the Philippine Islands*, Manila, Bureau of Public Printing, 1903. Gemelli Careri could, of course, have consulted the treatise on Asian *materia medica* written by Garcia de ORTA, *Coloquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India* (Goa, João de Endem, 1563).

74 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 103.

75 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 103–6. The *igasur* corresponds to the *Strychnos ignatii*, a tree in the *Loganiaceae* family, native to the Philippines and to parts of China, whose beans are the source of strychnine. See Luigi CASTIGLIONI, *Storia delle piante forastiere le più importanti nell’uso medico, od economico*, Luigi Saibene (ed.), Milan, Editoriale Jaca Book, 2008, pp. 393–8.

pages dedicated to this plant testify to Gemelli Careri's interest in medicinal plants, it is not clear where he got his information from, since he did not visit any of the Visayas. One possibility, but which is difficult to confirm, is that Francisco Ignazio Alcina, a Jesuit missionary who lived and worked in the Visayas in the middle decades of the seventeenth century might have been his source of information. But the monumental *Historia de las Islas e Indios de Bisayas*, dated 1668 and which he left in manuscript form upon his demise in 1674 was only published recently.⁷⁶ It is doubtful, although not impossible, that Gemelli Careri had access to this valuable manuscript.

Another possibility, easier to confirm, is that he received information about the natural world of the Philippines from Georg Joseph Kamel, well-known naturalist of Moravian origin, who was then living in Manila, where he passed away in 1706. A Jesuit missionary in charge of pharmaceutical matters, he was a collector of animals and plants, particularly interested in the medical properties of the local flora, and he had been working for some years about the natural history of the archipelago.⁷⁷ It is highly probable that he met Gemelli Careri in 1696, for the Italian traveller mentions that "Fratelo Giorgio Carrol Alemano" had prepared two extremely valuable folio volumes about the virtues of the "piante, ed alberi" ("plants and trees") of the Philippines, with rigorous descriptions of their characteristics and properties, accompanied by very precise drawings of each one, and also instructions for their use in the preparation of medical recipes. According to the *Giro del Mondo*, Kamel had been working on his manuscript for fifteen years, with the assistance "degli stessi Indiani, che sono grandissimi erbolari" ("of the said Indians, who are expert herbalists"), and with the help of his drawings and descriptions it would be possible to go around collecting medicinal plants in the fields, so precise was the work. Gemelli Careri claims that he repeatedly suggested to the Jesuit authorities that Kamel's manuscript should be published as soon as possible for the advance of the common welfare: "e veramente sarebbe degna di essere stampata, per

76 See a facsimile of one of the manuscripts in María Luisa MARTIN-MERAS and María Dolores HIGUERAS, *La Historia de las Islas e Indios Visayas del Padre Alcina, 1668*, Madrid, Instituto Histórico de Marina, 1975. More recently, see the edition of the complete manuscript in: Victoria YEPES, *Una Etnografía de los Indios Bisayas del siglo XVII*, Madrid, CSIS, 1996; *Historia Natural de las Islas Bisayas*, Madrid, CSIS, 1996; and *Historia Sobrenatural de las Islas Bisayas del Padre Alcina*, Madrid, CSIS, 1998.

77 Regarding Kamel, see Leo A. CULLUM, "Georg Joseph Kamel," *Philippine Studies*, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1956, pp. 319–40; and more recently Raquel A. G. REYES, "Botany and zoology in the late seventeenth-century Philippines: the work of Georg Josef Kamel, SJ, (1661–1706)," *Archives of Natural History*, Vol. 36, no. 2, 2009, pp. 262–76.

beneficio commune.”⁷⁸ In fact, a few years later some of Georg Josef Kamel’s texts were published in England, and namely an essay about the *igasur*, but there is no shadow of his two-volume manuscript described by Gemelli Careri.⁷⁹ All in all, it seems that the natural history sections contained in the volumes of the *Giro del Mondo* would deserve further attention, having in mind the author’s interest in the subject, his resourcefulness to acquire valuable information, and the quality of the informants he was able to mobilize for his project.

