Civility and sin: The survey of the peoples, polities and religions of Portuguese Asia in the Codex Casanatense

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CIVILITY AND SIN: THE SURVEY OF THE PEOPLES, POLITIES AND RELIGIONS OF PORTUGUESE ASIA IN THE *CODEX CASANATENSE*

by

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The *Codex Casanatense*, painted in Goa ca. 1550, presents a survey of more than twenty peoples of Portuguese Asia. With the exception of two symbolic images, the painter used exclusively images of a man and a woman and scenes with many figures depicting a particular custom to construct the survey. Earlier, Hans Burgkmair applied this pictorial formula to illustrate the report by the German Balthasar Sprenger of his voyage to Asia.[1] At the end of the sixteenth century, John White used the same concept in his paintings of the natives of Virginia, as did Duarte Lopes and Filippo Pigafetta in their description of the kingdom of Kongo, published in Rome. In his *Itinerario*, the book that launched the Dutch Asian enterprise, Jan Huygen van Linschoten introduced the formula in the Northern Netherlands.[2] After that it continued to be applied in the illustration of travel books and in ethnographic paintings, particularly within the Dutch sphere.[3] The couples and customs formula was a device to translate ethnographic descriptions by sixteenth-century Europeans into a series of images.

The authors of these ethnographic descriptions were concerned with a few broad topics. They reported on the skills strangers applied to make a

[1] Mark P. McDonald, "Burgkmair's Woodcut Frieze of the Natives of Africa and India", *Print Quarterly*, 20, 2003, pp. 227-244.

[2] Ernst van den Boogaart, *Civil and Corrupt Asia. Image and Text in the Itinerario and the Icones of Jan Huygen van Linschoten*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2003.

[3] E. Boogaart, "De Bry's Africa", in Susanna Burghartz (ed.), *Inszenierte Welten. Die west- und ostindischen Reisen der Verleger de Bry, 1590-1630*, Basel, Schwabe, 2004, pp. 95-155; Id., "Black slavery and the 'mulatto escape hatch' in the Brazilian ensembles of Frans Post and Albert Eckhout", in Elizabeth McGrath and Jean Michel Massing (ed.), *The Slave in European Art. From Renaissance Trophy to Abolitionist Emblem* (Warburg Institute Colloquia nr. 20), London, 2012, pp. 217-251.

living, on their mastery of nature. Another concern was the ability of strangers to cooperate in the defence against enemies and to maintain peace amongst themselves, to organise mastery over humans. Stable, long-term cooperation in turn was believed to depend on self-mastery, on restraint in the pursuit of self-interest and due concern for others. Good behaviour did not come naturally to human beings, but had to be instilled by religious authority. To gauge the extent of mastery over nature, ethnographers observed the variety of instruments, the degree of occupational specialisation, the number and size of cities and the outward signs of wealth. To establish the success achieved in mastery over humans, they explored the size of the territories and the number of people under the authority of a ruler, the ancientness of dynasties and the power and respect attributed to different social groups. To get an idea of the self-restraint imposed by the prevailing morals, they paid attention to the composition of households, age of marriage and public peace and security. When human societies possessed a great variety of technical skills, large cities, many well-fed and well-clothed people, ancient dynasties ruling over extended, hierarchically stratified and peaceful polities, they demonstrated a high degree of civility. The written information collected on these topics was translated into images by means of the couples and customs formula. The formula deals with civility in foreign lands.[4]

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   [4] "Civility", "civil", "to civilize", "civilization" are broad terms with psychological, political and economic connotations. During the sixteenth century in Italy and Northwestern Europe, civility gradually became an equivalent of *cortesia*, *courtoisie*, *courtesy*, *Höflichkeit*. In sixteenth-century Portuguese, *civilidade*, *civil*, *civilizar* do not yet seem to have gained currency. The equivalent term was *polícia*, *polido*, or *cortesia* and *cortês*. *Polícia* did have similar connotations as civility. See, for examples, footnotes 11 and 47 to this article. The early history of the term in English, French, German and Italian has been studied from various viewpoints in: Corrado VIVANTI, "Alle origini dell'idea di civiltà. Le scoperte geografiche e gli scritti de Henri de la Popelinière", *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 74, 1962, pp. 225-249; George HUPPERT, "The Idea of Civilization in the 16th Century", in Anthony Molho and John Tedeschi (ed.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hans Baron*, Dekalb, Illinois, G. C. Sansoni, 1971, pp. 759-769. Siegfried ELWITZ, *Civil und Civility. Eine wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung zweier Höflichkeitsbezeichnungen*, diss., Bonn, 1973, esp. pp. 17-26; Jörg FISCH, "Zivilisation, Kultur", in Otto Brunner, Werner Conze and Reinhart Koselleck (ed.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (8 vols., 1972-1997), Stuttgart, Vol. 7, 1991, pp. 679-705; Jean STAROBINSKI, "Le mot *civilization*", *Temps de la réflexion*, 4, 1983, pp. 13-51; Bruce MAZLISH, *Civilization and its Contents*, Stanford, CA, 2004; Sandro CHIGNOLA, "Civis, civitas, civilitas. Translations in Modern Italian and Conceptual Change", *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 3, 2007, pp. 234-253; Timothy FITZGERALD, *Discourse on Civility and Barbarity. A critical history of religion and related categories*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007, esp. chap. 4. As far as I am aware, there is no comparable study of the Portuguese *polícia*. On the use of terms in the literature of travel: Joan-Pau RUBIÉS, "Christianity and Civilization in Sixteenth Century Ethnological Discourse", in Henriette Bugge and Joan-Pau Rubiés (ed.), *Shifting Cultures. Interaction and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe*, Münster, LIT, 1995, pp. 35-60; see also his "Imagen mental e imagen artística en la representación de los pueblos no Europeos: salvajes y civilizados 1500-1650", in Joan-Lluis Palos e Diana Carrio Invernizzi (ed.), *La historia imaginada. Construcciones visuales del pasado en la edad moderna*, Madrid, Centro de Estudios Europa Hispanica, 2008, pp. 327-357. Civility became a controversial term, because it was used to justify class dominance and Western imperialism. In his theory of socio-cultural

Sixteenth-century European ethnographers were keen to describe the various ways of life in foreign lands. They noted that different peoples culti- vated different plants and animals, ate different foods and dressed differ- ently. They paid attention to the various ways in which government was organised, to the diversity of religious cults and the multiformity of morals. It did not escape them that in foreign lands, as in their own, humans often made others suffer and treated them unjustly. They informed their readers about the variety of customs and the omnipresence of sin. These topics could also be depicted by means of the couples and customs formula.

In contradistinction to earlier and later examples of the couples and customs formula, the *Codex Casanatense* does not contain an accompanying ethnographic text. The hand-written captions constitute the most obvious key to the peoples represented and the customs they practice.[5] In the images of couples they frequently give the names of the peoples represented, the geographical locations and polities to which they belong and their religion. When the couples stand for a social group within a population, the captions mention their profession or caste name. In the custom scenes the captions briefly name or describe the custom. This is not done in an entirely systematic way. Moreover, a few captions seem incorrect. Where information is lacking or problematic, the sixteenth-century viewer could take recourse to written or printed texts, but more likely he was supposed to solve the problems by his own wit or the consultation of others.

In the sixteenth century, viewing the codex was probably not a solitary activity, but a form of instructive entertainment shared with others. The

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development that linked the spread of "good manners" to state formation and economic devel- opment, Norbert Elias attempted to emancipate the term from the embrace of ideology. See the review of Mazlish by Johan GOUDSBLOM, "Civilization: the Career of a Controversial Concept", *History and Theory* 45, 2006, pp. 288-297. Elias' theory of human history as socio-cultural evolu- tion would lead one to expect that the concept of civility is not particularly Western, but would have equivalents in the cultures of other urban-agrarian societies. This does seem to be the case. See e.g. André MIQUEL, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusq'au milieu du 11ᵉ siècle,* 4 vols., Paris/The Hague, Mouton, 1967-1988, Vol. II, pp. 82-85, 114-126. Developing Elias' com- parative approach: Benet DAVETIAN, *Civility. A cultural history*, Toronto, Toronto University Press, 2009. See also his website: www.bdavetian.com. See also www.norberteliasfoundation.nl.

[5] Luís de MATOS (ed.), *Imagens do Oriente no Século XVI. Reprodução do Códice Português da Biblioteca Casanatense,* Lisboa, INCM, 1985, pp. 11-15. Matos explored diverse Portuguese texts on Asia to elucidate the paintings of the codex. He was primarily interested in finding correspondences between descriptions of clothes and their depictions in order to establish veri- similitude. In this he was not too successful. To me this indicates that the paintings should not primarily be studied as naturalistic images, but as representations of ethnographic types and concepts. As textual sources, Matos used the geographic surveys of Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, and some of the history writers. Much more could be done with these texts, especially if one pays attention to the anthropological concepts used in the ethnographic descriptions. There is a substantial literature on these texts that could be mined for this purpose. See in addi- tion to the references in the footnotes of this article, publications by e.g. Donald Lach, José da Silva Horta, Ana Paula Avelar. My use of Barbosa and João de Barros in this article is indicative of this approach rather than an exhaustive demonstration of its possibilities.

viewer would take a folded sheet out of the box, open it, study and discuss it with the company present, fold it again, put it aside and take the next one. There is reason to believe that the paintings were originally unnumbered and without captions.[6] During previous viewings the original sequence of the sheets might have become disturbed, as seems to be the case with the order in which they are at present. To make sense of the series, one might have had to do some preliminary rearranging. To facilitate the analysis this has been done here as well. Viewing the paintings is perhaps best thought of as a parlour game with an instructive purpose, an occasion to acquaint oneself with the Asian world and test or show off one's knowledge.

The *Codex Casanatense* was most likely the product of cooperation between an Indian painter based in Goa and a Portuguese patron.[7] The patron probably explained which peoples and customs he thought ought to be represented and how this could be done by combining images of a man and a woman with custom scenes that included many figures. The input of the artist trained in Indian style and techniques clearly shows in how the couples and the custom scenes are painted. He may have contributed to the content of the series as well. Here however, an assessment of the input by the Indian painter is a matter that has to be left for another occasion. What follows is an analysis of the codex *as if* it was constructed with exclusively European concepts and concerns in mind.

Couples and customs

The images of couples consist of an adult male and female, usually standing up and shown in a three-quarter position. Occasionally another couple, servants or other figures, but only once a child, are added, increasing the number of figures to three or four. The women usually take up a position to the left hand side of the men; in a few cases these positions are reversed (Figs. C1, C2). Men and women are dressed in a variety of clothes, covering their bodies fully or only barely (Figs. C3, C33). Some just wrap themselves in a piece of cloth, long or short, plain or patterned, simple or expensive. Others wear stitched garments: shirts, jackets, skirts or trousers. The men and women engage in eye contact, gesture at each other or exchange gifts. The men usually carry weapons, the women do not. Sometimes the men and women are shown riding or sitting down. At the beginning of the series one or two birds are fluttering around the figures or a domesticated one sits quietly on the outstretched hand of a woman; later on this motive has disappeared. There is no background to the couples, but under the feet of most figures small flowering plants raise their heads and shoot up waist high

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[6] See Appendix.

[7] See Jerry Losty in this dossier.

at their sides. In a few images dealing with Malabar, Sri Lanka and the Maldives the painter added a coconut tree. The images of couples primarily present inhabitants of Portuguese Asia as human beings in relation to each other and hardly in relation to a natural or man-made environment.

