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### ***Information networks in the Estado da Índia, a case study: was Garcia de Orta the organizer of the Codex Casanatense 1889?***

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# INFORMATION NETWORKS IN THE *ESTADO DA ÍNDIA*, A CASE STUDY: WAS GARCIA DE ORTA THE ORGANIZER OF THE *CODEX CASANATENSE* 1889?\*

by  
RUI MANUEL LOUREIRO \*\*

The construction of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* during the sixteenth century implied the development of more or less elaborated networks for the gathering, circulation and treatment of information, at the public as well as private levels. The Portuguese crown needed precise intelligence about the East African coast and maritime Asia, in order to establish permanent basis in the most strategic port-cities and intervene in the most profitable trade routes, overcoming all obstacles and making the necessary alliances and compromises. Early attempts to compile the available news on a portable manuscript format in the 1510s included the *Suma Oriental* of Tomé Pires and the *Livro das Coisas do Oriente* by Duarte Barbosa. But with the extraordinary growth of Portuguese presence and activities in the regions to the east of Cape of Good Hope, both treatises were soon complemented by a continuous output of textual and graphic information coming from all corners of the Orient.<sup>1</sup> In the meantime, private groups or individuals working within the *Estado da Índia* or on its margins had their own agendas, which were also on demand for all manner of information/documentation. Very specific needs – political, religious, commercial, cultural – gave rise to as many different projects, each with its own methods and approaches. One has to think only of the rigorous procedures adopted by the Society of Jesus to gather

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<sup>1</sup> For a convenient synthesis, see Luís Filipe BARRETO, *Lavrar o Mar: Os Portugueses e a Ásia, c. 1480-c. 1630*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000; for a more thorough analysis of the sixteenth century printed Portuguese materials, see Donald F. LACH, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vols. 1-2, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1965-1977.

information about Asia, with its elaborate system of periodic and systematic letters and reports at different levels of the organization.<sup>2</sup>

Several Portuguese writers working on specific cultural projects were also able to mobilize important information networks across maritime Asia. Outstanding examples, among many others, are João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, who were responsible, one after the other, for the vast textual enterprise known as *Décadas da Ásia*, dealing with the history of Portuguese political and military endeavors in the Orient in the sixteenth century. Each of them worked and wrote under diverse circumstances, using different methods and receiving dissimilar support from the Portuguese authorities. Barros never visited Asia and was active in Lisbon for half a century, between the 1520s and 1570; Couto lived most of his life in Goa, from 1559 to 1616.<sup>3</sup> But both were able to muster many of the official textual resources available from the *Estado da Índia*, while at the same time availing themselves of the collaboration of countless European and Asian informers, public servants, Catholic missionaries or private entrepreneurs/adventurers.<sup>4</sup> Among many others, the chosen case study in the present instance will be Garcia de Orta, the celebrated Portuguese physician and naturalist active in India, and mostly in Goa, between 1534 and the date of his demise, around 1568, for he offers a remarkable example of a private enterprise of information collection within the *Estado da Índia*. And, furthermore, Orta's case is particularly noteworthy in the context of a research project dealing with the renowned manuscript *Codex Casanatense 1889*, "questo grande itinerario pittorico dell'Oriente",<sup>5</sup> which, as will be argued further on, could have been organized or ordered by none other than the Portuguese botanist himself.<sup>6</sup>

Some introductory remarks about the *Codex Casanatense 1889* are perhaps in order. The present location of this celebrated collection of drawings, as it is evident, is the Roman library, established in the opening years of the eighteenth century according to the bequest of cardinal Girolamo Casa-

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<sup>2</sup> On the Jesuit information enterprise, see John CORREIA-AFONSO, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773*, Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1969; and also Rui Manuel LOUREIRO, *Na Companhia dos Livros: Manuscritos e impressos nas missões jesuítas da Ásia Oriental, 1540-1620*, Macau, Universidade de Macau, 2007.

<sup>3</sup> Although there are good editions of individual *Décadas*, the only complete edition is still João de BARROS and Diogo do COUTO, *Da Ásia, Décadas*, ed. Nicolau Pagliarini, 24 vols., Lisboa, Livraria San Carlos, 1973-1975.

<sup>4</sup> For their methods of work and information networks, see: Charles R. BOXER, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1981; and R. M. LOUREIRO, *A Biblioteca de Diogo do Couto*, Macau, Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Roberto BARCHIESI, "L'Oriente catalogato in un manoscritto pittorico del Cinquecento", *Quaderni Portoghesi*, n. 4, 1978, pp. 163-182 (p. 172).

<sup>6</sup> I use the edition by Luís de MATOS (ed.), *Imagens do Oriente no século XVI: Reprodução do códice português da Biblioteca Casanatense*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1985 (who attributes the drawings to a Portuguese painter).

nate.<sup>7</sup> Curiously enough, studies about this fascinating figure, closely connected with the papal circles in seventeenth century Rome, do not abound, and it is rather difficult to assess how he came into possession of a manuscript prepared in faraway Goa in the middle years of the sixteenth century, as was the case of the *Album di disegni indiani* kept at the Casanatense. Apparently Casanate's curiosity about books and manuscripts was truly insatiable, since he managed to assemble a library of several thousand volumes. On the other hand, he was regularly in contact with European missionaries coming back from Asia and, actually, he had access to written materials of Asian provenance, since among many other tasks he was involved in the famous Chinese Rites controversy.<sup>8</sup> Any one of his acquaintances might have brought him the well-known Indo-Portuguese album from Goa, or from Lisbon. Alternatively or complementarily, the *Codex Casanatense 1889* might have belonged to other libraries. One option would be the large collection of books of Giovanni Maria Castellani – physician to pope Gregory XV, who ruled briefly between 1621 and 1623, that were also incorporated into the Biblioteca Casanatense.<sup>9</sup> Another option would be the library of the jurist Mattia Casanate, another bibliophile, who passed away in 1651, leaving his large collection to his son, cardinal Casanate.<sup>10</sup> Rome, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, for a number of reasons but mainly for diplomatic/religious purposes, maintained regular contacts with Portugal and its overseas empire, and the movement of diplomatic and missionary personnel was constant. Castellani and both Casanate, father and son, might have been owners of the codex, and further researches will be necessary to establish the long itinerary of the precious manuscript, until it reached its final destination in Rome's Casanatense.<sup>11</sup>

The *Codex Casanatense 1889* is allegedly the “earliest extant collection of paintings of Eastern life and peoples”.<sup>12</sup> Georg Schurhammer seems to have been the first researcher to call attention to this collection of 76 watercolor drawings, on large double sheets of paper, which were painted in India in the

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<sup>7</sup> On the history of the library, see Vincenzo DE GREGORIO, *La Biblioteca Casanatense di Roma*, Napoli, Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1993; on the cardinal, see Maria D'ANGELO, *Il Cardinale Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700)*, Roma, Grafia, 1923. More recently, see Margherita PALUMBO, “La ‘biblioteca haeretica’ del cardinale Girolamo Casanate”, in Vittoria Bonani (ed.), *Dal torchio alle fiamme, Inquisizione e censura: Nuovi contributi dalla più antica Biblioteca Provinciale d'Italia*, Salerno, Biblioteca Provinciale, 2005, pp. 21-32.

<sup>8</sup> See references in A. M. Martins do VALE, *Entre a Cruz e o Dragão: O Padroado Português na China no Século XVIII*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2002.

<sup>9</sup> On Castellani's legacy, see V. DE GREGORIO, *Casanatense e dintorni: Saggi su biblioteche e cultura, particolarmente a Roma nel XVII secolo*, Napoli, CUEN, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> See Marina PANETTA, *La “Libreria” di Mattia Casanate*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1988.

<sup>11</sup> In the meantime, for the Roman intellectual context, it will be useful to see Antonella ROMANO (ed.), *Rome et la science moderne: entre Renaissance et Lumières*, Roma, École Française de Rome, 2008.

<sup>12</sup> D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, p. 64.

middle years of the sixteenth century.<sup>13</sup> The album was apparently sent to Lisbon from the Jesuit College of Goa in the 1620s, eventually finding its way into the Biblioteca Casanatense by still unknown means. “The majority of the watercolors show scenes of India and its various peoples, but there are also pictures of natives of Africa, Arabia, Persia, Indonesia, Indochina, Malacca, the Moluccas, and China”.<sup>14</sup> Approximately half of the drawings represent couples in formal positions, sometimes with a child included. This group of paintings presents a sort of systematic geo-ethnographic compendium of Oriental peoples contacted by the Portuguese in the first half of the sixteenth century, following the African and the Asian coast lines, from the “cafres do cabo de [boa] esperança” (*cafres* from the Cape of Good Hope) all the way to the “Jente de terra da china” (people from the land of China).<sup>15</sup> The Japanese, however, are conspicuously absent from the album; but maybe this exception may be explained later on, by chronological reasons. The drawings are rather realistic, in their presentation and coloring of different types of hairstyle, facial features, clothes, shoes, ornaments, weapons, and in some cases mounts, which seems to suggest that the artist worked with real life models.