Gemelli Careri also used another important Jesuit source originating from the branch of the Society of Jesus in the Philippines. One of the chapters in book 2 of volume V of the *Giro del Mondo* is dedicated to “Mindanao, e Xolò.”⁸⁰ The Italian author could have used his usual source, that is, Francisco Colín’s *Labor evangelica*,⁸¹ to describe Mindanao, the second largest island in the archipelago, and Jolo, a small island to the southwest of Mindanao, areas with strong Islamic influences. But he had access to a Jesuit chronicle dedicated precisely to both islands, the *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adyacentes*, which was written by Francisco Combés, a Jesuit missionary who labored in that area of the Philippines for more than a decade and who died on his way to Spain in 1665. The manuscript chronicle was taken to Madrid and published there two years later.⁸² Gemelli Careri, unlike he did with Colín’s chronicle, repeatedly quotes this work in the pages of volume V of his travelogue and also in the marginal notes, suggesting that he possessed a copy of the book. When dealing with the natural

78 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 192: “ha fatta la descrizione, in due volumi in foglio; colle figure tanto al natural, che, col libro in mano, facilmente si riconoscono in campagna”.

79 Georg Josef KAMEL, “De Igasur, seu Nuce Vomica legitima Serapionis,” *Philosophical Transactions*, Vol. 21, 1699, pp. 88–94. In fact, Gemelli Careri could have had access to this publication in Naples, as soon as he arrived there from his tour around the world, thus explaining the amount of information he provides about the exotic plant and its virtues. Perhaps Kamel’s manuscript corresponds with the “Herbarium aliarumque stirpium in insulâ Luzone Philippinarum,” which was published as an appendix to John RAY, *Historiae plantarum — Volume III*, London, Sam, Smith & Benj. Walford, 1704 (pp. 1–96 of the Appendix). Concerning the famous naturalist John Ray, who corresponded with Kamel and received his manuscripts and herbaria, see Charles Earle RAVEN, *John Ray, Naturalist: His Life and Works*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986.

80 G. F. G. CARERI, *op. cit.*, 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 193–208.

81 F. COLÍN, *op. cit.*, 1663, pp. 39–44 (bk. 1, ch. 10).

82 FRANCISCO COMBÉS, *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao, Iolo, y sus adyacentes*, Madrid, Herederos de Pablo del Val, 1667. There is a critical edition: FRANCISCO COMBÉS, *Historia de Mindanao y Jolo*, W. E. Retana and Pablo Pastells (eds.), Madrid, Imprenta de la Viuda de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1897. On Combés, see Ana María RODRÍGUEZ-RODRÍGUEZ, “Old Enemies, New Contexts: Early Modern Spanish (Re)-Writing of Islam in the Philippines,” in Santa Arias and Raul Marrero-Fente, *Coloniality, Religion, and the Law in the Early Iberian World*, Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2013, pp. 137–58.

world of Mindanao, for instance, when discussing the famous birds-of-paradise, he mentions that they are described by “Padre Combes nell’istoria, che fa dell’Isola di Mindanao” (“Father Combés, in the History of the Island of Mindanao that he wrote”); and while reporting on pearl-fishing, he alludes to “che scrisse il Padre Combes Gesuita, nella sua Storia di Mindanao” (“what Father Combés writes about it in his History of Mindanao”).⁸³ But Francisco Combés’s account his closely followed throughout chapter 6 of book 2 of the section on the Philippines in the *Giro del Mondo*. A single example will be enough to illustrate Gemelli Careri’s now customary procedure:

Francisco Combés

Lo general de estas Islas, el el Gtilismo. Desde Sāgil a Samboangan, los playeros siguen la secta de Mahoma; en las Islas de Basilan, y Iolo, que es la Metropoli de la falsa Religiō, y la Meca deste Archipelago; porque alli tien el entierro de su primer Maestro, del qual los Caciques, para credito de sus engaños, han ido entablādo mil fabulas, que ya se han hecho tradicō mtirosa en este siglo.⁸⁴