The clothes shown by the couples correspond only approximately to what was actually worn in the different countries. The same goes for the weapons. The painter used couples, clothes, weapons, gestures and gift exchanges less to suggest full verisimilitude in particular cases, than to draw attention to general group characteristics and encourage comparison between social groups. To show peoples belonging to specific geopolitical units as parts of a series was to demonstrate that they differed from each other, but also shared characteristics. If some couples seem a copy of others that is not because of a lack of creativity on the part of the designers, but to draw attention to similarities and to group similar cases together. Through comparison of units and groupings, the viewers would become aware of distinctions and similarities within and between peoples. The images of couples are primarily classificatory, not naturalistic images.

Through the study of the outward appearance of the figures, the viewers could group the images of couples into three large clusters and two small ones. All the men and women of the first large cluster exclusively wear stitched clothes. The men cover their heads with turbans or tall caps and are shown with beards or moustaches. The wealthier figures, i.e. the figures with much clothing, also wear some kind of footwear; the figure representing poorer strata do not. In the second large cluster the figures generally cover themselves with a combination of stitched clothes and wraps, or just wraps. The men carry turbans, hats or not particularly tall caps; some are bare-headed, but have tied their hair into particular shapes. All are shown with beards or moustaches, just as in the first cluster. Here however not only poor people, but also some high status figures like Brahmins may go barefooted. In the third large cluster men and women also sport stitched clothes and wraps, but all go barefooted. In addition the men have shaven off all facial hair and wear head bands instead of turbans, hats or caps, with the two exceptions of the man from Maluco (a turban) and the Botachina man (hair tied in a knot). The three large groups distinguished by outward appearance correspond to three regions: the Arabo-Persian region, South Asia and Southeast Asia.[8]

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[8] "Southeast Asia" seems to be a post-World War II term. Its modern meaning is discussed in David Joel STEINBERG (ed.), *In Search of Southeast Asia*, New York, Praeger, 1971, pp. 5-7, and Anthony REID, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce, 1450-1680*, Vol. 1: *the lands below the Winds*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988, pp. 1-10. As the codex shows, there seems to be a case for arguing that in the West the concept is older. Westerners may have borrowed the concept from Indians, Persians, Arabs and Malays, who named the area "the land below the Winds", according to Reid not just a geographic term, but the designation of a maritime trading network in the Eastern Indian Ocean linked by common practices. For reasons yet to be established, the role of Muslim traders in constructing this network has not been

The two small clusters of images deal with regions in the margin of this panorama. East Africa is represented by three images of couples, and China by one. In East Africa the figures wear stitched clothes and wraps. Most go barefooted. The men are clean shaven. The Chinese couple wears exclusively stitched clothes, both have shoes and the man sports a well-trimmed moustache and beard.

The captions to the couples frequently mention religious distinctions: Christian, Muslim, Jew or pagan. In the images, religious affiliation is less apparent. On forehead and cheeks the Abyssinians display brand marks in the shape of a cross, as do the Nubians and one of the female converts in Goa (Fig. C29). A cross is also shown in the background of Thomas Christians. The Portuguese lack any obvious Christian sign, nor is a religious sign attached to the Malabar Jews. The Banyan merchant from Cambaia, probably Jain, does not carry a weapon, presumably because of his religiously inspired aversion to killing living creatures. The holy men from Vijayanagar wander around unarmed, probably for similar reasons.

The captions label all figures in the Arabo-Persian region, and consequently all the polities they represent, as Muslim. South-Asia offers a more complex picture. Some polities had Muslim rulers and a majority of pagan subjects. Others like Vijayanagar were exclusively pagan. In Goa, Christians and pagans lived together; on the Malabar coast Christians, Jews, Muslims and pagans. In Southeast Asia all figures are labeled pagan. In the marginal regions of the panorama, the religious situation is also simple. In the southern part of East Africa lived pagans, in the northern part Christians and in China pagans. Clearly the makers of the codex conceived these regions not merely as geographical units, but – since costume is custom – also as culture areas. As indicated by the overlaps in clothing, other attributes and religion they thought of these cultures as entities open to outside influences, not as monads.

Within the large culture areas, further distinctions are suggested by clothing and other outward signs. In the first area, the Arabo-Persian region, a majority of the Arabian women wears trousers and the lower class women carry a bowl with fruit on their head, while Persian women all wear a skirt or gown and none of them carries anything on their head. In South Asia four sub-regions are suggested. In the Muslim-pagan North, women wear combinations of a stitched bodice and a sari; in the pagan South (Vijayanagar) they cover the upper part of the body merely with the end-piece of the sari. In Goa, the Portuguese and the Christianized, indigenous women stand out by the stitched clothes of Western design. On the Malabar coast

recognized in the captions of the codex. A Muslim focus might lead one to see Southeast Asia as a regional variation within a culture area encompassing the entire Indian Ocean. André WINK, "From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 44, 2002, pp. 416-445. The codex expresses a similar view, but by playing down the Muslim influence east of Cape Comorin.

people have a considerably darker skin than in the other regions and the men carry round shields and peculiarly shaped swords, with the exception of the Thomas Christians. They share these characteristics with the people of Sri Lanka, while the light skinned men on the East coast of India also carry round shields, but normal swords. In South-East Asia the men from Maluco, Banda and Halmaheira distinguish themselves by their rectangular shields and peculiarly shaped swords from the men of Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra and Java, who go without shields and wear krises. Further distinctions within the subregions can be noticed. Although it does not look so at first sight, all the couples differ from each other in one way or another. All these distinctions are designed to impress the reader with the variety of culture in Portuguese Asia.

The attributes and gestures of the couples suggest a general character-istic of human groups, present in all cultures. They evidently refer to power relations. Men, even lower class men, usually carry a weapon: bows and arrows, swords and shields of various shapes, daggers, or pikes. The men frequently display aggressive attitudes. They point an arrow or even the iron tiger claw (the wagnak) at the women (Fig. C24). Some fiercely brandish their unsheathed swords. The attitudes of other men are more restrained. The merchant and Bedouin man from Arabia, the man from Sindh, the mer-cenary from Cambaia, the man from Malacca, and the Chinese keep their weapons sheathed and merely point an index finger at their companion or gesture with the full hand. Nevertheless, they represent male dominance over their unarmed female companions.

The subordination of women is also indicated by their position to the left, the less honourable side, of the men.[9] However, the women are not submissive. Some look the aggressive males straight in the eye and gesture back with their right index finger, or an open hand. Others take a softer approach to countering male overbearingness. They offer their companions flowers or fruit. These females demonstrate flower power. Sometimes the typical gender roles are reversed. The men from Sindh, Pegu and Java present the women with a flower or fruit. The Banyan couple from Cambaia mutually exchanges gifts, the man offering a well-filled purse, the woman a flower (Fig. C21). In a few cases, for reasons still to be established, the woman stands to the right of the man.[10] The images of couples do not depict a general war of the sexes, nor irreversible gender roles. Rather they suggest ambivalent power relations between men and women, delicate balances

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[9] Robert HERTZ, *Death and the Right Hand*, trans. Claudia and Rodney Needham, London, Free Press, 1960.

[10] This reversal of position is a rare variant in the couples and customs iconography. It occurs once in the Linschoten series with the Chinese couple. In that case, it signifies a breaking of the rules for decent behavior among the sexes. Inappropriately the woman takes the lead, by making advances. There are no obvious indications in the images or the captions that this is also the case in the codex. E. BOOGAART, *Civil and Corrupt Asia*, cit., p. 13.

between hard and soft power. What goes for the sexes goes for other groups within a population and for entire populations. The couples show that internally and externally human societies have to cope with ambivalent and unstable power relations. Some societies manage these better than others and preserve internal and external peace for a long time. Other societies get easily and frequently involved in conflicts with neighbours or in civil wars.

The images of couples and the captions often allude in other ways to classification of human groups, according to political and economic power. The captions frequently identify the couples as subjects of a king. Even where this is not explicitly mentioned, the weapons carried by the men may indicate that the people in question live under some kind of political authority. A king necessarily implies a social hierarchy. Most commonly it consists of ruling warriors supported by priests and subject merchants, artisans and agricultural labourers. In the codex it is usually shown as a hierarchy of wealth, indicated by clothes. In Arabia, for example, the Fartaquis warriors and the merchants are more elaborately dressed than the barefooted sailors and the *labradores*, the Bedouin.

Differences in clothing may also point to a hierarchy of political and economic power existing between polities. All Arabians are quite civilly attired compared to the Sri Lankese, who wear a mere loin skirt or loin cloth. In turn, the Persians seem to be more expensively dressed than the Arabs. The weapons of the males may have a similar function. The cafre in East Africa displays a simple bow and arrow, made of wood and vegetal fibres. Most of the other males have more expensive weapons, such as swords or lances made of iron. The Gizari man from the Gulf of Basra even carries a fire arm (Fig. C7).

The hierarchies of political and economic power within and between polities were believed to be related to differences in practical and theoretical skills, political acumen and moral rectitude. In sixteenth-century Italy and North-western Europe these differences were subsumed under the general concept of civility; the Portuguese equivalent was *polícia*. The varying costumes, attributes and gestures of the couples thus indicate gradations and variations of civility within and between the polities of the culture areas.[11]

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[11] In his description of Cambaia, Barbosa uses a formulation that beautifully brings out the connection between *polido* and "good" clothes: "gente muito polida e bem custumada e de muitos bons trajos." He then continues the sentence with a formulation that expresses the link between civility and sin, the main theme of the present analysis: "e de vida viçosa, e dados a muitos prazeres e jogos." Duarte BARBOSA, *O Livro de Duarte Barbosa*, ed. Maria Augusta da Veiga e Sousa, Lisboa, IICT, 1996, Vol. I, p. 209. A formulation used by João de Barros about the Ethiopians brings out the technological connotation in *polícia*: the blacks showed "mais polícia na mecânica das coisas" than the Ethiopians. Cited in António Borges COELHO, "A África na *Ásia* de João de Barros", in his *O Tempo e os Homens. Questionar a História III*, Lisboa, Caminho, 1996, p. 216. Another Barros phrase shows the connotation of moral order created by (the true) religion: "nós (Portuguese) criados na polícia da Igreja Romana." Cited in A. B. COELHO, op. cit., p. 187. For convenience sake, I have used "civility" and "civil" to render *polícia/polido* and *cortesia/cortês*.

Skin colour is never mentioned in the captions, but is obviously another attribute of the couples that encourages classification. The colours run from white, through brownish, to black. No clear correlation between degrees of darkness and proximity to the equator is suggested. The white Abyssinians live at more or less the same latitude as the dark skinned Nubians. Equally, the couple from Sindh is considerably darker than the Banyan couple from Cambaia. The people from Malabar are very dark, as are the Sri Lankese, in contrast to the light skinned Badagas on the Indian East Coast. The peoples from the Indonesian archipelago are shown in slightly different hues, with the Bandanese on the dark side, and the Botachinas from Halmaheira unnaturally white. The lack of correspondence between latitude and skin colour suggests that the designers of the codex did not believe that a dark skin could be explained by the exposure to strong sun light, a theory common in sixteenth-century ethnographies. The other current explanation was that a dark skin was God's punishment for incessant transgressions of basic moral and rational rules, a "badge of hell".[12] However, if we take the amount of clothing as a sign of civility, there is no indication in the codex that the makers invariably associated a dark skin with incorrigible mental and moral deficiencies, with an inherent incapacity to achieve a civil way of life. The dark skinned inhabitants of the Malabar Coast are fully dressed and thus rather civil, while the white skinned people from Halmaheira just wear loincloths and thereby show a low degree of civility.

