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Nota de Abertura

Neste número da revista *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, temos o gosto de apresentar um dossier sobre religião e alteridade no mundo ibérico que foi dirigido por Bruno Feitler, Hugo Ribeiro da Silva e Jaime Teixeira Gouveia. No âmbito do projecto estratégico do CHAM dedicado às fronteiras, o estudo das transformações sociais e religiosas provocadas pela dispersão dos europeus pelo mundo enriquece sobremaneira o trabalho que temos vindo a desenvolver através dos diferentes grupos de investigação e linhas temáticas.

A qualidade dos textos será avaliada por cada leitor, mas o conjunto que agora se torna público encerra em si uma mais-valia historiográfica que nos honra, primeiro pelo número de colegas que desejaram participar e depois pela selecção cuidada das propostas que foi feita pelos coordenadores do dossier. Ao longo de doze textos percorremos todo o mundo ultramarino, desde o extremo oriente asiático até à floresta africana, ou desde vale do rio da Prata até ao tecto do mundo, abordamos diferentes cronologias desde o século XVI ao XVIII, e temas diversificados, desde a arquitectura às práticas de quotidiano ou desde os intercâmbios culturais às sombras da Inquisição. Em todos revisitamos essa linha ténue que é a fronteira, seja qual for a sua manifestação, possibilitando-nos novas percepções deste processo complexo que foi a propagação do Cristianismo pelo mundo na época moderna.

O volume é completado por mais três colaborações todas relacionadas com a centúria setecentista, a cujos autores agradeço também o seu trabalho.

O leitor tem nas mãos um número volumoso, fruto do muito interesse que a revista desperta junto do meio académico, mas, em princípio, o próximo número terá menos páginas. Se estas mais de quinhentas páginas são um motivo de orgulho, são também uma grande dor de cabeça que não é fácil de resolver. Os procedimentos administrativos que nos são impostos pela tutela, nomeadamente o modelo de financiamento da Ciência

conjugado com as regras e execução dos dinheiros públicos tornam este projecto, muitas vezes um quebra-cabeças que torna muito difícil manter a periodicidade da sua publicação. Voltando a volumes com cerca de trezentas páginas no futuro, regressaremos a uma dimensão que já foi a nossa e poderemos agilizar o processo de produção. Foi precisamente por não querermos atrasar mais esta grande produção que ainda não usamos integralmente neste número o sistema Autor-Data do Chicago Manual of Style, cuja aplicação será normalizada no número seguinte.

João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

**Religião e alteridade no mundo
ultramarino ibérico**

Religion and otherness in early-modern
overseas Iberian world

Coord.

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Introdução

A «alteridade», conceito que serve de ponto de partida a este *dossier*, é aqui entendida como uma ideia genérica derivada da noção de «o outro», alguém que não pertence ao grupo. Alfred Schütz designou tal pessoa como «um estranho», alguém que não faz parte dos padrões culturais de uma determinada sociedade¹. Ou seja, o fenómeno de alteridade envolve duas ou mais partes que não partilham os mesmos sistemas culturais de referência. Muitas vezes ela implica exclusão e rejeição, mas ao mesmo tempo é parte integrante da construção das identidades individuais e auto-consciência do grupo². Convém, porém, sublinhar que as diferenças culturais podem ser estudadas não só entre sociedades diferentes, mas também no âmbito de uma mesma sociedade. O «estranho» pode estar em qualquer lugar e interagir com outra cultura de fora ou de dentro. O que importa é a existência de diferença e interação³.

A religião é um campo particularmente interessante para estudar relações interculturais, dado que as normas e valores religiosos são muitas vezes (ou sempre) prescritivos e absolutos. Considerar a interação entre indivíduos de diferentes crenças religiosas permite-nos analisar de que modo a ideia de «diferença» se articula com as noções de «identidade» e «alteridade».

Durante várias décadas o conceito de sincretismo esteve no centro dos debates em torno da análise da missionação católica da época moderna, mesmo quando não era utilizado diretamente ou quando se recorria a outros termos com significado idêntico. Aliás, o termo «sincretismo» ainda continua a ser utilizado por alguns autores, que ora o procuram demonstrar

¹ Alfred SCHÜTZ, «The Stranger: An essay in Social Psychology», *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 49, n.º 6 (1944), pp. 499-507.

² Michal Jan ROZBICKI e George O. NDEGE (eds.), *Cross-Cultural History and the Domestication of Otherness*, Nova Iorque, Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, p. 1.

³ M. ROZBICKI e George O. NDEGE, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

e caracterizar, ora o negam. Seja como for, em ambos os casos o sincretismo é entendido como o resultado da mistura de duas (ou mais) religiões. Mas não será que a discussão, por centrar-se em tal conceito, não estará à partida condicionada? Como afirma Pierre Sanchis, ao pensar-se num produto cultural sincrético, presume-se necessariamente a existência de outros não sincréticos, ou «puros»⁴. O conceito de sincretismo parte do pressuposto inicial de uma «pureza cultural» anterior ao contacto cultural e à mistura, como se as culturas pudessem ser tratadas como unidades ontológicas puras. Essa «pureza prévia» parte do pressuposto de que uma cultura é uma estrutura estável, imune ao passar do tempo⁵.

O cubano Fernando Ortiz, na sua obra *Contrapunto cubano del tabaco y del azúcar* (1940), foi pioneiro a renunciar à ideia de que a cultura seria uma totalidade coesa, integrada, homogénea. Para ele a cultura europeia do século XVI (que estuda no livro a propósito do tabaco) não seria uma totalidade homogénea. Em alternativa à noção de aculturação, Ortiz propõe o conceito de transculturação. A aculturação implicaria transformações de apenas uma das partes no processo do contacto cultural, revelando uma matriz etnocêntrica, que olha para uma das culturas como ideal mais avançado. Já a transculturação, pelo contrário, sublinha a bidirecionalidade dos fluxos e das transformações culturais em situações de contacto. Parte-se do princípio de que ambas são transformadas, dando lugar a uma realidade cultural nova, original e autónoma em relação às culturas de origem. Em vez da formação de uma cultura sincrética, assiste-se a um contínuo reajustamento das culturas em contacto. Mais recentemente Mary Louise Pratt recuperou o conceito de transculturação no seu estudo sobre literatura de viagens⁶. Outros autores, como Homi K. Bhabha, sugeriram conceitos idênticos, como o de «hibridismo»⁷. Para estes autores, todas as culturas são por natureza híbridas, incluindo aquelas que reivindicam uma aura de pureza e se apegam aos mitos de origem. Assim, sobretudo quando se analisam os contactos entre sociedades diferentes, em vez de se procurar determinar se uma cultura se mantém «intacta» ou se «sincretiza», talvez

⁴ Pierre SANCHIS, «As tramas sincréticas da história: Sincretismo e modernidades no espaço luso-brasileiro», *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, Ano 10, n.º 28 (1995). Disponível online em http://www.anpocs.org.br/portal/publicacoes/rbcs_00_28/rbcs28_10.htm [Consultado em 04/04/2017].