Gemelli Careri

Generalmente in queste Isole sono di Religione Gentili; però da Sanxil a Samboangan, gli abitanti de’ Luoghi marittimi seguono la setta di Maometto; particolarmente nell’Isole di Basilan, e Xolò, che sono come la Metropoli delle falsa Religione, e la Mecca dell’Arcipelago; per esservi sepolto il primo Maestro, del quale i balordi Casikes narrano infinite favole.⁸⁵

Francisco Combés is also repeatedly mentioned in the marginal notes of the *Giro del Mondo*, but sometimes in an erroneous fashion, as “P. Robles histor. di Mindanao.”⁸⁶ Having in mind that Gemelli Careri used this work so heavily, and probably owned a copy of the *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao*, this was surely a typographical blunder.

Not many other traces of explicit and verifiable use of literary sources are found in the Philippines section of the *Giro del Mondo*, besides ample evidence of the use of the historical accounts of Francisco Colín and Francisco Combés. The only exception seems to be a reference in a chapter dedicated to the religious beliefs of the indigenous population, where Gemelli Careri mentions, in passing, that “Il vocabolario Tagalo, composto da un tal Francescano, parla largamente di queste fantasime” (or “the vocabulary of the Tagalog language composed by a certain Franciscan addresses these

83 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 163 and 197, respectively.

84 F. COMBÉS, op. cit., 1667, p. 39. For a general approach to the history of the Islamization of the Philippines, see Anthony REID, “Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: the critical phase, 1550–1650,” in Anthony Reid (ed.) *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, Ithaca (NY), Cornell University Press, 1993, pp. 151–79. And also Paolo NICELLI, *The First Islamization of the Philippines*, Zamboanga City, Silsilah Publications, 2003.

85 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 202.

86 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 237.

fantasies extensively”).⁸⁷ The Italian lawyer was alluding to the *Vocabulario de lengua Tagala*, a monumental dictionary of Tagalog and Spanish, prepared by Pedro de San Buenaventura, a Franciscan missionary active in the Philippines, which was published in 1613 in Pila, a town in the southern margins of the Laguna de Bay, by the famous printer Tomas Pinpin, with the collaboration of Domingos Loag. Quite probably, Gemelli Careri saw a copy of this book during his short residence in Manila, and it is not impossible that he made use of it while preparing his own travelogue, since the *Giro del Mondo*, besides quoting two specific pages of the dictionary in a marginal note—“Pag. 318. e 452”—abounds in Tagalog words.⁸⁸

But here and there, throughout the pages of volume 5 of the *Giro del Mondo*, references may be found to other well-known authors that the Italian lawyer allegedly read and used. A quick perusal will identify in the main text the name of “Tolomeo,” mentioned at least three times.⁸⁹ But all three references are traceable to the corresponding sections in the *Labor evangelica*, where in fact the Alexandrian geographer is repeatedly quoted.⁹⁰ Then, there is a mention about the healing virtues of bananas: “se si dee credere ad Avicenna, sono cordialeto” (“if one is to believe Avicenna, they are cordial”).⁹¹ Francisco Colín is the origin of this allusion, for in the section on plants of his chronicle of the Philippines he writes that in India the said fruit is considered very healthy, being given to sick people, as attested by “Garcia de Horta, referiendo de Avicena, y otros Medicos Arabes” (“Garcia de Orta, on the basis of Avicenna and other Arab physicians”).⁹² The Jesuit naturalist, so it seems, did not read the original treatise on *material medica* published in Goa, in 1563, by the Portuguese physician Garcia de Orta; indications scattered through his *Labor evangelica* show that

87 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699-1700, Vol. 5, p. 137. Concerning the Tagalog world-view, see Jean-Paul G. POTET, *Ancient Beliefs and Customs of the Tagalogs*, Raleigh (NC), Lulu Press Inc., 2014; for the Philippines in general, see William Henry SCOTT, *Barangay: Sixteenth-Century Philippine Culture and Society*, Manila, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995.