The images of costumed couples should not be thought of as categorically different from the images of customs represented by scenes with many figures. After all, costumes were a matter of custom. The custom scenes elaborate on the classifications and rankings suggested by the costumes. In the series an almost equal number of images is devoted to customs as to couples.

Four societies of Portuguese Asia were selected for an elaborate treatment in which images of couples were combined with images of customs: Ormuz, Cambaia, Goa and Vijayanagar. The treatment of Cambaia, Goa and Vijayanagar was particularly extensive. Thirty-three sheets, almost half of the total series, are devoted to these three societies. Positioned in the middle of the series, these images constitute the centre of the geographical framework that gives the overall coherence to the series. East Africa and the Arabo-Persian region occupy the western flank and the countries East of Cape Comorin the eastern flank. Goa, at the centre of the centre, was singled out by other means. Three custom scenes – the Canarim wedding, the procession of an "honourable" Portuguese man and woman and the agricultural labourers at work[13] – are fold-outs of two and three sheets, an extraordinary size that signals the importance attributed to the capital of Portuguese Asia (Figs.

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[12] Winthrop D. JORDAN, *White Over Black. American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1969, pp. 11-20.

[13] See Appendix.

C30-31, C32). The fold-outs reveal that the viewers are offered a Goa-centred or at least a Luso-Indian perspective on Portuguese Asia.

The custom scenes of Cambaia and Goa show predominantly political and economic activities that elaborate the hierarchies of political and economic power and of civility. In each of these cases only a single custom scene deals with religious distinctions. However, Vijayanagar is provided with a sequence of eight scenes showing pagan rituals and religious symbols. This cluster is followed by the cluster on Malabar, where the couples represent the full range of religions distinguished at the time by the Portuguese: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, paganism. This strategically placed emphasis reminded the viewer that for purposes of classification and evaluation, he should not merely compare the political and economic power of the societies in Portuguese Asia, but pay due attention to the moral order instilled by the various religions.

The couples and the customs scenes demonstrate that some characteristics of outward appearance and public behaviour were not confined to a region, but were present all across Portuguese Asia, and might even be characteristic for all human beings. Saris and turbans might be Asian, but covering the private parts, exchanging gifts and communicating by threatening or conciliatory gestures occurred all over the world. In Asia as in other continents people lived in households, the model for the larger social units, and polities could thus be represented by couples of adult males and females. These were not the only universals assumed by the makers of the codex. At the heart of the couples and customs formula lie some other convictions about universal human qualities derived from classical anthropology and Christian theology.[14]

According to a notion derived from classical anthropology, humans are by nature social beings, because they are born and raised in a household

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[14] The notions of which thumbnail sketches are given in the next two paragraphs have been treated extensively either in texts dealing with the history of anthropology and ethnology, or in texts about the literature of travel and the images of non-European peoples and lands. The first type of texts are generally studies in the history of ideas and doctrines, as propounded by seminal thinkers. The second type of texts are studies in the history of mentalities based on a broader range of sources, mostly written or printed, more rarely pictorial like the *Codex Casanatense*. They may be called "image" – studies with titles such as "The Aztec Image in Western Thought", or "The Image of the Black in Western Art". Selected titles that I found helpful are: Roger TRIGG, *Ideas of Human Nature: an historical introduction*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1999; Peter HULME and Tim YOUNGS (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2002; Wilfried NIPPEL, *Griechen, Barbaren und "Wilde". Alte Geschichte und Sozialanthropologie*, Frankfurt a.M., Tischer Taschenbuck, 1990; Margaret T. HODGEN, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964; Anthony PAGDEN, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the origins of comparative ethnology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982; ID. (ed.), *Facing Each Other. The World's perception of Europe and Europe's perception of the World,* 2 vols., Aldershot, Ashgate, 2000; Michael HARBSMEIER, *Wilde Völkerkunde. Andere Welten in deutschen Reiseberichten der Frühen Neuzeit,* Frankfurt/New York, Campus, 1994.

governed by parents, with the father in the leading role. There they learn to cooperate with and obey other people within and outside the household. They are taught how to make tools and acquire knowledge that gives them mastery over nature. Cooperating human groups are threatened by violence from inside and outside, a condition referred to by the ambivalent relationship between males and females depicted in the couples. Hence the necessity to extend the authority of the father to rulers – kings, warriors and priests –, who are supposed to establish safety, peace, just order, and a measure of prosperity among their subjects. Through political and religious cooperation, human beings create collective mastery over themselves. Humans learn to restrain their passions and guide themselves by reason. They develop a civil way of living. Some peoples are more successful at this than others. That goes for social groups within a population as well. Civility never totally excludes abuses of power, outbursts of aggression and dissolute morals. Internal and external conflicts blight every society, causing widespread suffering.

In Christian anthropology, not man's capacity for civil living, but human suffering had become the central concern. The theologians argued that the tormented human beings develop a disgust for life on earth and a longing for salvation in the other world. According to the teachings of the church, they could only achieve the final escape from pain and death through God's grace, made available to the believers through sacraments dispensed by priests. Humans may by nature be social, tool-making and rational beings, and in these respects superior to animals, they are – more relevantly according to the theologians – essentially sinful and irremediably miserable beings, dependent on God.[15]

A combination of these Greco-Roman and Christian notions about the human condition is encapsulated in the images of the clothed, arms bearing, gesturing men and women, and in the scenes in which they practice their customs. Originally, these ideas were developed by learned Christians in late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. By 1550, they had become widely embedded in Western culture. The couples in the codex are ethnographic symbols and at the same time avatars of Adam and Eve. They represent the unity and diversity of civil and sinful mankind as it manifests itself in Portuguese Asia.

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[15] Georges MINOIS, *Les origines du mal. Une histoire du péché originel,* Paris, Fayard, 2002. Edmund LEACH, *Genesis as Myth and Other Essays*, London, Cape, 1969. Paula FREDRIKSEN, *Sin: the Early History of an Idea,* Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2012. Isabel MOREIRA, *Heaven's Purge: Purgatory in Late Antiquity,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. The last two books are reviewed by Peter Brown, in the *New York Review of Books*, Vol. LIX, n. 20, 2012/13, pp. 70-76.

Muslim and pagan Cambaia

The kingdom of Cambaia, as the polity of Gujarat is called in the captions, was one of the major competitors of the Portuguese in the trade and politics of the Indian Ocean.[16] Its merchants dominated the Asian maritime trade in colourful textiles, such as those worn by many figures in the codex. Through its economic strength Cambaia was also a power to be reckoned with in the politics of the seafaring communities around the western Indian Ocean and in the struggles between the land-based polities in the North of the subcontinent. Even when Gujarat and the Portuguese state were at loggerheads, cooperation on a private level between traders continued, as did the migration of mercenaries to Goa. At least some Portuguese, such as the anonymous author of the *Crónica do Guzerate*, were very well informed of the Machiavellian power struggles and intrigues between and within the polities of Northern India.[17]

Cambaia had been ruled by various Muslim lords since the eleventh century, but a large part of its population had remained what the Portuguese referred to as pagan. Earlier Hindu rulers, the Rajputs had retreated to the less accessible parts of the country. A more serious threat came from the Islamic Moghul Empire, to the North and East. In 1534, under attack from Moghul Humayun, the sultan of Cambaia had called upon the Portuguese for assistance. In recognition, he ceded to them the southern port of Bassein and allowed them to build a fort in the port of Diu, on the Western side of the Bay of Cambaia. When Humayun's empire was taken over by Pathan from Afghanistan (1539-1555), the sultan of Gujarat regretted the concession and laid siege to Diu to get it back. Twice, in 1538 and 1546, the Portuguese succeeded in repelling him. Around 1550, the two parties had achieved a *modus vivendi* that left the Portuguese in possession of Diu and the port of Daman, on the eastern side of the Bay of Cambaia. This history left its traces in the images of the codex.

In the codex, the king of Cambaia is represented as an established and wealthy ruler. He rides an elephant (Fig. C13). One servant holds the royal parasol, another carries the king's sword and a third waves a piece of cloth to relieve the heat. The noble woman on horse keeps a bird of prey on her right hand. The servants in the lower part of the image walk hunting dogs on leashes. The caption identifies the sultan as the one who laid siege to Portuguese Diu, painted "after life". He must be Mahmud III, who reigned between 1537 and 1554. The painting however depicts him not as a warrior, but as a man displaying aristocratic magnificence. Nor does the image refer

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[16] Michael N. PEARSON, *Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat. The Response to the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1976.

[17] Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, "A Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga e a Crónica do Guzerate: Dois Textos Indo-Portugueses do Século XVI", in *Os Construtores do Oriente Português*, Lisboa, CNCDP, 1998, pp. 133, 152.

to any despotic qualities such as were attributed to his predecessor, Bahadur, by the author of the *Crónica do Guzerate*. His life-style seems to be civil, or *cortês*. On the other hand, Western viewers might have opined that by parading himself on an elephant, the king of Cambaia was flashing his wealth and authority a bit too ostentatiously.

Military power in Cambaia appears in the shape of the mercenary soldier and his female companion, the Lascaris (Fig. C20). Their religious affiliation is not identified; they may well have been Muslim. Both are well-dressed. The man holds a lance in his right hand, but demonstrates a restrained demeanour. The woman offers him a flower, a courteous gesture. This is quite different from the Lascari couple that later appears in Linschoten's *Itinerario*. There the mercenary soldier is shown as a scarcely-clad, aggressive thug accompanied by a woman of ill repute. In the codex, the Lascaris are respectable people, though perhaps too strongly inclined to worldly display.

The image showing a covered coach "in which women are transported in Cambaia" may refer to a custom attributed by Barbosa to Muslim merchants.[18] According to him, the Muslims were great spenders. By allowing polygamy their religion condoned loose living. In spite of that, the Muslim merchants were extremely jealous. They kept their women out of the public eye and only allowed them to cross public space in covered coaches. Two armed men on horse and a servant on foot accompany the coach. Clearly, the jealous Muslim husbands did not take half measures.

The paintings of the *xarafo*, the moneychanger, and the Banyan merchants refer to the commercial power of the pagan population in Cambaia (Fig. C15). The white stroke on the forehead of the *xarafo* identifies him as a pagan.[19] Although clearly a wealthy man, he sits on the floor of a stone pavilion, legs folded. The pavilion is covered with tiles, open on all sides, and is situated in an urban environment. The tiled houses and the buildings with towers (temples, mosques?), on the right hand side of the sheet, are the only explicit evocation of a city in the series. The *xarafo* is surrounded by the attributes of his trade: a small pair of scales, a coffer, and artfully arranged piles of coins. Between the thumb and index finger of his left hand, he holds a gold coin and shows it to the crowd that approaches him. Men and women, Europeans and Asians, light- and dark-skinned people want to do business with him. Some proudly present a coin, others eagerly stretch their hands in the direction of the piles in the pavilion. The moneychanger is probably a moneylender as well. At the time the morality of charging rent on a loan

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[18] D. Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. and ed. Mansel Longworth Dames, 2 vols. (Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2nd series nr. 44, 49), London, Hakluyt Society, 1918, 1921, Vol. I, p. 121. Cited hereafter as D. Barbosa, *The Book*.