⁵ Sobre o conceito de cultura veja-se Zygmunt BAUMAN, *Ensaio sobre o conceito de cultura*, Rio de Janeiro, Zahar, 2012.

⁶ Mary Louise PRATT, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, Londres e Nova Iorque, Routledge, 1992.

⁷ Homi K. BHABHA, *Location of Culture*, Londres e Nova Iorque, Routledge, 1994.

importe mais entender os processos de mediação simbólica que tornam possível a comunicação entre diferentes universos simbólicos.

O estudo da missionação católica da época moderna é particularmente apropriado não só para se observar o modo como os europeus descreviam a cultura e a religião de outros povos, mas também para se analisar estratégias de adaptação ou até de eliminação da diferença, sempre com o objetivo de uma conversão «bem-sucedida» (na perspectiva dos europeus). Um processo que não raras vezes suscitou resistências por parte daqueles que eram alvo de evangelização, o que não surpreende, já que a religião era, e é, um campo onde as adaptações mútuas costumam encontrar algumas barreiras. Tal acontece porque as religiões intendem organizar a realidade, dar-lhe ordem, através de sistemas de referência que se apresentam como imunes ao passar do tempo (o que não significa que, na realidade, assim o sejam). Colocar em causa o sistema de crenças significa pôr em perigo a cultura de pertença e, sobretudo, toda a ordem social, política e até económica⁸.

Além do mais, convém não ignorar que o contacto entre diferentes sistemas de crenças e modos de vida no contexto colonial provocou conflitos que resultam, antes de tudo, dos próprios processos de colonização que obrigaram o «selvagem» e o «bárbaro» a submeter-se aos valores culturais europeus⁹. Ou seja, as tentativas de evangelização não podem ser dissociadas dos mecanismos de violência que marcaram a colonização europeia, sobretudo nas Américas. Como referido por Anthony Pagden, o que se seguiu ao primeiro momento do encontro europeu com a América, à «descoberta», foi um continuado, e por vezes doloroso, processo de assimilação. Os conquistadores e colonizadores da América – e também, mais tarde, da África – procuraram transformar o Novo Mundo e os seus habitantes de modo a que se parecessem com os do Velho Mundo¹⁰. Serge Gruzinski designou esse mesmo processo de «ocidentalização», aspeto central na formação das «mestiçagens» ocorridas na América espanhola. Um dos elos essenciais dessa ocidentalização, dessa transferência do Velho para o Novo Mundo de imaginários e instituições, foi, precisamente, a cristianização¹¹. É certo que a ocidentalização provocou tensões, desordens e perturbações.

⁸ Stuart B. SCHWARTZ, *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 6. M. ROZBICKI e George O. NDEGE, op. cit., p. 209.

⁹ Anthony PAGDEN, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1993, p. 13.

¹⁰ A. PAGDEN, op. cit., p. 10.

¹¹ Serge GRUZINSKI, *O pensamento mestiço*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2001, p. 94.

Mas, lembra o autor, esse foi também um processo extremamente criativo, fazendo com que «a Roma dos papas» se «indigenizasse» à medida que o além dos índios se cristianizava¹². Ou seja, as influências são mútuas, dando origem a novas e originais manifestações culturais. Uma criatividade a que nem sempre tem sido dada atenção e que surge apesar de contextos desfavoráveis, marcados por relações de poder desiguais e assimétricas. Contudo, como nos alertou Stuart Schwartz, nem todos os contactos entre europeus e outros povos ocorreram num contexto de poder desigual e de subordinação. Veja-se o caso da China e do Japão. Se analisarmos os encontros culturais como sendo conduzidos em exclusivo por uma perspectiva de hegemonia e poder, há o perigo de se cair num reducionismo. Os processos de contacto cultural eram muitas vezes «desorganizados» e mudavam ao longo do tempo¹³.

Ordenados segundo uma sequência temática, os onze estudos aqui apresentados, ainda que diferentes no estilo da abordagem, das metodologias seguidas e das cronologias escolhidas, apresentam leituras instigantes acerca dos encontros e desencontros interculturais que se estabeleceram no mundo ultramarino ibérico a partir da interação de diferentes práticas e crenças religiosas.

Os três primeiros textos, embora centrados em diversas latitudes da América e com ângulos analíticos distintos, evidenciam um objetivo comum: do ponto de vista religioso e cultural, que tipo de impacto surtiu o contacto entre europeus e ameríndios no período colonial? A complexa teia de relações socioreligiosas que se estabeleceu entre povos, comunidades e etnias é o laboratório por excelência dos primeiros trabalhos que este *dossier* apresenta ao leitor.

Assim, Guillermo Wilde oferece-nos uma visão sistémica sobre como o processo de mudanças no campo religioso ocorrido na América Meridional derivou da execução de uma estratégia que passou pela acomodação do catolicismo às religiões indígenas. Contudo, o autor não deixa de sublinhar que os textos produzidos pelos missionários não devem ser entendidos como descrições objetivas de uma realidade, mas antes como instrumentos de interação em diferentes níveis e contextos. Aliás, as percepções dos missionários acerca dos ritos e costumes indígenas foram mudando desde o século XVI ao século XVIII.

¹² S. GRUZINSKI, op. cit.

¹³ S. B. SCHWARTZ, op. cit., p. 6.

A reflexão de Eliane Fleck insere-se no mesmo contexto, ao estudar as trocas culturais ocorridas nos colégios jesuítas da América ibérica entre os inácianos e os indígenas, no decurso da redução dos «gentios» levada a cabo pela Companhia durante a centúria de Setecentos. Fleck objetiva perceber a importância da apropriação das crenças nativas paraguaias na circulação de saberes e práticas terapêuticas de botânica médica e cirúrgica, veiculadas pelos jesuítas. A autora, portanto, fornece dois importantes contributos para o estudo da religião e da alteridade: a compreensão do cariz ameríndio-europeu das «artes de curar» jesuíticas, isto é, como se forjavam tanto em autores clássicos como nos saberes indígenas relativos à fauna e flora do Novo Mundo; e a reconstituição dessa cultura indígena que, espelhada na *ars scribendi* dos missionários, circulava e era apropriada no Velho Continente.