88 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699-1700, Vol. 5, p. 137. Cf. Pedro de SAN BUENAVENTURA, *Vocabulario de lengua tagala. El romance castellano puesto primero*, Cayetano Sánchez Fuertes (ed.), Valencia, Librerías París-Valencia, 1994. For a general approach to missionary linguistics, a widely debated topic, see Joaquín GARCÍA-MEDALL, “La traducción codificada: Las artes y vocabularios hispano-filipinos (1610-1910),” *Hermēneus. Revista de Traducción e Interpretación*, no. 9, 2007, pp. 1-21. For the wider context, see Vicente L. RAFAEL, *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*, Durham (NC), Duke University Press, 1992. Concerning Pinpin, see Damon L. Woods, “Tomas Pinpin and the Literate Indio: Tagalog Writing in the Early Spanish Philippines,” *UCLA Historical Journal*, Vol. 12, 1992, pp. 177-220.

89 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699-1700, Vol. 5, pp. 58, 61 and 67. On Ptolemy and the Philippines, see Thomas SUÁREZ, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, Singapore, Periplus, 1999.

90 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, pp. 2-5 e 23.

91 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699-700, Vol. 5, p. 185.

92 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 96.

instead he used an edition of the Latin translation produced by Carolus Cuius and first published in Antwerp in 1567. The Flemish botanist in fact alludes to Avicenna in the section about the “Musa” of his *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia*, following in the wake of the original text of Garcia de Orta that he was translating.⁹³ In another context, there is a mention in Gemelli Careri’s *Giro del Mondo* to the “Relazione, che fa Pietro Fernandez de Quiros, dello scoprimento, fatto nel 1595. dell’Isole di Salamone.”⁹⁴ Once again, the quotation comes directly from Francisco Colín, who mentions in his *Labor evangelica* “la relacion que haze Pedro Fernandez de Quiros del descubrimiento que hizo año de 1595. de las Islas de Salomón.”⁹⁵ The Jesuit chronicler was alluding to the Portuguese navigator Pedro Fernandes de Queirós, who participated in Spanish expeditions of exploration in the Pacific and who wrote countless memorials about the subject, some of which were published in Spain and elsewhere in the first decades of the seventeenth century.⁹⁶ And a third allusion involves a passage about crocodiles, where an author styled “Eusebio” is mentioned, with a marginal note pointing to “Histor. lib. 22. c. 5.”⁹⁷ Gemelli Careri, again, read the reference in his copy of Francisco Colín’s work, for the Jesuit writes about “lo que rifiere nuestro Eusebio del Cayman Indico.”⁹⁸ This was, of course, a reference to Juan Eusebio de Nieremberg, a seventeenth century Spanish naturalist, also Jesuit, who wrote widely about the natural history of the New World and Asia, and namely published a treatise on *Historiae Naturae* in Antwerp in 1635, where there were several references to crocodiles.⁹⁹

93 Carolus CLUSIUS, *Aromatum et simplicium aliquot medicamentorum apud Indos nascentium historia*, Jaime Walter (ed.), Lisbon, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1964, pp. 220–4. Cf. Garcia de ORTA, *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, Conde de Ficalho (ed.), 2 vols., Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987, Vol. 1, pp. 329–39. On Orta and Clusius, see Teresa Nobre de CARVALHO, *Os Desafios de Garcia de Orta: Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da Índia*, Lisbon, Esfera do Caos, 2015. Concerning Avicenna, see Jon MCGINNIS, *Avicenna*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010.

94 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 65.

95 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 17.

96 Cf. Pedro Fernández de QUIRÓS, *Memoriales de las Indias Australes*, Oscar Pinochet (ed.), Madrid, Historia 16, 1991. On Queirós, see Kevin SHEEHAN, “Voyaging in the Spanish Baroque: Science and Patronage in the Pacific Voyage of Pedro Fernández de Quirós, 1605–1606”, in Daniela Bleichmar et al. (eds.), *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires, 1500–1800*, Stanford (CA), Stanford University Press, 2009, pp. 233–46.