[19] According to Schurhammer, the white stroke is the sign of a Shiva worshipper. G. Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver: sein Leben und seine Zeit*, 4 vols., Freiburg, Herder, 1955-1973, Vol. II, bk. 1, p. 190.

was fiercely discussed among Christians.[20] The inhabitants of Cambaia do not seem to be bothered by it. The scene irresistibly calls to mind the saying "Money makes the world go round."

The Banyan, identified in the caption as pagan, were prosperous merchants, as is shown by their outward appearance (Fig. C21). The man is richly dressed and wears pointed slippers, the woman goes barefoot, probably more by custom than because of poverty. She is the only woman in the series with ankle-, wrist-, neck- and ear-ornaments and she is richly attired. The merchant offers her a sack of coins, and she presents him a flower. He is one of the very few men in the series without a weapon. This is to be explained by his religious convictions. As Barbosa recorded, Banyan observe a rule that forbids them to kill any living being, however small or obnoxious. The respect for life was a virtuous quality, even if the Banyan took it to irrational extremes. His devotion to virtue in some matters did not prevent the Banyan from being sharp, even deceitful businessmen, according to Barbosa.

The Banyan women receive more extensive treatment in two custom scenes, that probably belong together. In one scene these spouses of wealthy men are shown collecting water from a fountain, normally a task for servants. If one assumes that they collected water for the bathing tank shown in the other scene and that they had to complete the task themselves to assure the purity of the water, the bathing scene might represent not merely a bath to clean the body, but a ritual of purification (Fig. C16). Support for this interpretation can be found in Barbosa. According to him, the Banyan were convinced that by bathing they washed away their sins.[21] The painting contains perhaps a slight mockery of this belief: during the purifying ablutions the women keep their jewellery on; they did not wash away an inveterate worldliness.

In addition to members of the ruling and commercial strata, a lower class group was selected for the depiction of the Cambaian social hierarchy.[22] The Pacaes, water sellers, bring large skins filled with water to town, carried by oxen and camels. They perform a public service, in contradistinction to the Banyan women, who fetched water for personal ends. They are more simply clad than the Muslim rulers and the pagan money lender and merchant. Were these humble people selected for representation because they performed tasks that were essential, especially in a tropical climate, and gave little opportunity for abuse of power, deceit or quasi-atonement? This would fit in with a Christian tribute to the nobility of the poor.

The social hierarchy depicted by means of couples and custom scenes was of course far from complete. Informed viewers of the codex may have remarked that they missed the Brahmins, already mentioned by Barbosa,

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[20] Benjamin NELSON, *The Idea of Usury. From tribal brotherhood to universal otherhood*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1969.

[21] D. BARBOSA, *The Book*, cit., Vol. I, p. 113.

[22] See L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pl. XXXII.

and the artisans in the textile industry that gave Cambaia its economic power. But the simplified representation of a more complicated reality served its purpose. It showed a professional specialisation complex enough for Cambaia to qualify as a civilised society. Though admirable because of its wealth and power, this polity was morally tainted. The Muslim rulers, mercenaries and merchants pursued life's pleasures without much restraint, whereas – by Christian and European standards – the pagan Banyan were excessively strict in their avoidance of bloodshed and held grossly superstitious beliefs about the purifying effects of bathing. The pagan *xarafo* was depicted as the puppet player who through his wealth held everybody else on a string, a man encouraging the capital sin of greed. The simple water sellers, also pagan, were perhaps to be looked upon as the more virtuous members of this doubly unchristian society.

Christian and pagan Goa

When the codex was painted, ca. 1550, Goa had been Portuguese for forty years.[23] It had formerly been the main port of the sultanate of Bijapur, a town ca. 275 km to the North-East. Bijapur was the most western of the Deccan sultanates, the string of polities that separated the Muslim dominated North of the subcontinent from the South dominated by the Hindu rulers of the vast empire of Vijayanagar. Portuguese Goa consisted of the large main island and the smaller neighbouring islands Chorão, Divar, and Jua. Three districts on the mainland – Bardez, Ponda, and Salcete – had close relations with the port city. For a long time they were contested, but in 1546 the sultan of Bijapur had ceded them to the Portuguese. Nevertheless, Goa can hardly be called a territorial colony. It remained an enclave in the Bijapur sultanate. The Portuguese historiographers frequently mention the dealings with Bijapur, but no Portuguese ever produced an extensive description of the country.[24] Equally, it makes only a fleeting appearance in the codex, despite its economic and political importance to Goa.

Since 1530 Goa had become the unrivalled centre of the Portuguese sea-borne empire in Asia, overtaking Cochin, on the Malabar Coast. It was the residence of the viceroy or governor of the *Estado da Índia*, as well as of the bishop, later archbishop. From here the representatives of the Portuguese crown organised the military sorties in the Indian Ocean, the yearly fleets to Lisbon and the licensed trades to Coromandel, Malacca, the Moluccas and Banda, and later China and Japan. Particularly under viceroy João de Castro (1545-1548), the rulers took more care to suitably impress important visi-

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[23] There's an extensive description of the town in the 1540s in G. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver*, cit., Vol. II, bk. 1, pp. 174-193; and M. N. PEARSON, "Goa during the first century of Portuguese rule", *Itinerario*, 8, 1984, pp. 36-57.

[24] S. SUBRAHMANYAM, "A Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga", cit., p. 135.

tors from other polities. The viceroy moved from the former residence of the Bijapur governor to the fort, built by the Portuguese, overlooking the waterfront. A series of portraits of all the previous governors was commissioned to decorate the reception room, as was a series of paintings of all the fleets that had been sent to Asia since Vasco da Gama. The governors' portraits were painted by an indigenous painter. It was in this more self-assured Goa that someone commissioned the *Codex Casanatense*.[25]

Although its format is more modest and its purpose private rather than public, this survey of Portuguese Asia seems to fit in with the spirit of stock-taking and with the effort to redefine the Asian enterprise, present in the decorative series showing the expansion of Portuguese power. This shift in official self-fashioning expressed the feeling of achievement experienced by the ruling elite who themselves or whose family members had made substantial contributions to the building of a maritime empire. It was also related to a cultural shift in Portugal. At the court of João III, counter-reformatory leanings gained the upper hand over the Erasmian humanist mentality inherited from the court of Dom Manuel. The new cast of mind came to Asia with Franciscus Xaverius and his fellow Jesuits, and later the Inquisition. The Christianisation of the heathen, the resistance to Islamic expansion, and the imposition of the new orthodoxy were pursued with increased vigour.

Goa had a heterogeneous population.[26] At the time of the conquest, the Portuguese had slaughtered most of the Muslim inhabitants, and destroyed their grave stones and mosques. A few thousand Muslims continued living in the countryside. Later on, Muslim traders from Arabia, Persia, Cambaia and Muslims states on the Indian West Coast were allowed back in. They could live in the port city, but not practise their religion. The indigenous Hindu population, called Canaris by the Portuguese, had stayed on after the conquest. They were to be found in villages on the main island, the minor islands and the coastal mainland as well as in the fortified Portuguese town. Shortly after the conquest, Afonso de Albuquerque had forbidden the life cremation or burial of widows together with their dead husbands. In most other respects, Hindus had been allowed to practice their "pagan" religion as before. But just at the time when the codex was painted, the policy of toler-

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[25] Pedro DIAS, "The Palace of the Viceroys in Goa", in Nuno Vassalo e Silva and Jorge Flores (ed.), *Goa and the Great Mughal*, Lisboa, Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, 2004, pp. 68-97. Jan WERQUET, "Zwischen Aufbruch und Erinnerung. Architektonische Herrschaftsrepresentation und politische Ikonografie in Goa des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts", in Michael Kraus and Hans Ottomeyer (ed.), *Novos Mundos-Neue Welten. Portugal und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen*, exhibition catalogue, Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum/Sandstein, 2007, pp. 143-149. Catarina Madeira SANTOS, *"Goa é a chave de toda Índia". Perfil político da capital da Índia (1505-1570)*, Lisboa, CNCDP, 1999.

[26] Luís Filipe F. R. THOMAZ, "Goa: uma sociedade luso-indiana", in his *De Ceuta a Timor*, Oeiras, Difel, 1994, pp. 245-289, esp. pp. 245-257. Ângela Barreto XAVIER, "Katholischer Orientalismus: Wege des Wissens im Goa der Frühen Neuzeit", in Michael Kraus and Hans Ottomeyer (ed.), *Novos Mundos-Neue Welten*, cit., pp. 129-141.

ance had begun to change. Hindu shrines and temples were destroyed and replaced by chapels and churches. Rents that had been paid by the villagers to coreligionists for the upkeep of the temples and for the organisation of religious feasts and ceremonies were inventoried in a land register, and made available to a Portuguese brotherhood for the propagation of Christianity. Most of the villagers – estimated at 40.000 in the 1540s – however remained "pagan."

In the port city lived 3.000 to 4.000 Portuguese – predominantly male: soldiers, royal officials, secular and regular clergy – who stayed only for a few years and then returned to Europe. The 1.800 self-employed *casados* were Portuguese settlers who had married indigenous wives, the core of a growing mestizo and nominally Christian population. Even within the city the Christians were in a minority, surpassed by larger numbers of Muslim and Hindu merchants, artisans, labourers, and slaves. The total city population may have amounted to 15.000-20.000.[27] Remarkably, the Goa cluster of the codex comprises only two images of Portuguese and eight of Canaris. This roughly equals their share in the total population. The Portuguese nobleman on horse and the noble woman being carried in a litter are prominently displayed in a fold out. However, the Canari wedding is shown in an even larger fold out. Clearly, the codex presents Goa not as an Asian Lisbon, but as an ethnically and religiously mixed society similar to Cambaia. At the same time its position in the middle of the series recognises that the town was the centre of Portuguese monarchical rule and Roman Christianity in Asia, the vantage point from where its spheres of activity were surveyed.

In Goa the Portuguese were the lords of the land. The procession of the "honourable Portuguese" couple does display some imperial grandeur, in accordance with the self-confidence of the 1540s (Figs. C30 and C31). The man on horseback is followed by a retinue of indigenous and European male servants. An indigenous servant carries a parasol, another has thrown a cloth over his shoulder and holds something in his hands. The nobleman keeps a bird of prey on his left hand. The white or perhaps mestizo lady in the litter is accompanied by European and indigenous, male and female servants.[28] Compared to the king of Cambia and his wife, this procession is a modest affair. The nobleman wears a hat like those worn by Martim Afonso de Sousa and Garcia de Sá (1548-1549) and by none of the others in the vice regal portrait series.[29] He represents not only a high administrator, but also a military commander. This seems to be indicated by the servant carrying a large,

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[27] The population figures are derived from the texts by Schurhammer and Pearson cited in note 23.

[28] Schurhammer believes the lady is a mestiza. G. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver*, cit., Vol. II, bk. 1, p. 191.