O texto de Maria Wade também nos dá conta dos resultados das interpenetrações, nos territórios coloniais americanos, entre o catolicismo que se desejava impor e o catolicismo que acabava por surgir da inflexão que nele era feita de princípios da cultura local. Para tal, a autora faz uma análise de vários manuais de confissão concebidos entre os séculos XVII e XIX por jesuítas e franciscanos para as missões do norte mexicano, Texas, Novo México e regiões setentrional e austral da Califórnia. Wade sublinha a dificuldade e complexidade do processo de tradução de conceitos cristãos para o vernáculo indígena; afere o especial cuidado que os manuais de confissão evidenciavam relativamente ao cumprimento dos mandamentos e às questões de foro sexual; reconstitui as implicações socioculturais que as questões confessionais procuravam ter nos comportamentos das populações nativas; e examina as atitudes ambivalentes dos eclesiásticos durante os trabalhos de conversão.

Nos dois textos seguintes mudamos de geografias. Jorge Fonseca e Patrícia Faria debruçam-se sobre as conexões entre cultura escravagista, conversão e alteridade em territórios africanos e asiáticos nos séculos XVI e XVII. Aqui, o projeto colonial de cristianização, que assentava num processo de transferência de valores, ideias e artefactos de uma cultura para a outra, calcorreou um trilho idêntico ao verificado na América.

O artigo de Jorge Fonseca apresenta uma análise baseada em fontes inéditas – em particular um documento notarial do cartório de Lisboa, datado de 1661 – acerca de como as estreitas relações comerciais que Portugal manteve nos finais do século XVI e inícios da centúria seguinte com o reino de Oere, atual Nigéria Ocidental, levaram a que aí fosse adotado o cristianismo. É conhecido como as políticas religiosas portuguesas em

África dependiam e acompanhavam o pulsar das relações económicas e políticas dos entrepostos comerciais africanos, bastando referir, como sublinha o autor, que o tráfico de escravos tinha na conversão dos cativos o seu principal argumento legitimador. Enquanto tais relações foram frutíferas, deu-se um desenvolvimento, ainda que lento, das estruturas eclesiásticas necessárias à cristianização das populações gentílicas, uma vez que, por não se tratar de um domínio português, não houve a formação de um clero autóctone e Oere permaneceu terra de missão. Fonseca reconstitui as dificuldades desse moroso processo e dá conta das preocupações surgidas com a manutenção de práticas gentílicas como a idolatria, a feitiçaria e a poli-gamia, entre outras que evidenciam como da aproximação entre culturas tão diversas resultou um conjunto híbrido de crenças e rituais religiosos cristãos e animistas, que concorreram entre si e mutuamente procuraram sobrepor-se.

Por sua vez, o olhar proposto por Patrícia Faria incide sobre o processo de cristianização de escravos no «Estado da Índia», também nos séculos XVI e XVII. Este texto tem, desde logo, o mérito de se debruçar sobre uma realidade ainda pouco explorada pela historiografia: a escravatura protagonizada pelos portugueses na Ásia. Recorrendo a um cruzamento sistemático de fontes de natureza diversa, a autora procura examinar as práticas da conversão e os vários agentes que tomaram a dianteira nesse processo. Procura, também, refletir sobre as experiências dos conversos, aqui adensando o foco através da apresentação de dois interessantes estudos de caso. A autora não deixa de demonstrar a instrumentalização que pelo menos alguns dos «gentios» sujeitos ao cativeiro faziam da conversão para obter a liberdade. Obtida a alforria após a conversão, por vezes sumiam para territórios muçulmanos e hindus, onde as idiosincrasias da vida os submetiam a um processo de reversão religiosa.

Não destoam da matéria até aqui analisada os estudos de Liam Brockey, Ana Hosne e Adriana Higashino, com os quais prossegue o *dossier*. Incidem os três, ainda que a partir de ângulos diferentes, sobre alguns modelos e estratégias da cristianização operada no Oriente português por parte de missionários jesuítas, a saber: a ostentação da seda com o fito de afirmação social face às religiões locais; a redação de textos destinados a provar o cariz idólatra da filosofia budista; e a conversão de templos budistas em igrejas católicas.

Liam M. Brockey propôs-se refletir acerca do uso das vestes de seda dos missionários jesuítas no leste asiático durante a época moderna, prática aparentemente oposta aos votos de pobreza preceituados pela Ordem. Ao

cruzar várias representações iconográficas sobre padres da Companhia que envergavam trajos de seda, com um conjunto de obras escritas que versavam sobre o assunto, o autor procurou entender como o cariz escandaloso do conteúdo veiculado nessas imagens poderia ser visto, à luz dos padrões europeus, como reflexo da vaidade inaciana, mas que, no fundo, fazia parte da sua estratégia proselitista, demonstrando aliás a sua capacidade e disponibilidade para adaptação à diferença. A maneira como os jesuítas contornaram as vozes discordantes que neste contexto se levantaram merece também especial atenção por parte do autor.

O estudo de Ana Carolina Hosne segue a mesma linha. Concentra-se na análise das percepções e interpretações da cultura religiosa budista, em duas missões jesuítas realizadas entre os séculos XVI e XVIII no Tibete e na China. Através da literatura que ficou dessa atividade missionária, redigida pelo próprio punho de alguns protagonistas, como Ricci e Desideri, a autora examina numa perspectiva comparativa os discursos e técnicas de argumentação jesuíticos que nos mosteiros tibetanos foram esgrimidos acerca da natureza idólatra dos rituais budistas e taoistas. Tal como no texto de Wade, também aqui são observadas as dificuldades presentes na tradução de conceitos religiosos. Tradução, entendida não apenas como lexical e com o objetivo de transmissão, mas também enquanto meio para a receção de conhecimento. Um processo que implica mutações de conceitos, adaptações e aproximações por parte dos diversos agentes envolvidos (transmissor e recetor).