The other half of the drawings represents smaller or larger groups of Oriental people (from 3 to 39 people), engaged in all sorts of activities. Some paintings depict daily occupations, such as “plowing, sowing, harvesting, driving oxen caravans, selling water, bathing, washing clothes, and hunting birds”; others represent social or religious practices, such as “sacrifices before the gods, marriages, pilgrimages, ritual suicide, and portraits of the *trimurti* (Shiva, Vishnu, and Brahma)”; and others still portray military activities, such as warriors on foot or on horseback, war elephants, “naval engage-

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<sup>13</sup> Georg SCHURHAMMER, “Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier”, *Garcia de Orta*, special number, 1956, pp. 247-256; republished in G. SCHURHAMMER, *Orientalia*, ed. László Szilas, Lisboa and Roma, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos and Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1963, pp. 111-118 (I use this later edition). The *Codex Casanatense 1889* includes 141 numbered pages, with most of the drawings occupying double pages. See furthermore: D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, pp. 64-66; José Manuel GARCIA, *Ao Encontro dos Descobrimientos: Temas de História da Expansão*, Lisboa, Editorial Presença, 1994, pp. 85-92. I have dealt with the omnipresence of weapons in the drawings in R. M. LOUREIRO, “As armas e os barões: aspectos bélicos da presença portuguesa no Oriente”, in Joaquim Caetano, Fátima Pimenta Macedo and Jorge Caravana (ed.), *Rites of Power, Oriental Weapons: Collection of Jorge Caravana/Ritos de Poder, Armas Orientais: Coleção de Jorge Caravana*, Casal de Cambra, Caleidoscópio, 2010, pp. 9-22. For useful comments on the *Codex*, see Ernst van den BOOGAART, *Civil and Corrupt Asia: Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 2003. See also Maria João CAMACHO, “Olhares cruzados”, *Oceanos*, 32, 1997, pp. 8-9 (this number of the journal of the Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimientos Portugueses reproduces with excellent quality all the images of the *Codex Casanatense 1889*, but the other articles included only marginally refer to the images). An excellent reproduction of the codex can be found in *Oltremare: Codice Casanatense 1889, Con Il Libro Dell’Oriente Di Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Fernand Braudel, Gianni Guadalupi, Charles R. Boxer and Roberto Barchiesi, Milano, Franco Maria Ricci, 1984.

<sup>14</sup> D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pls. I and LXXVI.

ments, and duels”.<sup>16</sup> Most of these scenes, always very detailed, appear to have been drawn on location, with live models. A note should be made that four drawings depict scenes with Portuguese people in them: first, the drawing of “Jente portuguesa de ormuz”, a group of Portuguese men who are having their meal inside a pool in Hormuz; then, the drawing of “mulheres solteyras indias”, Indian Christian maidens who are meeting a Portuguese man; and finally, the double drawing of the “Jente onrada portuguesa da india”, a parade with a Portuguese nobleman riding a horse, while his wife (?) is being transported in a palanquin.<sup>17</sup>

It has been suggested that the drawings included in the manuscript codex, and representing Oriental and Portuguese characters and scenes, were produced before 1546.<sup>18</sup> One of the images presents the “Rey de cābaya”, the king of Cambay, and the caption mentions that he was the one who “pos cerco ha Fortaleza de dio”, laid siege to the fortress of Diu. The first siege of the Portuguese fortress of Diu, in effect, took place in 1538, during the reign of sultan Mahmūd III (r.1537-1554). Eight years later, in 1546, the same Gujarati ruler again attacked the Portuguese stronghold, and since then all Portuguese sources clearly separated the “first” from the “second” siege of Diu.<sup>19</sup> This dating, by the way, would explain the absence of images of Japanese. The first documented voyage of the Portuguese to Japan took place in 1543 and was accomplished by private adventurers active in the South China Sea, outside of the control of the *Estado da Índia*. News of such endeavor only slowly filtered back to Goa. And the first Japanese only arrived in Goa in 1548, by the hand of father Francis Xavier.<sup>20</sup>

In the meantime, all 76 watercolors appear to be from the same hand, and it has been plausibly suggested – on the basis of style and artistic conventions – that the anonymous artist was an Indian or an Indo-Portuguese.<sup>21</sup> Many local painters were active in Goa, in the middle years of the sixteenth century, as attested by Miguel Vaz Coutinho, general vicar of Goa, who suggested to the Portuguese monarch Dom João III in late 1545 that the

<sup>16</sup> D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, p. 65.

<sup>17</sup> L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pls. XVIII, LI and LII-LIII. I don't include in this count the last drawing, which was added later. On the contents of the *Codex Casanatense*, see Ernst van den Boogaart's appendix in the present collection of essays, “Some remarks on the sequence of images, captions and general subject of the Codex Casanatense”.

<sup>18</sup> G. SCHURHAMMER, *Orientalia*, cit., pp. 116-117.

<sup>19</sup> See M. N. PEARSON, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat: The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, New Delhi, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, 1976.

<sup>20</sup> See R. M. LOUREIRO, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins: Portugal e a China no Século XVI*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 363-396; and Olof G. LINDIN, *Tanegashima: The Arrival of Europe in Japan*, London, Routledge Curzon, 2002.

<sup>21</sup> See Maria Amélia FERNANDES, “O Códice Casanatense: o encontro civilizacional, através de um discurso etno-antropológico em imagens”, *Les Ateliers des Interprètes*, n. 4, 1992, pp. 135-153 (attributes the drawings to an Indian painter); and Maria Manuel MOTA, “Códice Casanatense: An Indo-Portuguese Portrait of Life in 16<sup>th</sup>-Century India”, *Marg*, Vol. 52, n. 2, 2001, pp. 34-45 (attributes the drawings to an Indian artist).

“pintores jemtiós” should only be allowed to paint Christian religious images if they actually converted to Christianity. He emphasized the activities of the “mocadao”,<sup>22</sup> the “most important man among them, who controls what they do, very skilled in the art of painting and the best professional of them all”.<sup>23</sup> Any one of these Indian painters could be the author of the drawings included in the *Codex Casanatense 1889*. In the meantime, the Goan territory was certainly a most cosmopolitan area, where representatives of the many peoples depicted in the collection of “disegni indiani” of the Casanatense, coming from all parts of East Africa and maritime Asia, gathered in large numbers. Also, many of the Indian scenes included in the Indo-Portuguese album could be witnessed in Goa and in neighboring places. But at least some of the images appear to have been made elsewhere, such as the ones that refer to Gujarat and to the Persian Gulf regions. And this seems to imply that the author of the drawings made some travels before or while working on its images. Did he travel on his own? Or was he accompanying the commissioner of the album? And that’s the important question: who was responsible for the commission and organization of the *Codex Casanatense 1889*? The captions that explain the images are written in Portuguese and it has been assumed that the original owner of the collection of drawings was a Portuguese living in Goa at the time of composition. Most probably the Portuguese owner, and not the painter, was responsible for writing the captions.

Such collections of drawings do not abound in the Iberian world in the first half of the sixteenth century; but one outstanding example comes immediately to mind. In the late 1520s, the artist Christoph Weiditz travelled across the Iberian Peninsula in the entourage of emperor Charles V and prepared a collection of drawings of several dozens of typical figures he encountered on his journeys. The *Trachtenbuch*, as it has been styled, bears some resemblance with the *Codex Casanatense*, in its organization, its attention to dressing codes, and its depiction of exotic customs, although the style of

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<sup>22</sup> *Mocadão*, from the Arabic *muqaddam*, was the Portuguese rendering of “foreman” (see José Pedro MACHADO, *Influência Árabe no Vocabulário Português*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Edição de Álvaro Pinto, Revista de Portugal, Vol. 2, 1958-1961, pp. 180-181).

<sup>23</sup> António da Silva REGO (ed.), *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente, Índia*, 12 vols., Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias/Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1947-1958, Vol. 3, 1950, p. 223: “homem principal delles e que oulha pelo que fazem, de grande habilidade neste mester de pintar e o mylhor oficial de todos”. On Miguel Vaz, see G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier: Su vida y su tiempo*, trans. Félix de Areitio Ariznabarreta, Francisco Zurbano and Jesús Iturrioz, 4 vols., Pamplona, Gobierno de Navarra, Compañía de Jesús and Arzobispado de Pamplona, Vol. 2, 1992, pp. 202-208. Curiously enough, Orta mentions Miguel Vaz in his work: see Garcia de ORTA, *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, ed. count of Ficalho, 2 vols., Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1987 (I use this edition for all quotations, all translations being my own), Vol. 2, p. 120. For an overview of early Indo-Portuguese art, see Pedro DIAS, *A Viagem das Formas*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1995, pp. 185-216; and P. DIAS, *Índia, Artes decorativas e iconográficas*, Lisboa, Público, 2008.

the drawings is clearly European.<sup>24</sup> But most certainly it had a very limited circulation. However, the compilation of the *Trachtenbuch* reveals that the practice of collecting drawings of ethnographic value and interest was in the order of the day in Portugal and Spain. And most probably this practice drew its inspiration from the appearance in Europe of customs books such as Johann Boemus' *Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges et Ritus*, published in Augsburg in 1520, which was subsequently translated into several European languages.<sup>25</sup> The textual enterprises of men such as Boemus, it appears, was contemporary with the idea of complementing written descriptions of alien or exotic customs with graphic supports, and there are some early sixteenth century examples of artists who never travelled to Asia, such as Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Dürer, but produced drawings related to the Oriental world that was being contacted by the Portuguese.<sup>26</sup> Many such drawings representing Asian peoples, animals or artifacts circulated in manuscript form or as individual printed engravings.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> See Christoph WEIDITZ, *Authentic Everyday Dress of the Renaissance: All 154 Plates from the "Trachtenbuch"*, ed. Theodor Hampe, New York, Dover Publications, 1994. For a stimulating analysis, see Andrea Mckenzie SATTERFIELD, *The assimilation of the marvelous other: Reading Christoph Weiditz's Trachtenbuch (1529) as an ethnographic document*, unpublished M. A. dissertation, Tampa, Florida, University of South Florida, 2007 [accessed 27 December 2012]. Available at <http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/etd/2353>. Also see Marília dos Santos LOPES, "Portugueses do século XVI no *Trachtenbuch* de Christoph Weiditz", *Oceanos*, n. 26, 1996, pp. 104-107; and also Gabriele MENTGES, "Pour une approche renouvelée des recueils de costumes de la Renaissance. Une cartographie vestimentaire de l'espace et du temps", *Apparence(s)*, n. 1, 2007 [accessed 8 December 2012]. Available at <http://apparences.revues.org/104>. There is a new edition of the *Trachtenbuch*, which I have not seen: C. WEIDITZ, *El Códice de Trajes*, ed. José Luis Casado Soto and Carlos Soler d'Hyver de las Deses, 2 vols., Valencia, Ediciones Grial, 2001.