[29] G. SCHURHAMMER, "Desenhos orientais do tempo de S. Francisco Xavier", *Gesammelte Studien*, Roma/Lisboa, 1963, Vol. II, p. 117.

ceremonial sword. Contrary to custom he carries it on his right side, obviously to display it properly to the viewer.[30]

In another image a Portuguese man on foot, accompanied by an indigenous servant with parasol, approaches two women, described in the caption as "single Indian women. Christians" (Fig. C29). The man carries a sword on his left side, as is proper, but he has conquests of another nature on his mind. The women are also accompanied by indigenous male servants with parasols. One of them is light skinned. The other is darker and has the Christian brand marks, earlier encountered in Ethiopia and Socotra, on her forehead and cheeks. Both wear a Western costume and shoes. This looks like a courting scene, the prelude to a marriage, in agreement with the policy of miscegenation started by Afonso de Albuquerque. The two images suggest that under Portuguese rule Christianisation progressed through mixed marriages and the increase of people of mixed Portuguese-Indian descent. In the 1540s, however, observers like Franciscus Xaverius found that the married converts and their children knew very little about Christian doctrine and observed their religious duties poorly, not to speak of the moral degeneracy caused by miscegenation outside marriage.[31]

Portuguese rule was supported by a military force made up of both European and indigenous troops. The "Canari soldiers from the Goa mainland", either from the coastal districts or from Bijapur, were probably hired troops.[32] The Portuguese also employed Lascaris from Cambaia, mentioned above. These were dressed more expensively than the mercenaries from the Goa mainland, just as the sultan of Cambaia displayed greater magnificence than the Portuguese nobleman. Just like the Honourable Portuguese, these members of the warrior strata are represented as keeping a low profile.

The goldsmith may be the highest ranking representative of the indigenous social hierarchy to be selected for an appearance in the codex.[33] According to the caption he is a Brahmin. He is extensively dressed, and his hair is covered by a turban. This makes him rather different from the other representations of Brahmin, who are shown as ascetics wearing only a dhoti, the bare breast covered merely by the Brahmin cord, the long hair hanging loose at the back. The goldsmith sits on a mat under a wooden shelter covered with straw. He has blown oxygen into a small fire and waits, like the assistant next to him, for the metal to become ready for treatment. Two other assistants in front are hammering away on anvils. The codex may originally have revealed more about the Brahmin goldsmith. The present scene covers only half a sheet, the other half may be missing. The more simply dressed

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[30] Compare the display of an outsized sword by the Portuguese nobleman in one of Linschoten's engravings. E. BOOGAART, *Civil and Corrupt Asia*, cit., p. 73. The sultan of Cambaia is also depicted with a ceremonial sword (Fig. C13).

[31] G. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver*, cit., Vol. II, bk. 1, pp. 207-219.

[32] See L. MATOS (ed.), op. cit., pl. LVIII.

[33] Ibid., pl. XLI. There may be reason to doubt the correctness of the caption.

iron smith and his assistants are shown in an almost identical setting performing the same tasks as the goldsmith, this time on a full sheet.[34]

The Almocreves, the grain merchants who brought in wheat from the neighbouring state of "Balagate", i.e. Bijapur, were selected to represent the commercial strata of Goa (Fig. C17). They transported their loads on oxen. They recall the Pacaes from Cambaia, but may have been engaged in more capital-intensive and lucrative affairs. However, they are not dressed as wealthy merchants. The selection from the lower strata of Goa consists of the *mainatos*[35], "who wash clothes for money", and the agricultural labourers who plough the land, sow grain and later harvest it (Fig. C19). In these scenes men and women work together, in contradistinction to the scenes with the more prestigious grain merchants and the smiths. The efforts of the agricultural labourers do not suffice to feed the population of the city, as is made clear by the scene with the Almocreve merchants. Nevertheless, they and the other pagan groups certainly contributed to the common wealth, as the Portuguese could observe every day in the port city. They also paid their dues to the upkeep of the moral order, as the Portuguese could deduct from the reports on the financial dealings of the pagan temples in the countryside. The accounts mentioned washers and smiths in addition to Brahmins, barbers, painters, and shoemakers.[36] This relative indigenous autonomy had ceased with the destruction of the pagan temples and shrines. The recent transfer of the temple contributions to a newly founded Catholic brotherhood meant that the pagans now paid for their potential Christianisation.

The caption to the largest image in the Goa cluster, the Canari marriage, does not mention the social stratum to which the bride and groom belong (Fig. C32). Their feast was a grand affair: many guests bring presents, many well-wishers give *acte de presence*, and a band of male musicians and female dancers enlivens the occasion. It looks like a wedding of wealthy people, perhaps rather Brahmin than Almocreve. Nothing in the image seems to refer to this pagan wedding as a religious ceremony. For the Christian viewers, however, this may have been self-evident, in consideration of what they knew about the position of married women from the pagan upper strata. They would have been aware that the marriage ceremony tied the couple into a sacred, monogamous bond. Before Portuguese rule, widows had been encouraged to accompany the deceased husbands to their last destination. Paganism – the viewers would have realised – determined the composition of the elementary social unit, the household, and the mutual obligations between its members.

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[34] Ibid., pl. XL.

[35] L. MATOS, op. cit., pl. XXXIX.

[36] G. SCHURHAMMER, *Franz Xaver*, cit., Vol. II, bk. 1, pp. 188-189, 283. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, "Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga", cit., pp. 136-137. Joan-Pau RUBIÉS, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance. South India through European eyes, 1250-1625*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, esp. chaps. 5-7.

With that in mind, Christian viewers may have been tempted to link the image of the Canari wedding to the scenes of the Christian Indian women being approached by a Portuguese man and the life burial of a pagan widow in the next cluster on Vijayanagar. Conversion to Christianity and marriage to a Portuguese must be attractive options for pagan women, Christian viewers may have thought. When converted women became widows, they would be allowed to remarry. They could no longer be forced into ritual suicide out of respect for a deceased husband. The Christian viewers may also have pondered the complicated distinctions between "us" and "them", in which the Portuguese in Asia were involved *vis-à-vis* their pagan and Muslim neighbours. They might recall and discuss the quite different customs shaping the elementary nucleus of society. Christians and pagans both valued monogamy, unlike the Moors, but pagans on the one hand and Christians and Moors on the other were strongly divided by their views on the ultimate obligations of wives towards husbands.

As was the case with Cambaia, the couples and the custom scenes of Goa reveal a social hierarchy consisting of martial rulers, merchants, representatives of diverse trades and agricultural labourers, an occupational specialisation characteristic of a civilised society. How Western viewers may have evaluated the moral order in Goa as presented in the images is more puzzling. As regards the pagans, they may have harboured some reserves towards the luxury trade of the goldsmith, but the activities of the grain traders, iron smiths, *mainatos* and agricultural labourers would have given little occasion for moral criticism. They may have known or assumed that unholy pagan rituals, prominently shown in the section on Vijayanagar, were banned by the Christian rulers.

Western viewers would have found little justification in the images for strong criticism of the Portuguese expansion in Asia. The enterprise was not depicted as excessively aggressive in the pursuit of economic, political or Christian goals. In that respect it was quite unlike some contemporary depictions of the Spanish expansion in America. But there were other concerns. Miscegenation may have been frowned upon. Was it a way towards the gradual and peaceful Christianisation of the indigenous population or did it drag the Portuguese down into paganism? To Western viewers, the defects of the moral order of Christian-pagan Goa may have been less obvious than those of Muslim-pagan Cambaia. The codex certainly does not depict Goa as an immoral cesspit and the demonstrative Catholicism of the Portuguese as a sham, as the illustrations in Linschoten would do. On the other hand, Western viewers would not have found justification for a triumphalist view either. Goa was not depicted as an outstanding example of superior civility, or as the starting-point for a triumph of the Church Militant over the Muslim and pagan Orient. They were just represented as a small group of Western Christians amidst an overwhelming majority of Asian Muslims and pagans, most of whom had attained a comparable level of civility.

Pagan Vijayanagar

The main power to the South of Goa was the Hindu empire of Vijaya-nagar. In the fourteenth century, its rulers had conquered most of Southern India, eventually becoming the overlords of a territory that stretched from the river Krishna to Cape Comorin and from the Western Gaths to the Coromandel coast. In the fifteenth century, they extended their power to the Kanara Coast. Along this stretch of 375 km, the Western Ghats come close to the ocean. Steep cliffs covered with trees alternate with bays. Ports are few. However, with the conquest of Bhatkal, Vijayanagar gained direct access to the maritime trade of the Western Indian Ocean. Expansion to the North was blocked by the Deccan sultanates. Under Krisnadeva Raja (1509-29), Vijayanagar combined political prominence with cultural efflorescence. The capital of the same name, a few hundred kilometres to the South-East of Goa, had grown into a very large city of perhaps 300.000 inhabitants, with impressive palaces and temples. Many poets, musicians and artists were drawn to this centre of Hindu power, received patronage and engaged in creative competition.[37]

The official relations between the Portuguese and the king of Vijaya-nagar varied between an active search on both sides to establish a military alliance and mutual negligence or even short-lived hostility. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had sought alliances against the Muslim sultan-ates of the Deccan. In 1515-1545, official contacts were few. Animosity was caused by hostilities from Vijayanagar against Christian communities on the Kanara coast, and the plunder of the temple complex of Tirupati/Tirumala, near the Coromandel coast, by the Portuguese governor Martim Afonso de Sousa (1542-1545). In 1548, viceroy João de Castro made an effort to restore friendly relations by sending Tristão de Paiva on a diplomatic mission. At the same time economic contacts, largely conducted by private traders, were continuous and mutually profitable. Vijayanagar valued the imports of Persian horses and European firearms for its army, while the Portuguese bought rice and precious stones.[38] Through the private traders and military experts, some of whom stayed for long periods of time in the capital, the Portuguese in Goa were well informed about Vijayanagar. Diogo Paes wrote an extensive description of the country (ca. 1518), and Fernão Nunes com-posed a historical chronicle from the first dynasty up to 1535, based on indigenous oral history supplemented by Portuguese information about events during the last decades.[39] Both dwelt on the power of its rulers and the splendour of its capital, but also reported on horrifying pagan practices.

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[37] G. Schurhammer, *Franz Xaver*, cit., Vol. II, bk. 1, pp. 233-234.

[38] Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "Notes on Portuguese Relations with Vijayanagara, 1500-1565", in Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Sinners and Saints. The successors of Vasco da Gama*, Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 13-39.

[39] S. Subrahmanyam, "Crónica dos Reis de Bisnaga", cit., pp. 138-144. Robert Sewell (ed. and trans.), *A Forgotten Empire: Vijayanagar*, London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1900.

One would expect that the codex would primarily call attention to the political and economic power of Vijayanagar, as it had done with Cambaia and Goa. However, the social hierarchy depicted in this cluster is of quite a different nature and prioritizes religious rituals over political or economic activities.

Three images refer to the military power of Vijayanagar's rulers. No king mounted on an elephant or on horseback is shown, as the informed viewer might expect. But a somewhat similar image is offered instead: a war elephant, watched by two women and two men standing on top of small rocky elevations (Fig. C22). This is a clear reference to the massive mounted troops that the king could field. According to Barbosa, he had "always more than nine hundred elephants, which he purchases for one thousand five hundred and for two thousand cruzados each. They are of great size and beauty, and he ever takes them with him for reasons of state as well as for war."[40] The men and women watching the war elephant, presumably representing the civil population, seem full of admiration for this display of wealth and power. Another image of a couple, titled simply, "Canaras Jintios", shows the martial spirit of at least the male part of the population. With his right hand, the man brandishes an unsheathed sword, while threatening the woman with the iron hand, or tiger claw (wagnak) in his left hand (Fig. C24). The woman may be duly impressed, but her floral gift demonstrates a belief in flower power. In a third image, the man of the Badaga couple, from the South-eastern part of the empire, also impersonates a battle attitude. His woman keeps him in check by a simple gesture of the hand. The viewer could conclude that in Vijayanagar, just as in Cambaia and Goa, military virtues were practiced and honoured, but they were balanced by the countervailing soft power of restraint and friendly behaviour. The images represent Vijayanagar as a civilised society, at least in the political sphere.