Por sua vez, Adriana Piccinini Higashino apresenta os resultados de uma investigação interdisciplinar, que recorre às ferramentas teórico-metodológicas da história e da arquitetura para reconstituir o modo como, no Japão, a Companhia de Jesus transformou os templos budistas em igrejas católicas. Contrariamente ao verificado noutros territórios asiáticos, de que são exemplos Goa e Macau, onde os templos católicos foram edificados de raiz e com apoios financeiros e técnicos provenientes de Portugal, no território insular nipónico os religiosos viram-se obrigados a converter os templos budistas, que lhes eram oferecidos. As marcas físicas dessas adaptações desapareceram com a destruição desses edifícios, depois de a Congregação conhecer ordem de expulsão do Japão. Através de um conjunto de diversos tipos de fontes, designadamente cartas de jesuítas, plantas e descrições das características físicas dos templos das duas religiões, a autora giza um modelo visual aproximativo de como seria um templo budista transformado numa igreja jesuíta.

Os dois trabalhos que se seguem pisam os terrenos da intolerância e alteridade, campos diferentes dos até aqui explorados, mas particularmente interessantes para uma apreensão de como os significados atribuídos pelo catolicismo ao «outro» o levavam a agir sobre ele. Através do *Reportório* do inquisidor goense João Delgado Figueira, redigido em 1623, José Alberto Tavim reflete sobre os sentidos atribuídos ao *culto ao Diabo* no Oriente pelos inquisidores portugueses, detendo-se no conjunto de práticas, bastante difusas, associadas à invocação demoníaca. Procura, por conseguinte, desmontar a sistematização que o discurso jurídico fazia dessas práticas, que as arrumava sob categorias rígidas, baseadas em critérios católicos e europeus, mas que escondem mais do que esclarecem acerca da diversidade dos cultos locais orientais.

Brian Hamm explora três vertentes separadas, mas interligadas, de percepções negativas, do ponto de vista étnico, religioso e político, a que foram sujeitos os portugueses residentes na Hispano-América, e o modo como procuraram ultrapassar as desconfianças que sobre eles por vezes recaíam. Ao refletir sobre a construção histórica da «diferença portuguesa», este autor procura perceber o que significava ser português naqueles territórios espanhóis e como se coaduna a existência de categorias estáveis e claramente delineadas de «espanhóis» e «portugueses», com o facto de estes grupos estarem separados por limites inequivocamente fluidos e permeáveis. Hamm propõe uma arguição de tais categorizações e estereótipos e examina a dimensão ontológica, geograficamente variável, dos diálogos e debates transatlânticos acerca da *natureza, lealdade e pertença local*.

O *dossier* encerra com dois trabalhos que permitem ao leitor acarear as questões de alteridade a partir da Literatura. Ana Méndez-Oliver exhibe uma reflexão sobre os relatos, não raro ficcionados, que Van Linchoten redigiu sobre as viagens que efetuou a Moçambique, Índia, China e Japão. A autora explora a visão singular deste *outsider* acerca das circunstâncias sociopolíticas dos territórios sob governo do Estado da Índia. Por fim, Luís Filipe Silvério Lima detém-se sobre a circulação das ideias milenaristas, fazendo uma interessante conexão entre as várias latitudes onde surgiram e para onde se expandiram, com especial incidência no Brasil holandês e nas comunidades puritanas da Nova Inglaterra. Vistas, em regra, de forma separada pela historiografia, o autor procura analisar essas expectativas proféticas de forma conjunta, designadamente através das conexões entre o rabino Menasseh Ben Israel e grupos dos dois lados do Atlântico.

Dos vários olhares que este *dossier* propõe ressalta a ilusão de um *principium individuationis*, isto é, do indivíduo como sujeito dotado de uma

identidade individual pura, já que o sujeito é mediado nele mesmo pela conexão com todos os sujeitos. A constelação de relações culturais verificadas nos diversos territórios afetou não só as populações colonizadas como os próprios colonizadores. Do diálogo, nem sempre pacífico, entre várias concepções religiosas, surgiram novas formas de religiosidade e de vivência do fenómeno religioso. O contacto com o «outro» exigiu negociações, cedências, adaptações, e produziu diversos tipos de «hibridismos», processo cultural complexo sobre o qual o leitor poderá encontrar aqui instigantes reflexões.

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La invención de la religión indígena: Adaptación, apropiación y mimesis en las fronteras misioneras de Sudamérica colonial

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Resumo

Durante os séculos XVII e XVIII os missionários jesuítas produziram numerosas informações sobre as sociedades indígenas da América do Sul. Distinguem-se, geralmente, dois níveis de discurso. Um, mais visível, correspondia à identificação de crenças nativas (conceitos e termos) em línguas locais e sua tradução para as ideias cristãs. Outro nível, menos visível, correspondia às práticas rituais indígenas, as quais podiam ser classificadas como superstições malignas, assimiladas aos sacramentos ou relegadas à esfera de costumes inócuos que podiam ser gradualmente domesticados. Este artigo examina a natureza do conhecimento antropológico missionário, enfatizando suas ambiguidades a longo prazo. O meu argumento é o de que, nas suas descrições das sociedades indígenas, os jesuítas construíram um limite arbitrário entre os costumes toleráveis e os intoleráveis com o objetivo de controlar tanto o conhecimento sobre essas sociedades perante a administração colonial, como o monopólio da administração espiritual ante as mesmas sociedades indígenas.

Palavras-chave: sociedades indígenas, América Latina colonial, missões jesuítas, adaptação.

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Abstract

During the 17th and 18th centuries Jesuits missionaries produced several accounts describing the South American indigenous societies. They generally distinguish two levels of discourse. One, more visible, corresponded to the identification of native beliefs (concepts, terms) in the local languages and their translation into Christian ideas. Another level, less visible, corresponded to the Indian ritual practices themselves, which could be rejected as evil superstitions, or equated to sacraments or relegated to the sphere of innocuous customs that could be gradually domesticated. This article examines the nature of «missionary anthropology» emphasizing its ambiguities over the long term. My argument is that in their descriptions of indigenous societies Jesuits construct an arbitrary boundary between tolerable and intolerable customs to control both knowledge about those societies before the colonial administration and the monopoly of spiritual administration before the indigenous societies themselves.

Keywords: indigenous societies, colonial Latin America, Jesuit missions, accommodation.