97 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, p. 166.

98 F. COLÍN, op. cit., 1663, p. 84; Colín’s marginal note is slightly different, and correct: “Hist. natural. lib. 12. c. 5.”

99 Juan Eusebio NIEREMBERG, *Historiae Naturae, Maxime Peregrinae, Libris*, Antwerp, Balthasar Moretus, Plantin Press, 1635, p. 270 (bk. 12, ch. 5). On Eusebio, see Juan Pimentel, “Baroque Natures: Juan E. Nieremberg, American Wonders, and Preterimperial Natural History” in D. Bleichmar et al. (eds.), op. cit., pp. 93–111.

Finally, there is the matter of the marginal notes. Gemelli Careri includes in the margins of the two books of the *Giro del Mondo*'s volume dedicated to the Philippines a series of bibliographical references, which are worthy of attention. Some of them are readily identifiable with works used and translated by the Italian author. Such is the case of the notes referring to Francisco Combés, the Jesuit author sometimes being mistakenly presented as "P. Robles."¹⁰⁰ All five references are correct and the corresponding passages are easily located in the *Historia de las Islas de Mindanao*, suggesting that Gemelli Careri possessed a copy of this work, probably acquired in Manila.¹⁰¹ Three other marginal notes, one about the "Vocabulario Tagalo," another about the "Histor." of Juan Eusebio Nieremberg, and still another about "Fratelo Giorgio Carrol," have already been analyzed.¹⁰² And then there are fifteen bibliographical references which are scattered in the margins of the pages of volume 5 of the section on the Philippines of the *Giro del Mondo*. All these notes, without exception, can be found with more or less the same wording in the pages of Colín's *Labor evangelica*. They are used by Gemelli Careri as erudite markers, suggesting that he consulted a wide range of sources to prepare his travelogue. Concerning the classical world, first, there is an anodyne Biblical quote;¹⁰³ then, there are two references to Ptolemy related to the geography of the Philippines;¹⁰⁴ next, there are three allusions to Pliny, always in the context of descriptions of the natural world;¹⁰⁵ there follows a reference to Plutarch, with respect to cockfighting;¹⁰⁶ and finally, a note concerning St. Ambrose, relating to birds.¹⁰⁷

The rest of the quotations refer to sixteenth and seventeenth century Iberian chroniclers, on whose works references to the Philippines could be found. Once again, these references were taken from the chronicle of Francisco Colín, and it is almost certain that Gemelli Careri did not consult or own the corresponding works. Two references, in the context of the voyage

100 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 197, 202, 237 and 238.

101 Cf. F. COMBÉS, op. cit., 1667, pp. 10, 35, 101–5.

102 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, Vol. 5, pp. 137, 166 and 192, respectively. Cf. *supra*.

103 *Idem, ibidem*, p. 159: "Iob. 39."

104 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, pp. 61 and 67.

105 *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 61, 178 and 192. On Pliny and his treatise on natural history, see Trevor MURPHY, *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004.

106 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, p. 134: "Plutar. in M. Ant. Alexander ab Alexand. lib. 4. c. 15"; the confronting text alludes to a "gioco usato alcuna fiata dagli antichi Imperatori Romani". On the subject, see M. Gwyn MORGAN, "Three Non-Roman Blood Sports", *The Classical Quarterly*, NS, Vol. 25, no. 1, 1975, pp. 117–22.