<sup>25</sup> For such a suggestion, see A. M. SATTERFIELD, op. cit., pp. 35-38. For an interesting, but rather neglected, approach to travel and ethnography in early modern Europe, see Justin STAGL, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800*, Chur (Switzerland), Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995. On Boemus, see the classical analysis by Margaret T. HODGEN, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971, pp. 111-161; and also Klaus A. VOGEL, "Cultural Variety in a Renaissance Perspective: Johannes Boemus and 'The Manners, Laws and Customs of all People' (1520)", in Henriette Bugge and Joan Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Shifting Cultures: Interaction and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe*, Münster, LIT Verlag, 1995, pp. 17-34.

<sup>26</sup> For a general overview, see D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, pp. 78-95. On the notion of "exotic", see Peter MASON, *Infelicities: Representations of the Exotic*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. On Burgkmair and Dürer there is a rich bibliography, but see respectively Stephanie LEITCH, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*, New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2010, and Larry SILVER and Jeffrey Chipps SMITH (ed.), *The Essential Dürer*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

<sup>27</sup> On coeval printmaking and print collecting, see Mark P. McDONALD, *Ferdinand Columbus: Renaissance Collector*, London, The British Museum Press, 2005. Printed collections of costume books only became popular in the 1560s, after François Desprez published his *Recueil de la diversité des habits, qui sont de present en usage, tant es pays d'Europe, Asie, Affrique & Isles sauvages, le tout fait apres le naturel* in Paris in 1562; see Isabelle PARESIS, "Images de l'autre vêtu à la Renaissance: Le recueil d'habits de François Desprez (1562-1567)", *Journal de la Renaissance*, Vol. 4, 2006, pp. 25-56. This trend would culminate in the celebrated *Habiti antichi et*



The Portuguese had been collecting news about every aspect of the Oriental lands and seas they visited or heard about, since their first visits to India. Most of the information was conveyed to Europe in textual or cartographic format by civil, military and religious servants of the Portuguese ruling house or the Portuguese *Padroado*.<sup>28</sup> Instances of Portuguese iconographic information, although not abundant, are also known in the first half of the sixteenth century, including portraits of Portuguese viceroys or governors, fortresses and port-cities, and sailing ships.<sup>29</sup> Paramount examples include, on the one hand, the fortress drawings prepared by the chronicler Gaspar Correia to illustrate his *Lendas da Índia*, a monumental chronicle of the first half century of Portuguese endeavors in the Orient; and, on the other hand, the nautical drawings that enrich the three maritime rutters prepared by the famous navigator and scientist Dom João de Castro, between 1538 and 1541. And, as a matter of fact, the names of both authors have been suggested as the possible owners or commissioners of the *Codex Casanatense 1889*, although no particular arguments for such identification were advanced.<sup>30</sup> Both were likely candidates, of course. Gaspar Correia went to India as a young man, in the early years of the sixteenth century, and he lived there for half a century, until his death around 1563.<sup>31</sup> He worked within the inner circles of the *Estado da Índia* government, he collected manuscripts relating to Portuguese activities in the Orient, and he was also an amateur painter, responsible for sundry art works, such as portraits of Portuguese noblemen, depictions of the armadas of the *Carreira da Índia* and bird's-eye views of relevant Asian port-cities. Dom João de Castro lived in India inter-

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*moderni di tutte il mondo* published by Cesare Vecellio at Venice in 1590, which included no less than 420 woodcuts; on this author, see Jeannine GUÉRIN DALLE MESE, *L'occhio di Cesare Vecellio: Abiti e costume esotici nel '500*, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998. On costume books, there is a wealth of literature, but see: Daniel DEFERT, "Un genre ethnographique profane au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les livres d'habits (Essai d'ethno-iconographie)", in Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (ed.), *Histoires de l'anthropologie (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris, Klincksieck, 1984, pp. 25-41; and Odile BLANC, "Image du monde et portraits d'habits: les recueils de costumes à la Renaissance", *Bulletin de Bibliophilie*, n. 2, 1995, pp. 221-261.

<sup>28</sup> For a survey of early reports, see António Alberto Banha de ANDRADE, *Mundos Novos do Mundo: Panorama da Difusão, pela Europa, de Notícias dos Descobrimentos Geográficos Portugueses*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1972; and D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 1, bks. 1-2, 1965.

<sup>29</sup> See D. F. LACH, op. cit., Vol. 2, bk. 1, 1970, pp. 64-77. And also Paulo PEREIRA, "Iconografia dos Descobrimentos", in Luís de Albuquerque and Francisco Contento Domingues (ed.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Editorial Caminho, 1994, pp. 505-513; and M. S. LOPES, *Coisas maravilhosas e até agora nunca vistas: para uma iconografia dos Descobrimentos*, Lisboa, Quetzal Editores, 1998.

<sup>30</sup> See J. M. GARCIA, op. cit., pp. 85-92.

<sup>31</sup> On Gaspar Correia, who is clearly understudied, see Maria João Loução de CARVALHO, *Gaspar Correia e dois perfis de governador: Lopo Soares de Albergaria e Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, Em busca de uma causalidade*, unpublished M. A. dissertation, Lisboa, Universidade Aberta, 2009; and on Dom João de Castro, see Luís de ALBUQUERQUE, *Navegadores, Viajantes e Aventureros, Séculos XV e XVI*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Editorial Caminho, Vol. 2, 1987, pp. 106-121.

mittently between 1538 and 1548, date of his demise in Goa, the last three years as governor of the *Estado da Índia*. He was a highly cultivated man, actively curious about Asian matters, and a gifted observer and painter, and there are examples of his interest in collecting Oriental manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> However, be that as it may, no direct link can be securely established between the organization of the *Codex Casanatense 1889* and either Gaspar Correia or Dom João de Castro.

Although both of them should be kept on hold, perhaps other likely candidates can be mustered in Portuguese Goa. The organizer or commissioner of the collection of manuscript drawings was a Portuguese man who lived in India in the middle years of the sixteenth century. He probably travelled extensively across maritime Asia. He didn't necessarily have to be linked with the official circles of the *Estado da Índia*, since the album of "disegni indiani" does not seem to be connected with a clear project of imperial propaganda. And he must have been interested in collecting information about Oriental matters, either for his own enjoyment and education or for purposes of preparing some sort of geographic/ethnographic treatise. So, besides collecting drawings, he would have been gathering European printed books, as well as manuscript reports, maps, letters and accounts. And such a man would certainly stand out, even in a cosmopolitan place such as Goa.<sup>33</sup> Who were the other likely candidates? At least three come to mind.

The first one is the already mentioned Duarte Barbosa, the celebrated author of the *Livro das Cousas do Oriente*.<sup>34</sup> This extensive geographical account, which was concluded around 1517, but subsequently corrected and enlarged, described all the oriental regions extending from the Cape of Good Hope all the way to the southern coast of China. Not much is known about Barbosa, who for many years was a scrivener at the Portuguese factory in Cannanore and who lived in India until at least 1549. He does not seem to have travelled widely, but his geographical treatise bears a curious similitude with the *Codex Casanatense 1889*, which also adopts a topographic organization from west to east, following the African and then the Asian coast lines. Furthermore, Duarte Barbosa was fluent in the Malayalam language and very familiar with the Malabar region, which is rather well represented in

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<sup>32</sup> See Eugenio ASENSIO, "Un relato árabe recogido por D. João de Castro", in Manuel Cavaleiro de Ferreira *et al.* (ed.), *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Imprensa de Coimbra, Vol. 1, 1959-1960, pp. 395-413.

<sup>33</sup> About cultural life in Goa, see Catarina Madeira SANTOS, "Goa É a Chave de Toda a Índia": *Perfil Político da Capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1999.

<sup>34</sup> On Duarte Barbosa, see L. F. BARRETO, "Duarte Barbosa e Tomé Pires. Os Autores das Primeiras Geografias Globais do Oriente", in Berta Ares Queija and Serge Gruzinski (ed.), *Entre dos Mundos: Fronteras Culturales y Agentes Mediadores*, Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1997, pp. 177-192. For a critical edition of his work, see Duarte BARBOSA, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa, 2 vols., Lisboa, Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1996-2000.

the drawings of the manuscript album. But apart from these connections, no further evidences point him as the organizer of the collection of drawings. The second likely candidate is Fernão Mendes Pinto, the equally celebrated author of the *Peregrinaçam*, a prodigious “book of memories” purporting to describe its author’s travels and adventures across all of Asia, from the Red Sea to Japan, in the two decades that extend from 1538 to 1558. During this long period, he repeatedly passed through Goa. And it has been determined that the account of Mendes Pinto’s travels, which was posthumously published in 1613 in Lisbon, made use of a vast array of published and manuscript sources, textual as well as cartographic.<sup>35</sup> Could the Portuguese traveler have commissioned and used the *Codex Casanatense 1889*? It’s a possibility, although unproved.<sup>36</sup> Against it is the fact that the majority of the Indo-Portuguese drawings refer to areas that fall outside the geographical scope of the *Peregrinaçam*, such as the Arabian Peninsula, the Persian hinterland, and certain areas of the Indian subcontinent. The third candidate is Garcia de Orta, as previously suggested.