The other figures making up the social hierarchy of this cluster constitute a cast not shown before in the codex. Priests, pilgrims, roaming holy men, ordinary believers and widows walk on stage instead of merchants, artisans and agricultural labourers. The actions they engage in refer not to economic or political needs, but to a worldview that values radical renunciation of earthly existence. This value orientation was well-known to the Western viewer. Asceticism had been part of Christianity for a long time. Hermits had withdrawn from the world into the isolation of the desert, men and women had retreated into cloisters, priests lived in celibacy. Christ had sacrificed himself on the cross for the salvation of mankind. The codex shows similar kinds of behaviour that were however utterly abhorrent to Christians

Four custom images show ritual suicide performed by a Brahmin or executed under his guidance. Unlike the gold smith in Goa, the Brahmin appears here in a priestly capacity. He is ascetically dressed in a dhoti, the

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40 D. BARBOSA, *The Book*, cit., Vol. I, p. 210.

distinctive cord arranged over his bare chest, his very long hair hanging loose over his back. In one scene a man cuts off his own head, and the Brahmin brings it on a plate to the temple, according to the caption.[41] In another scene, one Brahmin has hooked a colleague onto a lever and pulled him up (Fig. C26). From on high, the hanging figure cuts pieces of flesh out of his body, puts them on arrows and shoots them into the air. The caption states that believers present at the scene, here two women and a man, collect the pieces and keep them as relics. The hanging figure continues the procedure until his death. The Brahmin in Tirumala, a famous destination for pilgrims, ends his life by throwing himself off a rock, a scene that is maybe repeated on another half sheet.[42]

Laymen follow the example of the priests. The only image in the codex of a couple consisting of two men, instead of a man and a woman, features two lay world renouncers (Fig. C25). A yogi imitates and surpasses Brahmin asceticism by living a life of poverty and self-castigation. The "calendar" has given up family and community, roams through the country clad in a tiger skin and lives from alms. Another layman has himself strangled by a contraption, put on a platform in front of a *pagoda*, a pagan church as the caption explains. Other laymen throw themselves in front of the wheels of a large wagon carrying dozens of merry worshippers, participating in a procession (Fig. C23). The suicidal deeds are not exclusively performed by men. Women engage in similar behaviour. A widow voluntarily joins her deceased husband in the grave. She sits quietly next to him and puts her arm around his shoulders, while other men enthusiastically close off the grave with large stones (Fig. C18).

The viewers of the codex must have asked themselves why these pagans committed ritual suicide. In his description of the yogis and roaming pilgrims, Barbosa offered an answer that must have looked self-evident to Christians: the pagans did penance for their sins. The self-murderers of Vijayanagar clearly took violations of the moral code much more seriously than the Banyan women from Cambaia who thought they could wash away their sins by ritual bathing.

Two other images, the only images in the codex that show neither a couple nor a custom scene, suggest that the pagan and the Christian ideas about the power of God and the origin of sin might not be all that different, albeit expressed by different visual symbols. One image represents the unity of Vishnu, Shiva and Brahma (Fig. C28). Sixteenth-century Portuguese associated this theme with the religion of the Brahmins; they did not yet have a conception of Hinduism (or Buddhism for that matter). Already Barbosa had mentioned that the Brahmins had a conception of God – Creator, Destroyer and Saviour in one – that was similar to the Christian

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[41] L. Matos, op. cit., pl. XLVII.
[42] Ibid., pl. XXIX.

idea of the Trinity.[43] The other image shows, in the upper part, a banana tree flanked by two hooded cobras "who are very poisonous. A person who is bitten by them dies" (Fig. C27). Garcia d'Orta had suggested that the banana might have been the delicious fruit by which Adam and Eve were seduced to disobey Gods command.[44] A Christian viewer aware of this opinion could have interpreted this part of the image as a pagan version of the depiction of the Original Sin. Once attuned to a symbolic reading of the image, the Christian viewer might have interpreted the lower part in a similar vein. Underneath the tree, a snake with a head on the front and the back is depicted. This is a snake "that does no harm." The Christian viewer could take it as a symbol of Eternal Life, a state of being in which looking backwards and forwards could not be distinguished, in which past and future were experienced as one enduring moment. In this interpretation the images suggest that Indian paganism shared some basic notions and practices with Christianity, although in distorted forms. Behind the polytheism, idolatry and extreme asceticism a shimmer of other-worldly monotheism, a veritable awareness of man's sinfulness and a striving for salvation could be discovered.

The similarities between paganism and Christianity were deeply disturbing to a Christian. In his view ritual suicide was a grievous sin. By trying to atone for their minor sins the pagans committed an even greater one. Wilfully seeking death implied the usurpation of a competence belonging to God. Only the Creator should decide on when and how a human life had reached its end. Committing suicide meant rejecting the hope of salvation, a rejection of Christ's self-sacrifice on the cross. The pagans of Vijayanagar might be rather civilised in their political and economic dealings and their religious doctrines might show similarities to Christian teaching, but their religious rituals however violated a fundamental rule that God had imposed on man. In the codex, Portuguese and pagans are depicted as *frères ennemis*, perhaps more so than Portuguese and Muslims.

Portuguese Asia: a collection of civilised sinners

In the *Codex Casanatense*, the societies of Cambaia, Goa and Vijayanagar are represented as relatively civilised, as can be deduced from the images of their complex social hierarchy and of the dresses worn by the different social groups. The same goes for the societies of the Middle East, the Malabar coast, Sri Lanka, the Maldives, the East Coast of India and South-East Asia where clothes are the main indicator of civility, because

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[43] D. Barbosa, *The Book*, cit., Vol. I, p. 115.

[44] Garcia da Orta, *Colloques des simples et des drogues de l'Inde*, trans. Sylvie Messinger Ramos, António Ramos and Françoise Marchand-Sauvagnargues, Lisboa/Paris, Fundação Oriente/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2004.

these societies are represented exclusively or predominantly by couples.[45] Only a few societies can be suspected of being considerably less civilised than the rest. In the cases of Socotra and Sindh the evidence is mixed. The men wear merely a loin skirt and go barefooted, but cover their heads with a turban. The women however have wrapped a broad piece of cloth around the lower part of the body and cover their breasts with the remaining part. These people are not extremely poor and show a sense of modesty. The men and women of Sri Lanka wear only a loin skirt, go barefooted, do without turbans, caps or hats, and the women do not cover their breasts. The Maldiveans were clad equally poorly. However, in contemporary ethnographic descriptions these peoples are not classified as particularly uncivilized. Maybe at least the Sri Lankese were deliberately downgraded in the codex to prevent Portuguese military involvement in the region.[46] This leaves the loin skirt wearing, white Botachinas of Halmaheira, in the Indonesian archipelago, as the only Asian people to which the codex attributes a low level of civility, a quality they share with the African cafres. The vast majority of the Asians in the codex are elaborately dressed, some more than others, but these are matters of degree, not of differences that establish a contrast between civility and barbarity.[47]

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[45] In this interpretation, sixteenth-century Portuguese placed "Asia" more or less on the same level of civility as "Europe". At least they did not notice a "great divergence" in economic development posited by theorists of European exceptionalism since the early Middle Ages. See e.g. Jack GOODY, *Capitalism and Modernity. The great debate*, Cambridge and Malden MA, Blackwell Publishing/Polity Press, 2004; ID., *The Eurasian Miracle*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2010; Alan MACFARLANE, *The Riddle of the Modern World. Of liberty, wealth and equality,* New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2000. See also www.alanmacfarlane.com.When sixteenth-century Portuguese did proclaim Europe's superiority over the other continents, as did Camões, it is difficult to entangle how much they attributed this to God's grace, i.e. Europe's Christianity, and how much to the ingenuity demonstrated by Europeans in the course of history. To the extent that they did have a notion of history as a civilizing process it was part of a providential, not a secular view of history.

[46] See for the views on Sri Lanka: Zoltán BIEDERMANN, "Krieg und Frieden im Garten Eden: die Portugiesen in Sri Lanka (1506-1658)", in Michael Kraus and Hans Ottomeyer (ed.), *Novos Mundos-Neuen Welten,* cit., p. 151; ID., "Perceptions and Representations of Sri Lankan Space in Sixteenth-Century Portuguese Texts and Maps", in Jorge Flores (ed.), *Re-exploring the Links. History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka,* Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 2007, pp. 235-260; Alan STRATHERN, *Kingship and Conversion in Sixteenth-Century Sri Lanka. Portuguese Imperialism in a Buddhist Land*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 120-124. Chandra R. de SILVA, "Beyond the Cape: the Portuguese encounter with the peoples of South Asia", in Stuart B. Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings. Observing, reporting, and reflecting on the encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the Early Modern Era,* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 295-322, esp. pp. 308-322; ID. (ed.), *Portuguese Encounters with Sri Lanka and the Maldives. Translated Texts from the Age of Discoveries*, Farnham, Ashgate, 2009.

[47] Pagan societies with limited technical skills could still be civil if they included many people, cities, occupational specialization and an enduring political order. Barros recognized this when he wrote of the inhabitants of Monomotapa: "em alguma maneira parece que seguem razão de boa polícia segundo a barbárie deles." Cited in A. B. COELHO, op. cit., p. 187.

At most, one might argue that the clothes attributed to the peoples of Portuguese Asia indicate a gradual and limited diminishing level of civility when one crosses the Indian Ocean from West to East, or from Muslim and Muslim-dominated regions to pagan regions.[48] In Arabia and Persia, all ranks of society wear stitched cloths and only the lower classes go barefoot. In South and South-East Asia, a combination of stitched pieces of clothing and pieces of textile of various length wrapped around the body prevails, in some cases replaced by wrapped clothing only. On the Indian subcontinent bare footedness increases, while in South-East Asia all the peoples are represented as doing without footwear. Only the Chinese in the Far East are shown fully dressed in stitched clothing and wearing shoes again, a return to the Persian level of civility.[49]

Civility as demonstrated by clothes primarily refers to the ability to create material well-being through technical and economic skills. The other connotations of the concept – political skill and self-restraint – are represented by the gestures of the couples and the occasional duplication of pairs. Men brandishing swords or making other aggressive gestures signal less political skill than armed men who show composure. In many cases the gestures of the women seem to indicate a moderating force in society. Only among the Pathan the women play along with the aggressive men. The duplication of couples in the images of the Pathan and Sri Lankans possibly refers to particularly fissiparous politics. But the despotic power play for which Ormuz was famous is not depicted. Only the predatory regimes of the Noutaques and Rajputs who are shown at war with themselves may be represented as beyond the pale of normal politics, but then as cases of anarchy rather than oriental despotism. In the codex most societies seem to practice politics in a relatively civil manner, keeping a delicate balance between hard and soft power.