107 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, p. 160: "D. Ambros. in exam." This would be a reference to St. Ambrose's *Hexameron*, on which see Saint AMBROSE, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, trans. John J. Savage, New York, The Catholic University of America, 2003.

of circumnavigation led by Fernão de Magalhães, point to João de Barros and his *Décadas da Ásia*, the monumental chronicle of Portuguese endeavors in maritime Asia, whose first three volumes were published in Lisbon between 1552 and 1563.¹⁰⁸ One reference alludes to the Jesuit José de Acosta and to his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, a treatise dedicated to the New World, first published in Seville in 1590.¹⁰⁹ Two references mention Antonio de Morga, the author of the *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, a work dealing with Spanish discovery and settlement of the archipelago, which was first published in Mexico in 1609.¹¹⁰ And two references refer to the monumental chronicle *Filipe Segundo Rey de España* de Luis Cabrera de Cordoba, published in Madrid in 1619.¹¹¹

Concluding remarks

A most detailed description of the Philippines, at the close of the seventeenth century, emerges from the pages subscribed by Gemelli Careri. A learned and quite enthusiastic description, that besides being based on first hand observations, also makes wide use of other sources, such as oral intelligence provided mainly by Spanish informers and written reports collected in published books.¹¹² Thus, of course, the accusation of plagiarism circulated in European literary circles during the eighteenth century. But the Italian lawyer, when transcribing or adapting other descriptions of the Philippines, follows contemporary practices. One of the advices to other travellers that Gemelli Careri includes in later editions of his travelogue is that before visiting a certain country or region they should read everything that has been published about it in European printing presses: “non farà fuor di proposito aver letto tutte le Relazioni, che si sono pubblicate de paesi, che

108 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, pp. 164 and 227. For an edition of the *Décadas*, see João de BARROS, *Da Ásia*, Nicolau Paglierini (ed.), 8 vols., Lisbon, Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973. On Barros, see Charles R. BOXER, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing, 1981.

109 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, p. 109. Cf. José de ACOSTA, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, José Alcina Franch (ed.), Madrid, Historia 16, 1986. On Acosta, see Claudio M. BURGALTA, *José de Acosta, S.J. (1540–1600): His Life and Thought*, Chicago, Loyola Press, 1999.

110 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, pp. 57 and 72. Cf. Antonio de MORGÁ, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, Madrid, Polifemo, 1997.

111 G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1699–1700, pp. 58 and 72. Cf. Luis CABRERA DE CÓRDOBA, *Filipe Segundo Rey de España*, Madris, Luis Sanchez, 1619. On Cabrera, see Renaud MALAVIALLE, “Exemplarité et historicité dans *De historia, para entenderla y escribirla* (1611) de Luis Cabrera de Córdoba” in Manuel Borrego-Pérez (ed.), *L'Exemplum narratif dans le discours argumentatif (XVII–XX^e siècles)*, Besançon, Presses Universitaires Franc-Comtoises, 2002, pp. 223–42.

112 For a comparison with other accounts of the Philippines, see D. F. LACH and E. J. VAN KLEY, op. cit., Vol. 3, bk. 3, pp. 1491–61.

si voglion camminare, como altresí le loro Istorie” (“it would not be without purpose to have read all the accounts that have been published about the countries one which to cross, as well as their histories”).¹¹³ The learned traveller would profit immensely, and in many different ways, from his readings. And this is probably what he himself did, before setting out on his voyage around the world, getting his hands into a wide array of publications, which he either took with him on his travels, or else transcribed.¹¹⁴

All in all, the Italian lawyer Giovanni Francesco Gemelli Careri, through the pages of his *Giro del Mondo*, appears as an extremely well documented informer about the world of the Philippines. The analysis of the fifth volume of his account shows, on the one hand, that he undoubtedly made the journey all the way to Manila, in the last years of the seventeenth century. He was an attentive observer and a diligent reporter, who produced an invaluable *travel guide*, in a most modern sense of the expression, a guide in which the attentive reader could find not only practical information about the daily experiences of journeying to the Philippines, but also solid materials concerning the history, geography and peoples of the lands described. The Italian lawyer based his work on his own experiences of travel, of course, but also on those of various Europeans whom he met in Manila and elsewhere, and who were able to supplement his own observations with oral and manuscript reports. The *Giro del Mondo* is filled with such references to Europeans—usually government officials or members of some Catholic congregation—whom he encountered during his stay in the island of Luzon, and who contributed to Gemelli Careri’s baggage of information about the Philippine world.