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La invención de la religión indígena: Adaptación, apropiación y mimesis en las fronteras misioneras de Sudamérica colonial ¹

Guillermo Wilde

La información producida por los misioneros jesuitas sobre las sociedades indígenas de la Sudamérica colonial permite distinguir dos niveles de discurso. Uno, más visible, corresponde a la identificación de conceptos y términos en las lenguas indígenas potencialmente traducibles a la doctrina cristiana. Los misioneros hicieron intentos iniciales por encontrar categorías nativas que pudieran utilizarse para nombrar al Dios cristiano, o creencias que pudieran ser directamente asimiladas a los eventos bíblicos. Otro nivel de discurso, menos visible, correspondía a la descripción de prácticas rituales indígenas concretas, frente a las cuales podían adoptar actitudes muy diversas: o bien condenarlas por ir contra la esencia del cristianismo, o bien equipararlas a los sacramentos cristianos, o bien relegarlas a la esfera de costumbres inocuas (indiferentes), susceptibles de ser gradualmente domesticadas, como fue el caso de ciertos cantos y danzas autóctonas.

Ambos niveles discursivos nutrieron debates doctrinales que las autoridades eclesiásticas trataron de resolver en concilios y sínodos ocurridos a lo largo del siglo XVI. El Tercer Concilio de Lima (1582-83), constituyó un momento clave de traslado de la reforma tridentina a Sudamérica, en el que se estableció el primer catecismo unificado, al igual que normas claras en la administración de sacramentos entre los indios. Aunque dichas decisiones debían alcanzar los lugares más remotos, con frecuencia los misioneros adaptaron las normativas generales a las circunstancias particulares y los espacios en que desarrollaron su actividad.²

¹ Versiones anteriores de este texto fueron presentadas y discutidas en reuniones de trabajo en la Escuela de Altos Estudios en Ciencias Sociales de París, el Instituto Ravignani de la Universidad de Buenos Aires y el Museo Nacional de Etnología de Osaka (Japón). Agradezco las sugerencias y comentarios de Pierre Antoine Fabre, Ines Županov, Akira Saito, María Elena Barral y Valentina Ayrolo, aunque soy enteramente responsable por el contenido de este artículo.

² La Compañía de Jesús estableció un cuerpo de normas, reglas y preceptos que indicaban cómo actuar ante determinados casos, sobre la base de consultas previamente establecidas. Según sugieren algunos trabajos recientes, el sistema de toma de decisiones jesuítico exhibía un importante grado de descentralización. Ver en particular Markus FRIEDRICH (2008) y Fabian FECHNER (2014).

En este artículo argumento que el discurso sobre la religión indígena jugó un papel fundamental de la práctica jesuítica de adaptación. Sugiero que los misioneros, en sus descripciones de las creencias y prácticas indígenas tendieron a establecer, controlar y manipular el límite entre las creencias y prácticas indígenas que resultaban indiferentes a la religión cristiana y aquellas que atentaban contra su esencia, y que por lo tanto debían ser erradicadas. La manipulación de dichos límites respondía a la conveniencia de mantener el control político y la administración espiritual en las misiones. En este sentido, sostengo que las descripciones misioneras no deben ser tomadas como descripciones objetivas de una realidad etnográfica externa de usos, costumbres y ritos, a partir de las cuales reconstruir una «religión prístina», sino como instrumentos de interacción en diferentes niveles y contextos, el de la misión propiamente dicha, el de la orden religiosa, y el de la administración colonial. El conocimiento escrito sobre las prácticas indígenas fue parcial y estuvo marcado por esas interacciones y contextos que tendieron a hacer variar su significado y a marcar contradicciones.

La primera parte de este artículo presenta algunos ejemplos de las estrategias adaptativas de misioneros que actuaron en las fronteras de Sudamérica. La segunda discute la naturaleza de las fuentes misioneras y explora las posibilidades de una «antropología misionera». La tercera explora la problemática del uso de las lenguas nativas en la traducción de conceptos cristianos, centrándose en una controversia que tuvo lugar en el Paraguay. La cuarta parte discute la lectura que los jesuitas hicieron de los ritos nativos y la traducción que intentaron hacer de los mismos con el propósito de implementar sacramentos como el bautismo y el matrimonio. La quinta y última parte analiza disputas entre jesuitas e indios por el control de la administración espiritual de los pueblos en las que el ritual y los dispositivos simbólicos fueron apropiados y manipulados.

Lo esencial y lo indiferente: el dilema de la adaptación

Parece fatigoso bailar así a gritos y con movimientos constantes del cuerpo, al ritmo de esta música monótona, sobre todo cuando hace mucho calor; sin embargo es una diversión para nuestros indios y nosotros la toleramos en vista de que no hay nada perjudicial o reprobable en este pasatiempo. Pues si hubiera algún elemento de esta índole en aquella costumbre, no podría ser un verdadero y permanente placer, según los principios de un juicio recto.³

³ Werner HOFFMANN 1979: 160.

La cita pertenece al *Relato sobre el país y la nación de los chiquitos en las Indias Occidentales o América del Sud, y las misiones en su territorio* (1772), del misionero jesuita Julian Knogler. Previamente, Knogler se había detenido en la descripción detallada de una danza que practicaban los indios chiquitanos, que él mismo había podido presenciar durante su actividad misional en la antigua Provincia Jesuítica del Paraguay.

La última frase de Knogler refleja el pragmatismo del «modo de proceder» jesuítico: si hubiera «algún elemento» perjudicial o reprochable en aquel «pasatiempo», «no podría ser un verdadero y permanente placer, según los principios de un juicio recto». El jesuita apelaba al «juicio recto», el buen uso de la razón, para juzgar una práctica que identificaba como una «costumbre» placentera pero inocua, indiferente al corazón de la doctrina cristiana.⁴ Nada había de dañino y reprochable en dicha «diversión» profana. Tal y como lo presentaba el jesuita, la práctica en cuestión ni siquiera constituía un dilema de orden moral, pues no había nada en ella que violara el derecho natural o la religión.