While the codex represents Portuguese Asia as a rather civil world that showed no "great divergence" with Europe, the introductory image of the cafres raises the question if a contrast in civility between Asia and sub-Saharan Africa could have been in the mind of the painter and his patron. The poorly clad, aggressively gesticulating blacks in a barren land could be perceived as the opposite of the generally well-dressed peoples – white, brownish and dark – that the Portuguese had come into contact with in the Asian lands of flowers. The images of transport on wheels in Cambaia and ploughing with oxen in Goa recall other features used by Jack Goody in a

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[48] The sixteenth-century Portuguese vision of Asia was probably not entirely self-created. It may well been developed from views current among Muslim traders. A. MIQUEL, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 82-85, 114-126; Vol. IV, pp. 264-279.

[49] See Appendix. The Chinese are shown as aristocratic landlords, the Far Eastern equivalent of the couple from Shiraz. Linschoten showed them as literati and servants of a state bureaucracy. The makers of the codex may not have been aware of the existence of mandarins. Rui LOUREIRO, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins. Portugal e a China no Século XVI*, Lisboa, Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 443-462.

modern construction of this contrast.[50] Sixteenth-century Portuguese did not necessarily envisage sub-Saharan Africa as a land of uniform, deep barbarity. But even when they took a more nuanced view, they were aware of some data that put "Africa" on a considerably lower level than "Asia". In the representations of the Four Parts of the World, later in the sixteenth century, it became quite common to contrast civil Europe and Asia with savage Africa and America.[51] In the codex, this distinction seems to be emerging.

As some custom scenes suggest, flaws could be detected in the moral order of all Asian societies. These were not so much related to poor economic and political skills as to misleading religious beliefs and morals. Islam was not strict enough in its marriage rules, indicated – I suggest – by the Muscat bathing scene, a reference to polygamy. The pagans of India were monogamous, but had pushed monogamy to extremes (the life burial of widows). The Muslim lords of Persia and Cambia enjoyed the display of worldly goods, while the pagan Brahmin cultivated asceticism and rejection of the world (the ritual suicides of the Brahmins and their followers). The Brahmins did not respect life and its Creator enough, the Banyan who could not even kill a fly too much. The Banyan women took an extremely light-hearted attitude towards penance for one's sins (the Banyan bathing scene), the pagan laymen of Vijayanagar punished themselves for their sins in the most cruel ways. In Western Asia, pagans and Muslims sinned by the rejection of the golden mean. The moral deficiencies in Malabar, Sri Lanka, South-East Asia and China are not depicted. They are at most hinted at by the greater occurrence of the deviant positioning of females in the images of couples. In Western Asia, only the Rumi woman was placed to the right of the man, in Eastern Asia this occurs in Pegu, Aceh and Java. The viewers of the codex would probably have had no difficulty coming up with anecdotes about appropriate sins commonly practised by these peoples.

Compared to the grievous sins of Muslims and pagans the moral flaws of the Portuguese seem to be mere peccadillos. In the Ormuz dining scene they demonstrate a love of wine that might easily slide into intemperance. On the other hand, the scene shows that the Portuguese found ways to cope with the heat of the Tropics. They did not succumb to tropical derangement.

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[50] For an evaluation of Goody's theories: David R. OLSON and Michael COLE (ed.), *Technology, Literacy, and The Evolution of Society. Implications of the work of Jack Goody*, Mahwah, New Jersey, Routledge, 2006.

[51] João de Barros for example put the Ethiopians on a lower level of civility than some of the African blacks who knew cities. He commented on the use of the hoe in sub-Saharan agriculture instead of the plough: A. B. COELHO, op. cit., p. 207. E. BOOGAART, "The Empress Europe and her three sisters. The symbolic representation of Europe's superiority claim in the Low Countries, 1570-1655", in Paul Vandenbroeck (ed.), *America, Bride of the Sun. Five Hundred Years Latin America and the Low Countries*, exh. cat., Antwerp, Royal Museum of Fine Arts, 1992, pp. 121-128. Elizabeth McGRATH, "Humanism, Allegorical Invention and the Personification of the Continents", in Hans Vlieghe et al. (ed.), *Concept, Design, Execution in Flemish Painting, 1500-1700*, Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2000, pp. 43-71.

The image of the Portuguese bachelor approaching the two converted, single Indian women might hint at the greater threat of moral derailment through marriage of indigenous women. The Portuguese husbands might lose their bearings in Christian culture and become Asianised and semi-pagan. On the other hand, the image might also indicate that Christianity was advancing in Asia through mixed marriages.

In the codex, the Portuguese are not represented as imperialists set on territorial conquests in order to bring Christian civilisation to savage societies under the spell of demonic powers. They appear in a considerably more modest role. They are shown as the lords of Goa. At most the codex refers to the Portuguese in Goa as a political force trying to obtain prominence in the maritime trading world of Southwest Asia. The images of Safavid Persia, the kingdom of Ormuz and Cambaia suggest that not all Muslims were mortal enemies and that alliances with these powers might benefit the Portuguese in the struggle against the Ottoman and the Arabs.[52] But even in the maritime sphere the Portuguese ambitions are depicted as limited. The Portuguese presence in Malacca and Ternate was not shown in the paintings and – equally astonishing – is not even mentioned in the captions. To the makers of the codex, the activities in Southeast Asia and the Far East were faraway sideshows.

The representation of the Portuguese missionary enterprise is harder to decipher. The central position given to the paganism of Vijayanagar might be interpreted as a call to root it out, if not by violent action then at least by an intense and prolonged missionary effort.[53] On the other hand, the images depicting similarities in doctrine between Christianity and Indian paganism might indicate a belief that common ground could easily be found and that in the course of time the pagans would join the true faith. The Goan codex does not seem to share the counter-reformatory enthusiasm that was gaining the upper hand at the Lisbon Court, but rather to favour the golden mean between activism and *laissez-faire* in the propagation of Christianity.

Like all representational constructions, the *Codex Casanatense* is a polysemic work. The meanings attributed to its images can be simple or complex. In the sixteenth century, Portuguese and other Western viewers might

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[52] João Teles e CUNHA, "The eye of the beholder: the creation of a Portuguese discourse on Safavid Iran", in Rudi Matthee and Jorge Flores (ed.), *Portugal, the Persian Gulf and Safavid Persia*, Leuven, Peeters/Iran Heritage Foundation/Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 2011, pp. 11-50. See also the contribution by Vasco Resende in this dossier. The Portuguese contacts with the Ormuz region are discussed in Dejanirah COUTO and Rui Manuel LOUREIRO (ed.), *Revisiting Hormuz. Portuguese interactions in the Persian Gulf region in the Early Modern Period*, Wiesbaden, Calouste Gulbenkian Foudation, 2008. These studies build on the work of Jean Aubin. Jean AUBIN, "Le Royaume d'Ormuz au début du XVIe siècle", in Françoise Aubin and Geneviève Bouchon (ed.), *Le Latin et L'Astrolabe II*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2000, pp. 287-376.

[53] S. SUBRAHMANYAM, "O Gentio Indiano Visto pelos Portugueses no Século XVI", *Oceanos*, nrs. 19/20, sept.-dec. 1994, pp. 190-196.

consult the codex to check their knowledge of the peoples of Asia, recalling their names, geographic location, religious affiliation and the economic and political power they represented. They could go on to deliberate about the Portuguese enterprise in the East and discuss which of the Asian peoples were confirmed enemies of the Portuguese and which might become allies. They might systematically compare Arabs, Persians, different kinds of Indians and Southeast Asians, and classify them according to civility. They could point out similarities and differences between the way of life in Europe, Asia and Africa. They might indulge in malicious gossip about some of the awful customs caused by Islam and paganism, or start an open minded discussion about the civilising qualities these religions shared with Christianity. Spurred on by the discussion they would look at the images more carefully than when they started. The brightly coloured paintings would come alive and inspire an animated exchange of opinions. They invited the viewers to use their eyes and wits.

APPENDIX

Some remarks on the sequence of images, captions and general subject of the Codex Casanatense

Looking at the published editions of the *Codex Casanatense*, it is easy to get a wrong impression of what it actually consists of. The viewer might assume that the paintings are bound into an album, comparable to the bound volume he is holding in his hands. In fact, the codex consists of 71 unbound sheets of European paper measuring 31×44 cm, and three sheets measuring 31×22 cm. At present, these sheets are kept in a box, as they might well have been from the start.

The large sheets have been folded in two parts of 31×22 cm, each half of the painted side usually receiving a separate number. The small sheets numbered 51-52 and 75 could be the remaining halves of a large sheet of which the other half has disappeared, as the numbering 51-52 suggests. In that case, the series in its present condition would be incomplete.[54]

The painted sides of a sheet have been numbered, but not in a consistent way. The painted halves of the first 25 large sheets each are separately numbered, uneven numbers on the left side and even on the right side. This gives a total of 50 numbered half sheets. There are small irregularities because three half sheets have paintings on both sides (see below), but this does effect the total numbers being given. The folio numbered 51-52 is a single, small sheet, but is numbered as if it were a large sheet. The following sheets are numbered as before: one number for each painted half sheet. This continues up to and including folio 74. By then 36 large sheets and one

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[54] This description is based on G. SCHURHAMMER, "Desenhos", cit., pp. 11-114, and on notes taken during a brief inspection of the codex some years ago. At that time I did not plan to make a full codicological description. I hope some loose ends can be tied up in the future. The paintings of the codex can be viewed online: www.casanatense.it.

small sheet have been numbered. Folio 74 is followed by another single small sheet showing the Brahmin goldsmiths of Goa, but this time it is given a single number 75. Hereafter the painted left halves of a large sheet carry an even number and the right halves an uneven number. This goes on up to and including folio 95. A change occurs with the fold-out consisting of two large sheets showing the "Honorable Portuguese". Here the halves received the numbers 96-96+ and 97+-97. This is continued on the three-sheet fold-out showing the Canarin wedding. The first two sheets are numbered 98-98+ and 99-99+, but on the third sheet numbered 100-101 the previous method, two different numbers for each half sheet, is taken up again. At that stage, 51 large sheets and two small sheets have been numbered. There are no other changes in method until the end of the series with painted figures from Portuguese Asia at folio 141. By then, 71 large sheets and two small ones have been numbered. If each half sheet had received a different number, the last number would have been 144. It is three numbers less, because four sheets of the fold-outs have received a single number and one small sheet two. The last (third) small sheet with the pen-drawing of the monstrous baby from Lisbon is unnumbered. The inconsistent numbering suggests that it was done a considerable time after the series had been finished and may not correspond with the original sequence of the images.

Another type of anomaly constitutes an additional indication that the original order has been disturbed. Most of the 71 folded folios and the two single half sheets have been painted only on one side. The other side is usually left blank. To this there are three exceptions. The backside of folio 26 with the Gizari woman has the picture of a large plant with flowers. On the backside of folio 14, numbered 14bis, two men on a rock are depicted. Another folded sheet has the female dancer from Syria on the right side (this half sheet is numbered 20) and on the unnumbered left side two female servants. The reverse of the unnumbered half sheet is numbered 19 and contains another painting of two men on a rock. The reasons for the paintings on two sides are puzzling. The unnumbered painting on the backside of folio 26, the single plant with flowers, might be just a whimsical decoration, or is perhaps meant as a separation between the Arabian and the Persian section of the series. In order to make sense of the two images of men on a rock, one may connect them with the scene of the bathing women from Muscat on folded sheet 11-12. If the folios were placed in a different order than indicated by the numbers, a triptych would show up of which the bathing women would be the centre part flanked on both sides by the scenes with men on a rock. The men could then be interpreted as guardians of the bathing women.