The regular contact with the *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia* for a number of years led me in different occasions<sup>37</sup> to ponder about two specific problems: on the one hand, the number and type of sources used by Garcia de Orta to put together his massive textual enterprise; on the other hand, the long list of informers that the Portuguese author appealed to in the course of his work as a writer. The composition of such a huge and complex book, dealing with so many and different subjects, pertaining to countless geographical regions, had to be the product of at least four different factors: a sophisticated *academic formation*, a well stocked *specialized library*, a long and accomplished *practical experience*, and an enormous *network of informers*. All these themes have been dealt with by previous researchers, and namely by the Francisco Manuel de Melo Breyner, count of Ficalho, in his classical biography of Garcia de Orta.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> For relevant references to Mendes Pinto and to the sources of the *Peregrinaçam*, see R. M. LOUREIRO, *Nas Partes da China: Colectânea de Estudos Dispersos*, Lisboa, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, 2009, pp. 151-197. For a recente edition of his work, complemented by studies and notes, see Jorge Santos ALVES (ed.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto and the “Peregrinação”*, 4 vols., Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2010.

<sup>36</sup> G. Schurhammer was the first to suggest a connection between Mendes Pinto and the Codex (see *Orientalia*, cit., p. 118).

<sup>37</sup> R. M. LOUREIRO, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, cit., pp. 603-608; R. M. LOUREIRO, “Garcia de Orta e os *Colóquios dos simples*: Observações de um viajante sedentário”, in Gabriela Fragoso and Anabela Mendes (ed.), *Garcia de Orta e Alexander von Humboldt: Errâncias, Investigações e Diálogo entre Culturas*, Lisboa, Universidade Católica Editora, 2008, pp. 135-145.

<sup>38</sup> Francisco Manuel de Melo BREYNER (count of Ficalho), *Garcia de Orta e o Seu Tempo*, ed. Nuno de Sampayo, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1983. For recent and stimulating studies on Orta and his work, see Ines G. ŽUPANOV, “Drugs, health, bodies and souls in the tropics: Medical experiments in sixteenth-century Portuguese India”, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 39, n. 1, 2002, pp. 1-43; Teresa Nobre de CARVALHO, “*Colóquios dos Simples* de Garcia de Orta: Conversas no interior da Índia”, in G. Fragoso and A. Mendes

The study of the life and works of some Portuguese overseas writers of this period poses particular difficulties, for total absence of references to them in available coeval sources. More often than not almost nothing transpires from the chronicles, treatises, relations, or even official documentation, as if certain individuals, in spite of their later fame, were able to stay invisible to their contemporaries for decades on a row. Such is the case, for instance, of Fernão Mendes Pinto who, by the way, lived in Asia for an extended period during Garcia de Orta's residence in India. In order to rebuild his biographic itinerary in a more or less articulated fashion it is necessary to carefully scan the pages of his *Peregrinaçam*, with all the shortcomings that such a method entails. Garcia de Orta, just like Mendes Pinto, is one of those men that only emerges from an otherwise total anonymity thanks to the publication in Goa in 1563 of a bulky volume in dialogue form entitled *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas mediçinais da India*.<sup>39</sup> A typographic object, besides, that immediately assumed clearly exotic dimensions: for being one of the extremely rare non-religious works to be printed by the European printing presses then existing in Asia; for dealing with exceptionally innovative matters in the context of early modern overseas botany and medicine – or “natural and moral history of the Indies”, as it would then be styled; for being one of the books with the largest number of misprints in the history of Western printing.<sup>40</sup> But it is mainly in the folios of one of the few surviving copies of this curious graphic/textual project – or in one of its modern editions, the most celebrated of which was prepared in the late nineteenth century by the count of Ficalho<sup>41</sup> – that we can look for

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(ed.), *Garcia de Orta*, cit., pp. 165-174; I. G. ŽUPANOV, “‘The Wheel of Torments’: mobility and redemption in Portuguese colonial India”, in Stephen Greenblatt *et al.* (ed.), *Cultural Mobility: A Manifesto*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009, pp. 24-74; Palmira Fontes da COSTA, “Geographical expansion and the reconfiguration of medical authority: Garcia de Orta's *Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India* (1563)”, *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, n. 43, 2012, pp. 74-81; and namely in Teresa Nobre de CARVALHO's recent doctoral dissertation, *O mundo natural asiático aos olhos do Ocidente. Contribuição dos textos ibéricos quincentistas para a construção de uma nova consciência europeia sobre a Ásia*, Lisboa, Universidade de Lisboa, 2013.

<sup>39</sup> There is an easily accessible facsimile of the first edition: Garcia de ORTA, *Colóquios dos simples e drogas e cousas medicinais da India*, Lisboa, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, 1963. However, it should be noted that T. N. CARVALHO has found out that many of the extant copies of the first edition present important differences between each other, *O mundo natural asiático aos olhos do Ocidente*, cit., pp. 99-156. Also see T. N. CARVALHO, “Invisible travelers and virtual tracks: knowledge construction in *Colóquios dos Simples e Drogas da India* (Goa, 1563)”, in Antoni Roca-Rosell (ed.), *The Circulation of Science and Technology: Proceedings of the 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference of the European Society for the History of Science*, Barcelona, Societat Catalana d'Història de la Ciència i de la Tècnica, 2010, pp. 288-293.

<sup>40</sup> See C. R. BOXER, “Garcia de Orta”, in Joel Serrão (dir.), *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, 4 vols., Lisboa, Iniciativas Editoriais, Vol. 3, 1971, pp. 248-250.

<sup>41</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., *passim*. There is an English translation: G. ORTA, *Colloquies on the simples and drugs of India*, ed. and trans. Clements Markham, London, Hakluyt Society, 1913.

data about the oriental itinerary, the ideas and convictions, the activities and occupations, the working methods of Garcia de Orta. Otherwise, sixteenth century sources are almost completely silent about our author. In a letter written from India in 1559, the well known Luís Fróis mentions the participation in an academic jury at the Jesuit College in Goa of “Doutor Orta, que hé hum velho já quasi decrépito, dos milhores letrados que há nestas partes”.<sup>42</sup> Which means that several years before the publication of his treatise, Garcia de Orta had a reputation of being an accomplished scholar, perfectly capable of discussing topics included in the normal curricula of an establishment of higher education run by the Society of Jesus.

This brief depiction of “Doutor Orta” is confirmed in 1563 by several of the preliminary texts of the *Colóquios*. His friend the poet Luís de Camões styles him as “hum velho”, characterizing him as “carreguado/De annos, letras, e lingua experiêcia”.<sup>43</sup> While the *licenciado* Dimas Bosque, his professional colleague, calls attention to the “homem, que, do principio da sua idade até autorisada velhice, nas letras e faculdade da medicina gastou seu tempo”.<sup>44</sup> The academic titles of the former student of the universities of Alcalá and Salamanca are not called into question, rather they are constantly present in the pages of the *Colóquios*, through countless references to the lessons of university lecturers, through the confrontation of Asian realities with Western specialized knowledge and through the repeated criticism of certain learned authorities. Garcia de Orta’s extensive and systematic readings of fundamental works of European scholarship, done in the years following his graduation from university and during his long residence in India, are also not in question.

Although the possible contents of Garcia de Orta’s library have already been explored,<sup>45</sup> some brief comments may be in order. And one could wonder, for instance, if he owned all the titles quoted or mentioned throughout the *Colóquios*. Like many other men of letters of his day and age, Orta was extremely keen on scattering references to scholarly authorities in the pages of his book, either to sustain his own ideas, to exhibit his knowledge on the subjects he is dealing with, or to criticize traditional European learning. In this last instance, his famous and often quoted allegation that “se sabe mais em hum dia agora pellos Portuguezes, do que se sabia em 100 annos

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<sup>42</sup> Joseph WICKI and John GOMES (ed.), *Documenta Indica*, Vol. 4, Roma, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1956 (18 vols., 1948-1988), pp. 296-297: “Doctor Orta, who is a very old and decrepit man, one of the best scholars living in these parts”. On Fróis, see R. M. LOUREIRO, *Nas partes da China*, cit., pp. 217-232.

<sup>43</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 8: “an old person”; “loaded with years, letters, and long experience”.

<sup>44</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 10: “man who from his early years to his learned old age spent his time in the letters and practice of medicine”.

<sup>45</sup> F. M. M. BREYNER, op. cit., pp. 284-300; and T. N. CARVALHO, *O mundo natural asiático*, cit., pp. 225-270.

pellos Romanos” may be invoked.<sup>46</sup> It is then highly likely that many of his quotations are second hand. As it is also probable that a part of the works cited had been handled during the years he spent at the university in Spain. Perhaps this is the case with the works of Theoprastus, Marcellus Empiricus, Hermolaus Barbarus, and some others.<sup>47</sup> Certain titles, on the other hand, certainly belonged to other Portuguese residents of Goa or even to local religious institutions. Such would be the case of the works of Saint Augustine, the *Dictionarium latino-hispanicum* of Antonio de Lebrija or the *Apologia* of Giovanni Pico de la Mirandola that existed in the convent libraries of Goa; or the copy of *De vitis pontificum historia* by Bartolomeo Platina, which belonged to Orta’s friend Martim Afonso de Sousa.