Otro jesuita que actuaba entre los chiquitanos por la misma época, Martin Schmid, va mucho más lejos que su colega Knogler, justificando incluso su participación «como misionero» en los bailes y cantos junto a los indígenas. El siguiente fragmento parece hasta un desafío a las autoridades:

Vivo y gozo de una salud buena y estable; llevo una vida alegre y hasta alborozada, pues canto —a veces a la tirolesa— toco los instrumentos que me gustan y bailo también en rueda. Pero ¿qué dicen sus superiores de esta vida? preguntará Vuestra Reverencia. Yo les respondo: «Si soy misionero, es porque canto, bailo y toco música. [...] Para que Vuestra Reverencia no censure demasiado severamente el baile del misionero, le ruego se recuerde de otro pasaje de la Sagrada Escritura: ‘Cuán hermosos son los pies de los evangelistas!’».⁵

Al igual que las citas anteriores, ésta refiere a la música y la danza entre los indígenas como una gozosa diversión, sin ofensas a la buena religión cristiana, que además, cabe inferir, permitía ganarse la confianza de los indios. Se trataba fundamentalmente de «costumbres» civiles, donde la

⁴ La cuestión de lo «indiferente» requiere un estudio en profundidad en relación a los ámbitos misionales. En su análisis de la acción de la misión de la India, Županov discute el uso que el jesuita Nobili hizo de la noción de *adiaphora*, proveniente de las doctrinas estoicistas, que englobaba «acciones indiferentes», actos no indispensables para la salvación (Ines ŽUPANOV 2010 y 2011). Para un estudio profundo sobre las bases jurídicas de la noción en el derecho natural ver el trabajo reciente de Brian TIERNEY (2014).

⁵ Werner HOFFMAN 1981: 141-142.

alusión «a veces a la tirolesa» abre la sospecha de que en ocasiones bailara otras danzas, acaso autóctonas. La cita expresa un claro quiebre con la simple y distante aceptación de una costumbre local para señalar la necesidad de participar de los usos nativos. Schmid da a entender que para acercar a los indígenas a la religión cristiana hay que apropiarse de sus costumbres, en otras palabras, y en una irónica lógica circular: cristianizar las prácticas indígenas para luego indianizar el cristianismo. Tomadas en su conjunto, estas situaciones se encuentran en el centro mismo de la discusión jesuita sobre los métodos de conversión y adaptación cultural. Lo que a grandes rasgos podríamos definir como un dilema de la conversión en estas fronteras apartadas de los Imperios Ibéricos, consistía en determinar el límite entre lo esencial y lo indiferente a la religión cristiana, señalando indirectamente un espacio de desenvolvimiento autónomo de la «costumbre» indígena, al que incluso el sacerdote cristiano debía «convertirse».

La caracterización general de las danzas nativas como «género de recreación», no era para nada nueva. Aparecía prefigurada en la obra del jesuita José de Acosta cuando aclaraba, en un largo párrafo dedicado a las danzas indígenas de México y Perú, los takis y mitotes:

Aunque muchas de estas danzas se hacían en honra de sus ídolos, pero no era eso de su institución, sino como está dicho, un género de recreación y regocijo para el pueblo, y así no es bien quitárselas a los indios, sino procurar no se mezcle superstición alguna.⁶

Los jesuitas expresaron un importante grado de aceptación de las expresiones nativas desde sus primeras actividades en Sudamérica. En el Brasil portugués, donde la orden arribó en 1549, el jesuita Manuel de Nóbrega hizo una defensa categórica del uso de «los cantares de la tierra» en las celebraciones cristianas. En 1552, escribía lo siguiente en una carta a Simão Rodrigues:

Se nos abraçarmos com alguns custumes deste gentio, os quais não são contra nossa fee catholica, nem são ritos dedicados a idolos, como hé cantar cantigas de Nosso Senhor em sua lingoa pello seu toom e tanger seus estromentos de musica que elles [usam] em suas festas quando matão contrarios e quando andão bebados; e isto pera os atrahir a deixarem os outros custumes esentiais e, permitindo-lhes e aprovando-lhes estes, trabalhar por lhe tirar os outros; e assi o pregar-lhes a seu / modo em certo toom andando passeando e batendo nos peitos, como elles fazem quando querem persuadir

⁶ José de ACOSTA [1590] 1979: 318 (cursiva mía).

*alguma cousa e dizê-la com muita eficacia; e assi trosquiarem-se os meninos da terra, que em casa temos, a seu modo. Porque a semelhança é causa de amor.*⁷

A través de otras cartas, sabemos que el mismo Nóbrega participaba de las prácticas rituales indígenas. Algunos años después, otro jesuita elogia el uso de la música para la evangelización y narra sin censura un episodio en el que un niño huérfano de Lisboa, que había sido traído a Brasil, participaba junto a los indios de «cantares gentílicos». El texto refiere a una procesión, en la que fue cantado un *Tedeum*, mientras se cargaba una cruz decorada de plumas de colores:

La cruz toda pintada de pluma de la tierra muy hermosa, con el Niño Jesús en lo alto de la cruz en traje angélico con una espada pequeña en la mano. Y así fuimos con la cruz levantada por las Aldeas cantando en cada una dellas y tañendo a modo de los negros [de la tierra, es decir los indios] y con sus mismos sones y cantares, mudadas las palavras en loores de Dios.⁸

Estos episodios podrían ser vistos como meros ensayos iniciales de un largo proceso de evangelización, progresivamente abandonados con la consolidación del modelo misionero.⁹ Sin embargo, testimonios parecidos se repiten en el tiempo y el espacio incluso en épocas tardías, lo que lleva a pensar que la adaptación fue una política sistemática y deliberada en las fronteras misioneras iberoamericanas.¹⁰

⁷ Carta del Padre Manuel da Nóbrega a Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, agosto de 1552, publicada por Leite, citada por Tomini WITTMAN (2011: 166).

⁸ Carta de los niños huérfanos [por Francisco Pires] al padre Pero Doménech, Bahia, 5 de agosto de 1552 (publicada por Leite, citada por Tomini WITTMAN 2011: 169). La defensa del uso de tonos e instrumentos musicales autóctonos surgía de una denuncia del Obispo Sardinha contra los jesuitas. «Los niños huérfanos –escribía Sardinha– antes que yo viniesse teníam costumbre de cantar todo los domingos y fiestas cantares de nuestra Señora al tono gentílico, y tañerem ciertos instrumentos que estes bárbaros tañen y cantan quando quieren beber sus vinos y matar sus inimigos. [...] allé que estos gentiles se alaban que ellos son los buenos, pues los Padres y niños tañíam sus instrumentos y cantavan a su modo». Y censuraba el uso de «*costumbres gentílicas*» entre «*hombres blancos*», porque provocaban el mal y «*son tan disonantes de la razón*». El obispo decía no saber «quáles son las orejas que puedem oyr tales sonos y rústico tañer» (Carta de D. Pero Fernandes al padre Simão Rodrigues, Bahia, julio de 1552 (publicada por Leite y citada por Tomini WITTMAN 2011: 162).

⁹ De hecho, Metcalf observa un endurecimiento de los métodos misioneros en el Brasil colonial durante la presencia de la primera generación de misioneros, ante la persistencia de prácticas como la antropofagia y la poligamia (Alida METCALF 2014).