For this supposition to appear plausible one has to imagine how the viewer consulted the codex. He would start with a pile of folded folios. To see an image, he would have to open the folio by turning one half to the left, just as he would go through the pages of a book. After studying the image he would close the folio and put it to the left side of the pile. Imagine further 14bis coming before folios 11-12 and 19 immediately thereafter. The viewer would first see the two men a rock on fl. 14bis, when he put the closed folio 13-14 on the side. When he opened folio 11-12, he would see the bathing scene. This would allow him to make a connection. A discovery that would be repeated when he came to image 19 (Fig. 1). If one accepts this interpretation, it would mean that the numbers were put on the images when at least these three folios were not in the right place.

Fig. 1 – *Codex Casanatense* 1889, fls. 14bis, 11-12 and 19.

There are more indications that the present numbering does not always square with what seems to have been the original sequence. One of the guiding ideas behind the original sequence, still largely recognizable in the present order, was geographic. The series starts in East Africa, follows the Arabian and Persian coasts, continues along the West coast of India to reach Sri Lanka and the Maldives, then goes up the East coast of India, up to Bengal, from there east to Pegu, Malacca and the Indonesian archipelago, to end with China. The most glaring inconsistency with this sequence are the images of Hindu rituals and religious symbols on fls. 78-93. They belong to a section dealing with Canara coast and Vijayanagar. According to the present numbering, they are in the middle of a section dealing with Goa, while they ought to come after Goa. The same goes for the images dealing with Sri Lanka (fls. 106-109), that ought to follow the images dealing with the Malabar coast (fls. 110-117) instead of preceding them. Smaller deviations from the geographic order occur in other places. In the reordering presented in the table below the geographical sequence has been consistently followed.

Another characteristic of the series may have determined the sequence of the images. The units that were placed in geographical order represent societies organized as hierarchical polities. The justification for this description of the units is to be found in the captions. They frequently describe the figures in the images as belonging to a specific geographic location and a "reino", a hierarchically organized polity, e.g. "labradores do reino de Cambaia". These polities were not modern states with populations of several million people and highly centralized military, judicial, fiscal and administrative powers. They were rather multilayered lordships, large and small, more often than not made up of several ethnic groups adhering to various religions. Many polities are represented by the single image of a couple, a few by several images of couples and of customs. In the last case, the images were probably ordered in such a way as to demonstrate the social hierarchy of a particular society. This meant that the king or other members of the ruling group came first followed by other groups according to their social power, wealth and prestige. In the table below images referring to the same polity have been ordered according to this criterion.

Not all captions give a reliable description of the subject depicted in the images. Some group identifications seem incorrect. One of the two couples of Arabian mariners represents probably an Arabian social group unknown to the caption writer. There is also reason to believe that he mixed up the Gizares and the Rumi (see the

contribution by Vasco Resende). Another problem is raised by the caption "Labradores canaris que semeam arroz e trigo". It seems to have been written without a proper look at the image, that unmistakably shows people harvesting. The caption only begins to make sense if the image is united with the other scene of sowing agricultural labourers "from Cambaia", as has been done in the table below. The subjects of the two scenes fit perfectly together. The images would then constitute a fold-out and fit into the Goa cluster that has more fold-outs. The caption with "Roman" lettering mentioning the Canaris (from Goa) could have been written first when the two scenes were connected; the caption in "Italic" mentioning Cambaia could have written later, when the scenes were separated and had landed in different parts of the pile.[55] A third discrepancy between caption and images concerns the religious situation in Southeast Asia. According to the captions all the peoples east of Cape Comorin were pagan. That does not fit the actual situation as already observed by Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, who were fully aware of the expansion of Islam in this region. It is also at odds with the depiction of the Bengali man and the man from Maluco, whose turbans and long gowns clearly relate them to the Indian North governed by Muslim rulers, and thus refers to the coexistence of Islam and paganism.

In spite of these discrepancies there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of all the captions. They satisfactorily define the general subject of the codex as a survey of the peoples, polities and religions of Portuguese Asia ca. 1550, geographically divided into five culture areas with some overlapping traits and many internal variations.

A reordered sequence of the images of the *Codex Casanatense*

Eastern Africa: pagans
I   couple of cafres from Cape of Good Hope

Abyssinia and Socotra: Christians
II   couple of Abyssinians "who live near the Strait of Mecca, on the Ethiopian side"[56]
III   couple of Nubians, perhaps the dark Christians from Socotra[57]

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[55] It has been noted previously that the captions were written by at least two hands, here described as Roman and Italic. These are terms of convenience. A specialist in sixteenth-century Portuguese paleography could certainly improve on that. On fls. 1-18 the hand writing is exclusively "Roman", on fls. 19-20 "Roman", with what looks like an addition in "Italic". On fls. 21-36, "Roman" again. Between fl. 37 and fl. 101, clusters with "Roman" and "Italic" captions alternate; some images have captions in both styles. Fls. 102-141 have captions in "Italic", perhaps a third hand.

[56] The facial scarification indicates that the Abyssinians are Christians. Giuseppe MARCOCCI, "Prism of empire: the shifting image of Ethiopia in Renaissance Portugal (1500-1570)", in Maria Berbara and Karl A. E. Enenkel (ed.), *Portuguese Humanism and the Republic of Letters*, Leiden, Brill, 2012, pp. 447-465.

[57] The dark skinned Nubians show the same facial scarification as the Abyssinians. They must be Christians, probably from Socotra. Duarte Barbosa had described the inhabitants of Socotra as Christians, dark skinned, more poorly clad than the Ethiopians and remarkable for the assertiveness of their women. This seems to fit the image. D. BARBOSA, *The Book*, cit., Vol. I, p. 60.

Kingdom of Aden: Muslims[58]
V	couple of Fartaquis
IV	couple of Arabian merchants
IX	couple of labourers, Boduis
X	couple of Arabian seamen
VII	Couple of Arabian seamen

Muscat on the Arabian coast, but part of the Kingdom of Ormuz

VIII   two men on rock without caption, on the backside of VII (addition to VI, on the left side)

VI   custom scene of bathing women in Muscat, "subject to the King of Ormuz"[59]

XI   two men on rock without caption, on the front side of XII (addition to VI, on the right side)

The Ottoman Empire: Muslims

XII   couple of female dancer and servants from the Kingdom of Syria, subject to *xeque* Ismael[60]

XIII   couple of Rumes living on the Strait of Mecca and the Gulf of Basra

XV   couple of Gizares, from islands in the Gulf of Basra[61]

XVI   flower on backside of XV, no caption

Safavid Persia: Muslims

XIV   couple of Turquimões, subjects of *xeque* Ismael

XX   couple from Shiraz, subjects of *xeque* Ismael

XIX   couple from Khorason, subjects of *xeque* Ismael

Kingdom of Ormuz: Christians and Muslims

XVII   couple of Persians from the Kingdom of Ormuz

XVIII   custom scene of Portuguese dining in Ormuz

Between Persia and Cambaia: pagans and Muslims

XXI   custom scene of Noutaques (pagan)

XXII   couple from Sindh (Muslim)

XXXIII   double couple of Rajputs (pagan)

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[58] The Fartaquis lived on the Southern coast of Arabia. The mariners seem to indicate that the polity to which these people belong was a maritime trading center. The kingdom of Aden seems to fit the bill best.

[59] According to Barbosa, wealthy people from the island of Ormuz kept retreats in Muscat to escape the heat. Muscat was also famed for its fisheries and pearl diving. This seems to fit what is shown in the plate. D. Barbosa, *The Book*, cit., Vol. I, p. 73.

[60] In the captions *xeque* Ismael refers not merely to the founder of the Safavid dynasty who was dead ca. 1550, but it had become a title of the rulers of Persia also alluding to the special branch of Islam favored by the founder of the dynasty. João de Barros attempted a description of the differences between Sunni and Shia Islam. J. T. Cunha, art. cit., p. 33.

[61] Vasco Resende argues that the Gizares and the Rumi were mixed up in the captions. See his contribution in this dossier. The Rumi represent the Ottoman Empire.

Cambaia: Muslims and pagans
XXV   couple of the king of Cambaia and wife (Muslim)
XXXVII   couple of Lascarin and wife[62] (Muslim)
XXVIII   custom scene of *xarafo*, money changer (pagan)
XXXVIII   couple of Banyan merchants, pagan
XXX   custom scene of Banyan women fetching water
XXXI   custom scene Banyan women bathing
XXVI   custom scene of coach for women (Muslim)
XXXII   custom scene of Pacaes, water sellers (pagan?)

Northern India: Muslims
XXIII   double couple of Pathan: the men
XXIV   double couple of Pathan: the women

Goa: Christians and pagans
LII-LIII   custom scene of Portuguese nobleman on horse and noble woman being carried
           in litter
LI   couple of Portuguese man and single Christian women from India
LVIII   couple of Canarin warrior and wife, from the mainland of Goa
XLI   custom scene of Brahmin goldsmith
XL   custom scene of Canarin iron smiths
LXV-LVI   custom scene of Canarin marriage
XXXIV   custom scene of Canarin Almocreves, grain merchants
XXVII   custom scene of agricultural labourers ploughing and sowing "from Cambaia"
XXXVI   custom scene of Canarin agricultural labourers "who sow rice and wheat"
XXXIX   custom scene Canarin *mainatos* "who wash clothes for money"

Canara-Vijayanagara: pagans
XLV   couple from the Canara coast
XLIII   custom scene with juggernaut
XXXV   custom scene of (Almocreve?) widow being buried alive with her dead husband
XLII   custom scene of war elephant
XLVI   couple of Jogue and Calandar
XLVII   custom scene of Brahmin sacrifice, beheading
XLVIII   custom scene of Brahmin sacrifice, hook swinging
XXIX   custom scene of Brahmin ritual suicide in Tremel (Tirumala)
XLIV   custom scene of self-sacrifice in front of *pagoda*
XLIX   custom scene of Brahmin on rock and two symbolic images with cobra
L   symbolic image of Hispar, Visnu, Brama
LXVIII   couple of Badagas (on the East coast of the subcontinent)

Malabar: Christians, Muslims, Jews and pagans
LXIV   couple of Saint Thomas Christian

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[62] In the present sequence, the Lascarin and the Banyan couples are part of the Goa cluster. That could be fitting because there were indeed mercenaries and merchants from Cambaia living in Goa. Nevertheless, in accordance with captions, the images have here been transferred to Cambaia.

LXI   couple of Malabar Muslims
LVII   couple of Naitias, Muslim[63]
LXII   couple of Jews
LXIII   couple of Naires, pagan

Sri Lanka, Maldives: pagans
LIX   double couple from Sri Lanka: the men
LX   double couple from Sri Lanka: the women
LXV   couple from the Maldives

East Coast India: pagans
LXVII   couple from the Kingdom of Uriá (Orissa)
LXVIII couple from the Kingdom of Bengal

Southeast Asia: pagans
LXIX   couple from the Kingdom of Pegu
LXX   couple from the Kingdom of Malacca
LXXI   couple from Aceh, Sumatra
LXXIII   couple from the Kingdom of Java
LXXII   couple from Maluco (Ternate)
LXXIV   couple from Banda
LXXV   couple from Halmaheira, Botachinas

China: pagans
LXXVI   couple from China

Hors série
Unnumbered last sheet with monstrous baby

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63 This image could also be placed in the Goa or Canara cluster.

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