Anyway, information collected in the pages of the *Colóquios* seems to prove that the experienced physician possessed a considerable library, filled not only with specialized works dealing with the natural world, but also with books on other areas of expertise or of a more general type. In the marginal notes to Orta’s treatise a wealth of references can be found, with mentions to specific textual places within the works of such authors as Pliny, Dioscorides, Avicenna, Galen, Serapion and Matthaeus Silvaticus, testifying to an elaborate knowledge of Western medical and botanical literature. Our author certainly had copies of the works of all these authorities, which were repeatedly published by European printing presses since the closing decades of the fifteenth century. Garcia de Orta, mastering a vast erudition, also quotes in a correct and informed fashion several modern works which certainly existed in his personal library. Among other titles, some can be pointed out, such as the *Itinerario* by Ludovico di Varthema, perhaps in the 1520 Seville edition, the *Sumario de la natural y general istoria de las Indias* by Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, first printed in Toledo in 1526, and the *Chorographia de alguns logares* by Gaspar Barreiros, a work published as recently as 1561 in Coimbra, just two years before the edition of the *Colóquios*. On the basis of the *Colóquios dos simples*, then, it is possible to outline a consistent *academic formation* and a large *specialized library*. But what can be said about other contributions, namely Orta’s *practical experience* and his *network of informers*?

In 1534 Garcia de Orta boarded in Lisbon the Goa bound ship *Rainha*, as personal physician to Martim Afonso de Sousa, a *fidalgo* who had been appointed by the Portuguese crown as captain major of the “seas of India”.<sup>48</sup> In the course of the following four years, he accompanied his protector and mentor in sundry expeditions along the western coast of Indostan. Portu-

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<sup>46</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 210: “nowadays more his known in one day through the Portuguese, than it was known in 100 years through the Romans”.

<sup>47</sup> F. M. M. BREYNER, op. cit., pp. 288-291.

<sup>48</sup> On the career of this Portuguese *fidalgo*, see Alexandra PELÚCIA, *Martim Afonso de Sousa e a Sua Linhagem: Trajetórias de Uma Elite no Império de D. João III e de D. Sebastião*, Lisboa, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2009.

guese sixteenth century chroniclers document in detail the travels and campaigns of Martim Afonso in such a fashion that it is possible to follow with great precision the movements of Garcia de Orta during his first years in Asia. Some brief examples will suffice to document the development of Orta's working methods. No sooner had he reached Goa, the physician immediately embarked on an expedition to Cambay. While passing through Bombay, he visited the celebrated Elephanta Caves, which he will later describe in one of his colloquies.<sup>49</sup> This means that Garcia de Orta, since the beginning of his oriental residence, was an interested, attentive and inquisitive observer, who tried to take the best advantage of every opportunity to gather information and widen his experience. In late 1534 the physician was present at the signing of the contract between the representatives of the *Estado da Índia* and the sultan of Gujarat through which the Portuguese came into possession of Bassein, meeting on the occasion the Persian interpreter "Coja Perculim", whom will later be referred to repeatedly in the *Colóquios*.<sup>50</sup> And this was another permanent feature of our man, who took advantage of any meetings with cultivated and well informed people, regardless of their origins, to gather information on Asian realities.

If we look at Ruano, one of the main characters in the *Colóquios*, as a sort of younger avatar of Garcia de Orta,<sup>51</sup> we can picture him as early as 1534 incessantly taking notes about all aspects of the exotic environment he was immersed in, and later confronting these annotations with the lessons of European scholarly works, where he had learned to read the world in a manner that would have seemed more limited and misleading at each passing day. And, while we are at it, why not picture the young Portuguese physician sketching people, plants, animals, weapons, ships, buildings, or collecting drawings about the Oriental world he was exploring so intensely? Western natural history, after all, frequently used visual depictions.<sup>52</sup> Besides, in the first colloquium, through the voice of Ruano, a complete research program is presented, one that would have guided Orta's steps for many years:

tenho grande desejo de saber das drogas medicinais (...) e destoutras mezinhas simples, que qua há, ou fruitas todas, e da pimenta, das quais cousas queria saber os nomes em todas as línguas, assi das terras donde nascem e dos

<sup>49</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 341-342.

<sup>50</sup> On this interesting character, see Luís Filipe THOMAZ, "Ḥwāje Pīr Qolī et sa *Brève relation de la Perse*", *Eurasian Studies*, Vol. V, ns. 1-2, 2006, pp. 357-369.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 21. Harold J. Cook suggested that the character "Ruano" could be an allusion to Jean de la Ruelle (Orta's "Ruelio"), who prepared a Latin annotated version of the work of Dioscorides (*Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2007, p. 22). Could the Portuguese word *matarruano*, synonymous of "simpleton", have anything to do with Ruano's naming? On the other hand, we could look at Ruano as Orta's heteronym.

<sup>52</sup> See Bryan W. OGILVIE, *The Science of Describing: Natural History in Renaissance Europe*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2006.

arvores ou prantas que as crião, e assi queria saber dalgumas outras plantas e frutos desta terra, ainda que não sejam medicinais, e assi dalguns costumes desta terra, ou cousas que nella acontecerão.<sup>53</sup>

Garcia de Orta continued his wanderings across northern Indostan in 1535, visiting Chaul and again Bassein. That same year he was in Diu, where he witnessed the construction of the Portuguese fortress in a piece of land offered by sultan Bahadur, who wanted to use the protection of the *Estado da Índia* against the advances of the Mughals, who were threatening his hegemony over Gujarat. Later on he will recall, confirming his normal operational procedure, that he used his leisure moments to wander through the Diu bazaar observing local products, acquiring samples, and questioning Vania merchants about indigenous names, properties and practical uses.<sup>54</sup> Still in 1535 Orta went with Martim Afonso de Sousa on an expedition through the hinterland of Gujarat, to the outskirts of the city of Ahmedabad, which had recently been occupied by the Mughal ruler Humayun. This was a unique and rare opportunity to become acquainted with a region that was seldom visited by Europeans, and Orta will later mention in his *Colóquios* the repeated conversations he had with sultan Bahadur.<sup>55</sup>

The following years, always in the company of Martim Afonso, the Portuguese physician sailed along the India coast, and also to Ceylon, witnessing or participating in several military and naval campaigns. In 1538, when his protector returned to Portugal after the end of his naval tour of duty, Garcia de Orta, for unknown reasons, decided to settle in Goa as a physician. And from then on, in the words of Dimas Bosque, he would live in the “partes da Asia (...) por espaço de trinta annos, curando muyta diversidade de gentes (...) na companhia dos viso-reys e governadores desta oriental Índia”.<sup>56</sup> So far, there is nothing unusual in this story. Garcia de Orta was just another subject of the Portuguese crown that, once relieved from his official duties, decided to establish residence in India, either because he feared the long homeward maritime journey, because some reason prevented

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<sup>53</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 19: “I have a great desire to learn about medicinal drugs (...) and other remedies that are found here, and all the fruits, and about pepper, of which products I want to know the designations in all languages, and were they grow and about the trees and plants that produce them, and I also want to know about other plants and fruits from these lands, even if they are not medicinal, and also about some customs of these parts, and events that have occurred here”.

<sup>54</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 329.

<sup>55</sup> For an approach to the interactions of the Portuguese in Gujarat in this period, see Muzaffar ALAM and Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, “Letters from a Sinking Sultan”, in Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz (ed.), *Aquém e Além da Taprobana: Estudos Luso-Orientais à Memória de Jean Aubin e Denys Lombard*, Lisboa, Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2002, pp. 239-269; and Dejanirah COUTO, “Em Torno da Concessão e da Fortaleza de Baçaim”, *Mare Liberum*, n. 9, 1995, pp. 117-132.

<sup>56</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 10-11: “in the parts of Asia (...) for a period of thirty years, curing a large array of people (...) in the company of the viceroys and governors of these Eastern Indies”.



him from returning to Portugal (his Jewish descent?), or because he had been converted by the “fumos orientais” (or “oriental fumes”, as the saying went). After all the Portuguese physician had professional skills that allowed him to settle easily in the cosmopolitan metropolis of Goa, enjoying a comfortable way of life. In time he would become one of the wealthiest *casados* of Goa, even owning his own ship(s). Information about further expeditions undertaken by Orta does not abound, and one would suspect that for most of the rest of his life, until his demise around 1568, the physician lived in Goa, as a *sedentary traveler*.

In the meantime, Garcia de Orta stands out in the Portuguese overseas cosmopolitan milieu for at least two reasons. On the one hand, not limiting himself to the exercise of a purely Western clinical practice in the aristocratic manors and crown hospitals of the Goan territory, the Portuguese physician – in the words of Dimas Bosque – struggled to “saber e descobrir a verdade das medeçinas simples, que nesta terra naçem”, communicating with “medicos e pessoas curiosas”, in Goa as well as in “algumas cortes de reis mouros e gentios”.<sup>57</sup> That is, Orta, unlike his more conservative colleagues, was open to and curious about Oriental practices, completely assuming an acculturation process that parted radically from the conventional medicine practiced in the Iberian Peninsula. On the other hand, from a given moment, that we can with some degree of certainty situate in the 1530s, Orta began to gather extensive notes about the Asian natural and cultural worlds, having in mind the composition of a treatise dedicated not only to “materia medicinal”, but also to “algumas cousas que esta terra tem dinas de serem sabidas”.<sup>58</sup> The final result of these procedures, that lasted for about three decades, was a book printed in the Goan presses of Joannes de Endem in 1563, written in a conventional dialogue form,<sup>59</sup> but truly revolutionary in its contents.

The information gathered in the pages of the *Colóquios* pertains to natural products, social and cultural practices, political events, relevant characters, and geographical settings. A part of it can be related to the first period of Orta’s life in India, when he was travelling in the company of Martim Afonso de Sousa to places located between the Gulf of Cambay and the island of Ceylon. Other news compiled in the treatise may be traced to a visit (or visits) that he made to the court of the ruler of Ahmadnagar in the Indian hinterland in (an) uncertain date(s). In effect Orta mentions repeatedly the friendly relations he maintained with the “Nizamoxa” (or Nizam Shah), such as when he writes about “hum rey no Balagate, cujo pay curei muitas vezes, e ao filho algumas; de quem, por vezes, recebi mais de doze mil

<sup>57</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, pp. 10-11: “learn the truth about medicinal products that grow in these parts”; “physicians and inquisitive people”; “some courts of Muslim and Heathen kings”.