¹⁰ Johannes Meier encuentra comentarios similares en escritos pertenecientes a los jesuitas Pfefferkorn y Tirsch quienes actuaban en Sonora y Baja California. Estos definían a las danzas indígenas como «salvajes pero artísticas» (Johannes MEIER 2005: 77).

En 1751 y 1752, el jesuita Bernard Havestadt hizo expediciones a la Patagonia. Atravesó los Andes en más de una ocasión montado en una mula o a pie. En su diario, incluye un mapa de la región donde muestra evidencias de su convivencia con los nativos. Entre ellas, llama la atención una ilustración de un misionero vistiendo un «poncho» nativo y espuelas. Sobre esta imagen, el jesuita clarifica:

La *vestimenta* del P. misionero es la misma que distingue a toda la Compañía de Jesús, con excepción del manto, en cuyo lugar usamos en Chile, de acuerdo con la costumbre de la gente el poncho o cobertor. Esta vestimenta es una tela de forma rectangular con una fisura al medio por la que se introduce la cabeza y cae cubriendo por todas partes el cuerpo y los brazos, todo lo que uno quiera. [...] Lleva después, como lo muestra la ilustración del mapa geográfico, espuelas en los pies y sobre su pecho el crucifijo característico de los PP. misioneros y que les sirve de guía en los viajes, de escudo en los peligros y siempre de protección y ayuda.¹¹

Cuando las prácticas indígenas no se oponían a los principios morales de la fe cristiana, eran toleradas. La cuestión central para los misioneros era entonces establecer en sus escritos y en la práctica concreta los límites de lo aceptable, decidiendo sobre la línea de separación entre lo esencial y lo indiferente a la religión cristiana. Por medio de dicha separación los misioneros contribuían a la identificación de las «costumbres» (y la religión) nativas. Recién después de esto podían decidir si era conveniente participar o no de la costumbre nativa, de cierta manera «convirtiéndose» ellos mismos a las expresiones indígenas.

¿Una antropología misionera?

La producción de textos fue un aspecto fundamental de la empresa global de la misión. Entre las órdenes religiosas, la Compañía de Jesús intentó fuertemente organizar el conocimiento sobre la diferencia cultural en base a tipologías útiles para la administración colonial y la misma actividad misionera. Los textos también describían problemas de adaptación –tanto de los misioneros como de la doctrina– a las circunstancias particulares de la interacción con las poblaciones nativas. En este sentido, el contenido de

¹¹ Citado por Artur H. F. BARCELOS (2006: 380). Puede encontrarse una reproducción en Furlong (1936: mapa XXII, descripción nr. 52, p. 78 del catálogo) con el título «Mappa Geographica exhibens Provincias, Oppida, Sacella &c. quae Mensibus Novembri ac Decembri anni 1751 et Januario Februario et Martio anni 1752 peragravit ad Indorum Chilensium terras excurrans P. Bernardus Havestadt è Soc. Jesu Misionarius».

las fuentes misioneras está inherentemente ligado a las condiciones en las que se produjeron, tanto locales como globales.¹²

Hasta qué punto las descripciones jesuitas de las tradiciones religiosas indígenas constituyeron un discurso propiamente antropológico es una pregunta sujeta a mucho debate. Con frecuencia, el llamado «método de acomodación» de los misioneros católicos fue considerado como un antecesor del relativismo cultural del siglo xx.¹³ Pero ¿aportaban los textos misioneros información etnográfica fidedigna? ¿Intentaron los misioneros entender la diferencia o simplemente buscaron transformar a los indígenas? Charlotte de Castelnaud ha notado recientemente que la antropología y la historiografía contemporáneas han usado las fuentes misioneras de manera ahistórica con el propósito de reconstruir una imagen coherente de la sociedad indígena que permitiera entender su realidad contemporánea, o como descripciones objetivas de la actividad y esfuerzos misioneros particulares de imponer la fe cristiana, sin referencias al contexto de interacción o a la participación de los actores indígenas y su agencia.¹⁴

¹² Autores como Županov y Rubiés afirman que las descripciones jesuitas gradualmente tendieron a crear una representación secularizada de la alteridad. Ines G. Županov sugiere que los escritos jesuitas produjeron un desplazamiento en la explicación del terreno teológico al etnológico. Más allá de su carácter instrumental, la actitud jesuita de adaptación abre un argumento temprano acerca de la existencia de un espacio secular en las sociedades no europeas. Roberto Nobili, explica Županov, «no era seguramente consciente de que al constreñir la esfera de lo religioso, contribuía a la erosión de la institución eclesial como lugar de autoridad sobre los pueblos no europeos, y que sus descripciones e interpretaciones etnológicas del brahmanismo, alimentaban diferentes campos europeos, opuestos no solamente a los jesuitas sino también a la Iglesia Católica o a la misma institución de la religión cristiana» (Ines ŽUPANOV 2011: 531). De una manera similar, Rubiés argumenta que una de las consecuencias inesperadas del debate instalado por los jesuitas en las misiones de Asia, fue producir un impulso a la secularización con efectos paradójicos: «[...] the Jesuits assisted in the process of secularisation of European culture that led to the Enlightenment [...] many of the efforts inspired by their peculiar 'missionary spirituality' acted as a catalyst for secularisation» (Joan-Pau RUBIÉS 2005: 244). Ver también Joan-Pau RUBIÉS (2012).

¹³ El «método de acomodación» fue formulado de manera sistemática y aplicado por Alessandro Valignano en Japón, Roberto de Nobili en la India y Matteo Ricci en la China. Adquirió resonancia a partir de la disputa llamada «controversia de los ritos», que tuvo amplias repercusiones en Europa. Para una discusión sobre el método y sus implicancias en la misión asiática y el mundo europeo pueden verse los trabajos de David MUNGELLO (1994), Ines ŽUPANOV (1996, edición en español de 2011) y Joan Pau RUBIÉS (2005) y Elisabetta CORSI (2008). Para el caso específico de la China, Nicolas STANDAERT desarrolla en *L'autre dans la mission* (2003) una diferenciación entre el método jesuítico de la acomodación y la noción moderna de «inculturación de la fe», enumerando una serie de semejanzas y diferencias relevantes para la discusión.