On the other hand, he seems to have had access to a wide variety of recently printed written sources about the Philippines, obtained either in Naples before his journey began in 1693, or in the course of his five-year voyage in one of the European-ruled enclaves he visited along the way, or else again in Naples after his return home in 1698. Either way, it seems clear that he possessed or had access to an important library, of which some books were heavily used in the composition of the manuscript of the *Giro del Mondo*. Did he take those books with him, along the way? Perhaps only some of them, in the case of the volume concerning the Philippines, such as the *Labor evangelica* by Francisco Colín or the *Historia de las islas de Mindanao* by Francisco

113 This advice is only found on a later edition: G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1708, Vol. 6, pp. 288–9.

114 For the Italian traveler’s advice, see G. F. G. CARERI, op. cit., 1708, Vol. 6, pp. 283–92: “Conclusione dell’Opera, con alcuni utili avvertimenti per chi viaggia” (“Conclusion of the Work, with some useful advices to those who travel”).

Combés. Others, he consulted at home or in someone else's library, certainly taking extensive manuscript notes of his readings. One important notion to have in mind is that Gemelli Careri did not examine personally all the titles he mentions in the fifth volume of the *Giro del Mondo*. A common contemporary habit was to reproduce the bibliographical references found in other books as one's own readings, and a closer analysis of the list of the Italian traveller's marginal references clearly confirms this practice.

Books are not completely neutral; on the contrary, the works which Gemelli Careri consulted expressed different views, even when dealing with such an exotic destination for European readers. The Society of Jesus, being extremely active in the production and publication of accounts about the overseas worlds, had a wider visibility in the European book scene. Also, the Jesuits were established throughout the Philippine islands.¹¹⁵ Consequently, Gemelli Careri's travel account reflects the predominance of the Jesuit sources on the Philippines, and also its richness. Many of the chapters of the fifth volume of the *Giro del Mondo* read exactly like a Jesuit account. Nevertheless, he usually complements his sources with his own layman's comments and with invaluable reports of his own experiences. His work, thus, appears as an extremely interesting symbiosis of practical knowledge of the Philippines and a Jesuit-based account of life on the archipelago.

Published for the first time in 1699–1700, the *Giro del Mondo* presented a rather original and elaborate picture of the Philippines, capable of competing with other contemporary accounts available on the European reading market, for its compactness and its volume of information. Thus, it enjoyed huge editorial success in the first half of the eighteenth century. At the same time, it was the product of an innovative methodology of writing, since Gemelli Careri travelled for the specific purposes of collecting information about the world around him, intelligence which was then confronted and completed with the most up-to-date materials available on print about the same geographical places that had been visited by the wandering author. And there was no other purpose to Gemelli Careri's literary endeavours than to acquire fame as a travel writer, eventually with the social benefits that could be associated with such standing. No political or religious agenda seems to emerge from the *Giro del Mondo*, contrary to so many other publications about the overseas worlds that were then flooding the European printing market.¹¹⁶

115 See Horacio de la COSTA, *The Jesuits in the Philippines, 1581–1768*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 1961.

116 For a general approach to travel writing in this period, see Juan PIMENTEL, *Testigos del mundo: Ciencia, literatura y viajes en la Ilustración*, Barcelona, Marcial Pons, 2003.

The characteristics of the section on the Philippines of the *Giro del Mondo*, as would be expected, can be extrapolated to the other five volumes. Gemelli Careri used the same procedure when writing about the other regions of the world, namely Turkey, Persia, India, China, and New Spain. And, curiously enough, this extraordinary piece of travel writing, filled with many exceptional first-hand experiences balanced with significant doses of intertextuality, and written from an innovative perspective, has been rather neglected by modern scholarship. But, as the careful reader will easily conclude, the fifth volume of the *Giro del Mondo* appears as an outstanding source for the study of such themes as the Philippines in the seventeenth century, the Catholic missions in the Spanish controlled archipelago, European travel writing, the practices of intertextuality, the literary networks in Europe and beyond, and so on.

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