<sup>58</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 11: “medical matters”; “some other things that are worth knowing in these parts”.

<sup>59</sup> On the dialogue form, see Consolación BARANDA LETURIO, “Formas del discurso científico en el Renacimiento: tratados y diálogos”, *Sudia Aurea*, n. 5, 2001, pp. 1-21.

pardãos”.<sup>60</sup> Burhan Nizam Shah ruled between 1509 and 1553, but it is not completely established when, in what circumstances and how many times Garcia de Orta made the long voyage from Goa to Ahmadnagar, that was done from the Portuguese territories of Chaul or Bassein. What is certain is that the physician styles him as “meu amigo”.<sup>61</sup> And that he stresses, about mangoes, that it was in the “partes do Balagate em que as provei melhores”, namely in “Chacana e Quindur, e Amadanager e Dultabado (cidades principais do Nizamoxa)”.<sup>62</sup> But the references scattered through the *Colóquios* are somehow repetitive (he mentions at least three times having cured *Nizamoxa* of his tremors), suggesting that he was talking about a limited number of visits, perhaps only one, to Ahmadnagar. And in one of the last colloquies of his work, Orta mentions that as soon as he arrived in India for the first time, “dahi a alguns dias foy ver o Nizamoxa”,<sup>63</sup> meaning perhaps that his journey to the hinterland of Deccan could be placed in 1534-1535. Another mystery relates to his association with the second residence of Martim Afonso de Sousa in India, between 1542 and 1545. Did Garcia de Orta join the new, and frequently bellicose, travels of his old protector along the coasts of Indostan, and namely to the south of India, in the ill-fated expedition to the Tirupati temple complex? The physician mentions passing through the “ilha das Vacas, (que he alem do cabo de Comorim)”, where he witnessed the slaughtering of many goats to supply the Portuguese fleet.<sup>64</sup> But this visit could also have taken place in 1537, during the first expedition of Martin Afonso to those southern regions.<sup>65</sup>

But the geographic context of the *Colóquios* goes significantly beyond the limited parts of Indostan that Garcia de Orta may have visited, stretching into sundry African and Asian regions unknown to the Portuguese physician, from the Mediterranean in the west to the farthest shores of the Indonesian archipelago in the east, including Ethiopia and Arabia, the caravan routes of Central Asia, the ports of the Arabic-Persian and Bengal Gulfs, the Malayan Peninsula, and the remotest areas of China and Indochina. Orta himself, at a given point, claims: “eu nam posso andar todas as terras”.<sup>66</sup> So, the textual

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<sup>60</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 119: “a king in *Balagate* [Balaghat] whose father I cured many times, and the son quite a few; from whom, sometimes, I received more than twelve thousand *pardaos*”.

<sup>61</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 122: “my friend”.

<sup>62</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 101: “parts of *Balagate* [Balaghat] where I tasted the better”; “*Chacana* and *Quindur*, and *Amadanager* [Ahmadnagar] and *Dultabado* [Daulatabad] (main cities of the Nizam Shah)”.

<sup>63</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 393: “a few days later went to see Nizam Shah”.

<sup>64</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 232: “Island of the Cows (which is beyond cape Comorim)”.

<sup>65</sup> On Martim Afonso’s expedition to Tirupati, see S. SUBRAHMANYAM, *Penumbra Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India*, Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 2001, pp. 22-60, who calls attention to the testimony of the *Codex Casanatense 1889* about the Hindu religious practices at the temple complex (pp. 30-31).

<sup>66</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 151: “I cannot travel through all these lands”.

enterprise of the *Colóquios*, besides using the physician's own practical experience, had to make use of an enormous network of contacts and informers that supplied, directly in Goa or from all corners of the world – from Europe, Africa, Asia and even the Americas –, the necessary working data, in the form of oral information, manuscript reports, complete or fractional specimens of plants and animals, printed books, drawings and maps. All this vast material amassed during years at Orta's residence in Goa was slowly and methodically incorporated into the manuscript of the *Colóquios*, which was built as a truly *natural and moral* encyclopedia of the Oriental world.

An interesting exercise of simulation can be attempted through a listing of some of the European writers who coincided chronologically with Garcia de Orta in the East, men who as a rule were cultivated and informed, who travelled extensively across East Africa and maritime Asia, and who may have at some point crossed paths with the Portuguese physician. Such is the case of António Galvão, the celebrated captain of the Maluku islands, with whom Orta traveled in one of his expeditions to Malabar in 1536, and whose *Tratado dos Descobrimentos* would be posthumously published in Lisbon in 1563; Diogo do Couto, the well-known chronicler of Oriental matters, who arrived in India in 1559 and lived most of his life in Goa until his demise in 1616; Duarte Barbosa, already mentioned, who lived in India until at least 1549; Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who lived in Asia for a decade, between 1528 and 1538, accompanying the Portuguese governor Nuno da Cunha, and who would later publish in Coimbra his *História do descobrimento e conquista da Índia pelos portugueses*; the great traveler and writer Fernão Mendes Pinto, also mentioned above, who repeatedly passed through Goa during his two decades of Oriental adventures; the Jesuit father Francisco Xavier, who coincided in Goa repeatedly with Garcia de Orta, between 1542 and 1552; the chronicler Gaspar Correia, also referred to, who lived in Asia, and mainly in Goa, between 1512 and about 1563; the Dominican friar Gaspar da Cruz, who also resided in the capital of the *Estado da Índia* in the 1550s and whose *Tratado das cousas da China* was later published in Évora in 1570; Dom João de Castro, who, as underlined before, passed away in Goa in 1548; Luís de Camões, the celebrated Portuguese poet, who was a personal friend of Orta in Goa; Martim Afonso de Sousa, the physician's protector, who was also a man of letters, responsible, namely, for an autobiographic text; or Dom Gaspar de Leão, archbishop of Goa, who also used Joannes de Endem's printing press, namely to publish in 1573 his treatise on anti-Islamic polemics *Desengano de Perdidos*.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> References to Diogo do Couto, Duarte Barbosa, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Gaspar Correia, Dom João de Castro and Martim Afonso de Sousa have already been quoted. On António Galvão, see R. M. LOUREIRO, "António Galvão e os seus tratados histórico-geográficos", in Roberto Carneiro and Artur Teodoro de MATOS (ed.), *D. João III e o Império: Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do Seu Nascimento*, Lisboa, Centro de História de Além-Mar and Centro de Estudos dos Povos e Culturas de Expressão Portuguesa, 2004,

These men, and several others that have to go unmentioned, were part of a limited circle of orientalist intellectuals, though some of them were also men of action, who could be – directly through their experiences or indirectly through their writings – at the origin of some of the news and information transmitted by Garcia de Orta. Because if European men of letters were not aplenty in the parts of Asia, they certainly looked for each other’s company when they happened to coincide in some Portuguese controlled town, fortress or factory, to swap life stories, manuscript information, printed books, unusual or precious objects. Some of these names, such Francis Xavier or Dom João de Castro, are repeatedly mentioned in the pages of the *Colóquios*, while others, such as Dimas Bosque or Luís de Camões, appear in the preliminary pieces of the book.<sup>68</sup> Others are not mentioned at all. But, on the other hand, the list of Orta’s European informers less celebrated is rather long, because at each moment – and almost in each page – there is a note about someone who gave the physician a piece of information, or offered him a book, or mentioned a special natural product, or brought some commodity. Let us look at some examples.

His friend Diogo Pereira, a well known *fidalgo* in India, gave him precious news about China, which he knew well, namely about the sale of ambergris in those parts.<sup>69</sup> Some curious and illustrated men who lived in Hormuz brought Orta some information about Uzbekistan.<sup>70</sup> Another Portuguese merchant coming from Cambay praised asafetida before the physician.<sup>71</sup> A Portuguese who made business in Vijayanagar talked to him about some medicine used there to cure horses.<sup>72</sup> An old factor of the Portuguese king in Ceylon gave Orta information about cardamom.<sup>73</sup> A Portuguese man who is not identified spoke about the Maldives, a group of islands that he knew very well.<sup>74</sup> Other Portuguese men who had lived for a long time in Java mentioned cubebs.<sup>75</sup> An Italian who had visited Pegu transmitted details about the hunt for elephants in those regions, also mentioning the

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pp. 85-102; on Francisco Xavier, see G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier*, cit.; on Gaspar da Cruz, see R. M. LOUREIRO, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins*, cit., pp. 617-645; on Luís de Camões, see the references in R. M. LOUREIRO, *Nas partes da China*, cit., pp. 129-150; on Gaspar de Leão, see Ricardo VENTURA, *D. Gaspar de Leão e o “Desengano de Perdidos”*: *Estudo histórico-cultural*, unpublished M. A. dissertation, Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Lisboa, 2005.

<sup>68</sup> On Dimas Bosque, see Jaime WALTER, “Dimas Bosque, físico-mór da Índia e as Sereias”, *Studia*, n. 12, 1963, pp. 261-271.

<sup>69</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 52. On Diogo Pereira and his large network of contacts, see J. S. ALVES, “Fernão Mendes Pinto and the Portuguese commercial networks in maritime Asia (1530-1550)”, in J. S. ALVES (ed.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto...*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 89-119.

<sup>70</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 77.

<sup>71</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 80.

<sup>72</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 81.

<sup>73</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 181.

<sup>74</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 243.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 288.

characteristics of lacquer.<sup>76</sup> And some Venetian residents of Goa described a fruit similar to plums.<sup>77</sup> An old Portuguese with long years of Indian experience revealed to Orta the secret of local medicines against diarrhea.<sup>78</sup> The friars of the Convent of Saint Francis, in a given moment, sent him a basket filled with roses and medicinal herbs.<sup>79</sup> From an anonymous Portuguese who lived in Malacca the physician received a parcel with jambolans.<sup>80</sup> Someone brought him a jar of preserved ginger from Bengal.<sup>81</sup> A “fidalgo onrado e discreto” who came from Portugal gave Orta news about a Portuguese that was using a medicine based on opium to fight diarrhea after spending some time in Asia.<sup>82</sup> Another regular collaborator of our author was one Jorge Gonçalves, “hum mercador discreto, e grande enqueredor das verdades, e de muyto bom saber”.<sup>83</sup> A trustworthy Franciscan friar provided information about snake-wood.<sup>84</sup> And another trustworthy Portuguese, who had been a factor in the island of Hormuz mentioned the bezoar stone to Orta.<sup>85</sup> Finally, his colleague Dimas Bosque was the source of sundry news about local remedies.<sup>86</sup>

But the list of Garcia de Orta’s informers also included many non Europeans. One of these men was “Coje Perculim”, an already mentioned Persian interpreter, “bom letrado a sua guisa, estante em Goa”,<sup>87</sup> who supplied data about aloes and manna.<sup>88</sup> Another was “um rey dos mais grandes do Decam, chamado o Nizamaluco”, that the Portuguese physician knew well, the previously mentioned Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar. Orta repeatedly cleared his doubts about local drugs and medicines with the Persian and Turkish physicians of this Indian ruler.<sup>89</sup> To some Jews who claimed to be residents of Jerusalem, the Portuguese author asked questions about the existence of aloes in that holy city.<sup>90</sup> When he needed information about amomum, Orta questioned “hum boticayro, espanhol na língua e judeo na falsa religião”.<sup>91</sup> He learned details about camphor from a Vania who was his friend.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>76</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 312.

<sup>77</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 333.

<sup>78</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 17.

<sup>79</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 17.

<sup>80</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 24.

<sup>81</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 9.

<sup>82</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 16: “an honoured and discreet *fidalgo*”.

<sup>83</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 93: “a discreet merchant, and great seeker of truths, and very learned”.

<sup>84</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 182.

<sup>85</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 234.

<sup>86</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 2, p. 186.

<sup>87</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 26: “a good scholar in his guise, resident of Goa”.

<sup>88</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, pp. 77-78.

<sup>89</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 26: “one of the greatest kings of Deccan, called *Nizamaluco*”.

<sup>90</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 34.

<sup>91</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 60: “an apothecary, Spanish in the language, Jewish in the false religion”.

<sup>92</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 155.

With a Jewish merchant from Turkey, whom he met at Cochim (Kochi), he exchanged opinions about cardamom.<sup>93</sup> And he asked a physician of Shah Thamasp about costus.<sup>94</sup> Some physicians from Cairo and Damascus that he befriended told him about *folio indico*.<sup>95</sup> And sultan Tabarija of Ternate, who for a spell lived in Goa, gave Orta precious information about cloves.<sup>96</sup> Another of his informers was the celebrated Isaac do Cairo, “homem discreto e sabedor de muytas lingoas”,<sup>97</sup> that supplied among other details etymologies of Arabic words and stories about Ceylon.<sup>98</sup>

Of course, some of these informers – and many others that go unmentioned – might have supplied Garcia de Orta with manuscript reports besides oral information. But so far no concrete evidence has been found as to the manuscript sources of the *Colóquios*. It has been suggested that the Portuguese physician might have had some sort of connection with the so-called *Livro que trata das cousas da Índia e do Japão*, a manuscript codex collected in India in the middle years of the sixteenth century, that includes a large variety of reports about sundry oriental matters, written by as many European and Oriental authors.<sup>99</sup> The compilation of the codex has been attributed to several influent Portuguese who were then active in Asia, such as Garcia de Sá, who was governor of the *Estado da Índia* between 1548 and 1549. A closer look at the compilation seems to suggest that Orta most certainly used the *Livro que trata das cousas* while working on his own book. The first text of the compilation was written by António Pessoa, who had been a royal factor in Ceylon, and it opens with the phrase “Vosa senhorya me mamdou que lhe dese emformação dalg as cousas de Ceylão”; he could be addressing Orta, who mentions in the *Colóquios* that he received information about the island from a “feitor de elrey”.<sup>100</sup> Another report bears the title “Emformação que me deu Jam de Magualhães das cousas de Cambaya”; Orta identifies one Portuguese merchant trading in Cambay who supplied

<sup>93</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 181.

<sup>94</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 257.

<sup>95</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 346.

<sup>96</sup> *Idem*, Vol. 1, p. 362. On Tabarija, see G. SCHURHAMMER, *Francisco Javier*, cit., Vol. 2, pp. 319-327.

<sup>97</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 85: “a discreet man who knows many languages”. On this cosmopolitan character, see José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva TAVIM, “Os Judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia no Século XVI. O Exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: Espião, ‘Língua’ e ‘Judeu de Cochim de Cima’”, *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, Vol. 33, 1994, pp. 137-261.

<sup>98</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 204.

<sup>99</sup> Adelino de Almeida CALADO, “Livro que trata das cousas da Índia e do Japão”, *Boletim da Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXIV, 1960, pp. 1-138. For the suggestion, see R. M. LOUREIRO, *Animais Orientais: Fauna Exótica no Tempo dos Descobrimentos*, Lagos, Câmara Municipal de Lagos, 2008, p. 58.

<sup>100</sup> *Idem*, pp. 36-39: “Your lordship instructed me to give you information of certain things concerning Ceylon”; G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 181: “king’s factor”.

him with some information.<sup>101</sup> Other two texts were produced by Bastião Lopes Lobato, who had been a factor in Hormuz; Orta claims that one of his friends and informers was “hum feitor de Ormuz”.<sup>102</sup> One of the longer reports is entitled “Emformação que me deu Symão Allvarez, buticayro mor del rei noso senhor” and the recipient could have been our own Garcia de Orta, since the report is filled with details about the natural world of Asia;<sup>103</sup> also, the author of the *Colóquios* mentions implicitly this “boticairo”, with whom he had a dispute about the nature of pepper.<sup>104</sup> The last report in the compilation, about Persia, was prepared by “Coja Perquolim”, whom Orta mentions repeatedly.<sup>105</sup> And so on. Perhaps, then, Garcia de Orta had his hand on the compilation of these reports.

On the same note, perhaps some sort of connection can be established between Garcia de Orta and the already mentioned *Codex Casanatense 1889*. The Portuguese physician was an extremely curious man about all things exotic and, as we have seen, was involved in the collection of all sorts of reports about the physical and natural world of Asia and also about the cultural and social practices of its inhabitants. It would not be surprising if he tried to enrich his collections with drawings such as those included in the celebrated Indo-Portuguese compilation. Significantly, Orta was familiar with customs books, and namely with the celebrated work of Boemus, which he read in the Spanish translation – one should rather say version, in view of the additions to the original – prepared by Francisco de Támara and published in Antwerp in 1556. In fact, *El Libro de las Costumbres de todas las Gentes del Mundo* is quoted on at least two different occasions in the *Colóquios*, both times in a dissenting tone.<sup>106</sup> The Portuguese botanist, on the other hand, was extremely keen on collecting information about social and cultural practices of the Oriental peoples, as well as significant legends and lore, whether they were connected to the natural world or not. Outstanding examples include the colloquies dedicated to the “arvore triste” (or *Nyctantes arbor-tristis* L.), the “pao da cobra” (*Rawolfia serpentine*

<sup>101</sup> A. A. CALADO, op. cit., pp. 57-60: “Information that João de Magalhães gave me about Cambay”; G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 80.

<sup>102</sup> A. A. CALADO, op. cit., pp. 117-120 and 128-130; G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 234: “a factor in Hormuz”. On Lobato, see Vítor Luís Gaspar RODRIGUES, “Sebastião Lopes Lobato: Um Exemplo de Ascensão Social na Índia Portuguesa de Quinhentos”, *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. XXXVI, 1991, pp. 375-388.

<sup>103</sup> A. A. CALADO, op. cit., pp. 50-57: “Information given by Simão Álvares, apothecary of the king our lord”. On Álvares, see Jaime Walter, “Simão Álvares e o seu rol das drogas da Índia”, *Studia*, n. 10, 1962, pp. 117-149.

<sup>104</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 248. Cf. A. A. CALADO, op. cit., pp. 27-29.

<sup>105</sup> A. A. CALADO, op. cit., pp. 132-133; G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 26, 38, 77.

<sup>106</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 213-214, Vol. 2, p. 201. On the Spanish translator, see Victoria PINEDA, “El arte de traducir en el Renacimiento (La obra de Francisco de Támara)”, *Criticón*, n. 73, 1998, pp. 23-35.

Benth), and the “pedra bezar” or bezoar stone.<sup>107</sup> But many others could be mentioned. And it would make perfect sense to envisage Orta, in his Goan manor, debating with friends and acquaintances the customs of Oriental peoples and lands, while showing them colored drawings such as those included in the *Codex Casanatense 1889*.<sup>108</sup>

Looking at the contents of the *Codex Casanatense*, it is possible to devise a direct link between episodes of Orta’s life in Asia and many of the drawings of Oriental figures, landscapes and scenes. Several plates refer to Cambay,<sup>109</sup> where the Portuguese physician travelled extensively in his early years in India. Other plates contemplate inhabitants and scenes of the Indian west coast, from Goa to Malabar, regions that were well known to him. But more concrete examples can be given, such as the plate that depicts the “pagode que chamão tremel”, which was visited by Martim Afonso de Sousa in 1543;<sup>110</sup> as referred above, Orta probably went with the governor of the *Estado da Índia* on this expedition. Four other plates also represent scenes of ritual sacrifices probably witnessed by our author at the Tirupati temple complex.<sup>111</sup> Other drawings included in the *Codex Casanatense* may be related to the text of the *Colóquios*, as for instance the plate that represents the “rresbutos” or Rajputs, describing these bellicose men as robbers; in fact, Orta’s text claims that “os Reisbutos, vivem de roubos e furtos o dia de oje”.<sup>112</sup> Or the plate that shows two Indian yogis, with the captions “Jogues jintios” and “calandares jintios”, concluding “estes sam os que qua chamão peregrinos”;<sup>113</sup> at a given point of the *Colóquios*, Garcia de Orta writes about those to whom the “Gentios chamam jogues” and those that the “Mouros chamam calandares”, concluding that “todos estes sam peregrinos”.<sup>114</sup> These coincidences are rather striking and suggest a possible relation of ownership. Meanwhile, it should be noted that several of the drawings in the *Codex* related to geographical areas not directly visited by Orta include details,

<sup>107</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, pp. 69-74, Vol. 2, pp. 181-193 and pp. 231-239. On the first, see T. N. CARVALHO, “No rasto da Árvore-triste (*Nyctantes arbor-tristis* L.) nos textos botânicos dos séculos XVI e XVII”, 2008 (accessed 10 March 2013). Available at [http://www2.iict.pt/archive/doc/T\\_Carvalho\\_wrkshp\\_plts\\_medic.pdf](http://www2.iict.pt/archive/doc/T_Carvalho_wrkshp_plts_medic.pdf); on the second, see Albano PEREIRA JÚNIOR, “Garcia de Orta pioneiro da Farmacognosia”, *Garcia de Orta*, Vol. 11, 1963, pp. 723-753; and on the third, see Jorge M. dos Santos ALVES, “A pedra-bezoar, realidade e mito em torno de um antídoto”, in Jorge M. dos Santos Alves, Claude Guillot and Roderich Ptak (ed.), *Mirabilia Asiatica*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag and Fundação Oriente, Vol. 1, 2003-2005, pp. 121-134.

<sup>108</sup> See T. N. CARVALHO, “*Colóquios dos Simples* de Garcia de Orta”, cit., pp. 165-174.

<sup>109</sup> L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pls. XXV-XXVIII, XXX-XXXIII, XXXVII-XXXVIII.

<sup>110</sup> *Idem*, pl. XXIX: “pagoda that they call *Tremel*”.

<sup>111</sup> *Idem*, pls. XLIII, XLIV, XLVII and XLVIII.

<sup>112</sup> *Idem*, pl. XXXIII; G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 119: “even to this day the Rajputs live from stealing and robbing”.

<sup>113</sup> L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pl. XLVI: “Heathen yogis”; “Heathen *calandares*”; “in these parts they consider them as pilgrims”.

<sup>114</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 2, p. 363: the “Heathens call them Yogis”; the “Muslims call them *calandares*”; “all are pilgrims”.



textual or iconographic, about the natural world. Thus, from Sumatra comes “aguila e sandalo e bejuim”, from the islands of Maluku, “o cravo”, and from Banda, “a noz moscada e a maça”.<sup>115</sup> Another interesting point worth mentioning is the striking similarity between the Portuguese nobleman represented in the *Codex Casanatense*, riding a horse and holding a falcon in his hand,<sup>116</sup> and the portrait of governor Martim Afonso de Sousa as depicted in the *Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu*, another collection of drawings of ships and viceroys/governors of the *Estado da Índia*, also prepared in India in the early 1560s.<sup>117</sup> This may well be a coincidence. But it is also possible, if Garcia de Orta was in some way connected with the organization of the *Codex Casanatense*, that he was careful enough to include a depiction of his patron.<sup>118</sup>

The identification of Garcia de Orta as the organizer of the *Codex Casanatense 1889* is certainly worth further investigation. For who more than anybody else in Goa in the late 1540s would be interested in collecting such an ethnographic album, naturally with the assistance of a local painter, if not the author of the *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, in the context of his huge enterprise of knowledge gathering? And a minor detail must be stressed here: just as it happens in the album of “disegni indiani”, there is no mention of Japan in the work of Garcia de Orta! The Land of the Rising Sun was visited by the Portuguese two full decades before the publication of Orta’s treatise. In the meantime, regular voyages to the southern islands of Japan were organized from Goa every year, at least since 1555, under the captaincy of a Portuguese nobleman. Many Europeans, among whom eminent personalities such as Francis Xavier and Fernão Mendes Pinto, visited Japan and returned to India. And Garcia de Orta, undisputedly, had access to information about the archipelago, if not otherwise, then through his Jesuit acquaintances in Goa and through the accounts included in the *Livro que trata das cousas da Índia e do Japão*. And yet nothing transpires in the *Colóquios dos simples* about those distant lands. One reason can explain Orta’s apparently awkward silence. Japan soon became famous as the source of huge quantities of silver – the “prata fina”, or fine silver, which would be

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<sup>115</sup> L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pl. LXXI: “eagle-wood and sandal and benzoin”; pl. LXXII: “cloves”; pl. LLIV: “nutmeg and mace”.

<sup>116</sup> *Idem*, pl. LII.

<sup>117</sup> See Luís de ALBUQUERQUE and Maria Luísa ESTEVES (ed.), *Livro de Lisuarte de Abreu*, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1992.

<sup>118</sup> Note that José Manuel Garcia tentatively identifies this nobleman with Jorge Cabral, a governor of the *Estado da Índia* (1549-1550) who took his wife with him to Goa (*Ao Encontro dos Descobrimentos*, cit., p. 86, n. 8). Georg Schurhammer had already called attention to the type of hat worn by the Portuguese nobleman in the *Codex*, remarking its similarity with the hats worn by Martim Afonso de Sousa (governor, 1542-1545) and Garcia de Sá (governor, 1548) – and only by this two – in the drawings included in the *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correia (*Orientalia*, cit., p. 117). See Gaspar CORREIA, *Lendas da Índia*, ed. Manuel Lopes de Almeida, 4 vols., Porto, Lello & Irmão, Vol. 4, 1975, pp. 232-233 (portrait of Martim Afonso de Sousa) and pp. 660-661 (portrait of Garcia de Sá).

later celebrated by Luís de Camões<sup>119</sup> –, but available information did not identify valuable natural products useful in matters of medicine. It seemed that no notable drugs or spices came from the Japanese islands, which were yet to explore thoroughly, thus making its mention in a work such as the *Colóquios dos simples* rather irrelevant.

The *Livro que trata das cousas* and the *Codex Casanatense 1889* are just two possible examples of the materials collected by Garcia de Orta during the extended period while he was preparing his massive work. Samples of the Portuguese physician's writing have not yet been found, so preventing a comparison with the several hands found in both of the manuscripts. And the long paths followed by these two manuscripts until they ended up at their present locations – respectively the Biblioteca Municipal de Elvas and the Biblioteca Casanatense – are almost impossible to track down. Thus the only working method to establish the sources of the *Colóquios* will be a comparison between the contents of Orta's work and other printed or manuscript materials (texts, images, maps) available in India before 1563. The sources identified, in turn, will lead the way to the configuration and composition of the physician's network of information, which, due to his many professional connections, intersected several different areas of activity, in the fields of culture, religion, politics and commerce.

Finally it will be worthwhile noticing that the text of the *Colóquios*, in all probability, was slowly constructed throughout three decades, benefiting from a long period of redaction and evolution that would allow not only for a more polished style but also for a more consolidated documentation. Apparently, however, some of Orta's objectives were sabotaged by an inexperienced typographer, as suggested by Dimas Bosque in his introductory piece: “Teve na empresam alguns erros por faltar o principal empresor e ficar a obra em mãos de hum homem seu companheiro, que não era ainda mui destro na arte de emprimir, e pouco corrente no negocio da empresam”.<sup>120</sup> Anyway, it is possible to observe that Garcia de Orta's immense textual enterprise rests above all in a wide network of informal contacts, spread all over the Orient and built up of people from all walks of life, namely merchants, physicians, scholars, missionaries, adventurers, Asian as well as European. The genius and the ability of Garcia de Orta, evidently, are at the foundation of the success of the *Colóquios* as a project of coming to terms with the Oriental natural and moral world. But this innovative scheme would not be feasible without a vast network of solidarities and complicities, that explains how a sedentary traveller such as the Portuguese physician, from his base in Goa, was able to collect so many drugs and simples, fruits and plants,

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<sup>119</sup> Luís de CAMÕES, *Os Lusíadas*, ed. Álvaro Júlio da Costa Pimpão and Aníbal Pinto de Castro, Lisboa, Instituto Camões, 2000, p. 279 (X, 131.7).

<sup>120</sup> G. ORTA, *Colóquios*, cit., Vol. 1, p. 11: “Some errors occurred during the printing because the main typographer was absent and the work was in the hands of one of his colleagues, who was not yet very experienced in the business of printing”.

stories and anecdotes, so many material evidences and experimental proofs, so many books and manuscripts, and – why not – also so many maps and drawings. The *Colóquios dos simples e drogas da Índia*, although replete with lapses, blunders and slips, with its dense networks of references pointing to all corners of the early modern world, are, in a way, a sort of birth certificate of the first globalization, made possible by the joint contribution of the Portuguese and Spanish with their huge and so different imperial constructions. This globalization process implied the devising of new methods of collecting, circulating and treating information, thanks to the building of wide-ranging networks of informers, from strategic places such as Goa.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> On this process, see Serge Gruzinski’s fascinating synthesis, *Les quatre parties du monde: Histoire d’une mondialisation*, Paris, Éditions de La Martinière, 2004.

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