¹⁴ « Les coutumes indigènes décrites par les anciens chroniqueurs sont indissociables de la relation qui pouvait exister entre les Indiens et ceux qui les ont décrits. Les angoisses des missionnaires ne sont pas à ignorer ou à écarter comme signes d'ethnocentrisme déplacé, mais à analyser, et elles sont révélatrices pour le lecteur d'aujourd'hui » (Charlotte CASTELNAU 2011: 276). «Les sources missionnaires portent les traces de l'interaction missionnaire, qui sont à décrypter par les spécialistes, tant des Indiens que des missionnaires» (Charlotte CASTELNAU 2011: 277).

La antropología del siglo xx cayó en la trampa de reconstruir una «religión indígena» pura a partir de los elementos provistos por los misioneros sin considerar las proyecciones involucradas en sus descripciones. En un giro reciente de la historiografía misionera las fuentes han dejado de ser tomadas como conocimiento etnológico objetivo, para ser consideradas como productos de una interacción en la que los indígenas tuvieron un rol activo. Desde esta perspectiva, la historia indígena y la historia colonial de la cristianización no serían procesos separables, sino un mismo proceso de transformación cultural en el que los indios adquieren un rol activo, absorbiendo «numerosos elementos del mundo cristiano, los rearticulan con elementos de su cultura y sus tradiciones, dándoles nuevo sentido».¹⁵

En su análisis crítico del proceso de conversión en la región andina, Juan Carlos Estenssoro subraya el hecho de que la religión católica y la religión indígena no constituyeron dos sistemas mutuamente herméticos y excluyentes. La realidad colonial no representó tampoco una fusión sincrética cristalizada o un mestizaje conciliador. Más bien se caracterizó por una fuerte y compleja interacción que impulsaba dos fenómenos contradictorios y complementarios tendientes a separar y oponer el cristianismo a las manifestaciones indígenas, lo que justificaba la labor de represión de la institución eclesiástica y, simultáneamente, una influencia del catolicismo sobre las manifestaciones indígenas. Esta influencia hizo posible la formulación de una separación radical, persistente hasta nuestros días, que enuncia la existencia de «una religión indígena unitaria allí donde no existe tal» haciendo de ella un «sistema de creencias exclusivo es decir incompatible con cualquier otro (gracias a la oposición entre verdadera y falsa religión introducida por la Iglesia)».¹⁶ Es decir que estamos frente a constructos ideológicos (clasificaciones) que no describen realidades objetivas sino que las construyen.¹⁷

La administración colonial incrementó su presión en la primera parte del siglo xvii, buscando ejercer un control sobre la actividad religiosa. Dentro de la Compañía de Jesús, presente en Sudamérica española desde 1568, la tensión pronto emergió en torno de los métodos de conversión que debían utilizarse y hacia qué sector de la sociedad debían ir dirigidos, los indios o

¹⁵ Charlotte CASTELNAU 2011: 275.

¹⁶ Juan Carlos ESTENSSORO 2001: 463. La noción misma de «religión», como constructo occidental, debe ser sometida a crítica. Para una discusión sobre el término en el contexto de la misión jesuita en China puede verse el libro ya citado de Nicolas STANDAERT (2003).

¹⁷ Sobre el uso de clasificaciones como dispositivo colonial de dominación ver Christophe GIUDICELLI (2010).

los colonos.¹⁸ Después de una primera etapa de la evangelización caracterizada por la receptividad misionera a las prácticas y conceptos nativos, vino un período de mayor control en la actividad pastoral.¹⁹ Este período está marcado por una transición de un paradigma de persuasión a un paradigma de coerción relacionado con una presencia mayor del estado monárquico en las colonias. También con un cambio de percepción con respecto a las capacidades indígenas para adoptar el cristianismo. Como afirma MacCormack, los teólogos españoles progresivamente probaron la ausencia de equivalencias entre creencias cristinas e indígenas, y constataron que la conversión por vías «suaves» no tendría buenos resultados. MacCormack concluye que el proceso de conversión de los indios enfrentó un doble sistema de constreñimientos: por un lado, los constreñimientos económicos y políticos impuestos por el estado secular, y por otro, los constreñimientos espirituales y culturales de la misión cristiana.²⁰

Para el momento de llegada de los jesuitas al Perú, una reformulación de la política indígena estaba teniendo lugar. La corona buscaba ganar control tanto sobre los colonizadores como sobre los sacerdotes, quienes en las décadas precedentes habían ganado autonomía. Esta fue la época del III Concilio de Lima, el arribo del Quinto virrey del Perú, Francisco de Toledo, y la activa participación de los jesuitas en las reformas coloniales. Toledo implementó una política de reasentamientos y concentración de la población indígena en las llamadas *reducciones* y solicitó a los jesuitas su colaboración en la tarea.²¹

A principios del siglo XVII, esta política se expandió hacia las zonas periféricas con el objetivo de controlar poblaciones indígenas no subyugadas. Los jesuitas crearon sus primeras misiones en la América del Sur española en 1610 entre los guaraníes del Paraguay colonial, y varias décadas después

¹⁸ Aliocha MALDAVSKY (2012) y Alexandre COELLO DE LA ROSA (2007).

¹⁹ La administración colonial hispanoamericana buscó mantener a los indios limitados al contexto local con el propósito de facilitar la periódica recolección del tributo. Según Bernard y GRUZINSKI (1988), esto contribuyó a territorializar valores religiosos favoreciendo la traducción de dioses y sitios nativos a una multiplicidad de cultos a los santos. Sobre las fases de la evangelización en Sudamérica y el problema de las idolatrías ver Bernard y GRUZINSKI (1988), ESTENSSORO (2003) y RAMOS (2010).

²⁰ Sabine MACCORMACK 1985: 446-447, 451 (traducción mía). La autora señala la incapacidad de los misioneros para entender las prácticas religiosas locales, con la excepción de algunos casos como Juan Polo de Ondegardo. «[M]issionaries, who were widely regarded as experts on Indian matters, were never able to translate Christianity into Andean terms: that is, to separate Christianity from its European cultural, sociological, and even political framework. In short, most of them failed to reach an autonomous grasp of Andean culture» (Sabine MACCORMACK 1985: 458).

²¹ Sobre las reducciones toledanas ver los libros de Steven A. WERNKE (2013) y Jeremy Ravi MUMFORD (2012).

en las regiones de Chiquitos y Mojos. Los programas de evangelización en Brasil y Perú constituyeron los pasos iniciales de la expansión hacia las zonas de frontera. A pesar de las grandes diferencias culturales y lingüísticas de las sociedades nativas incorporadas, y las amplias distancias que las separaban, las misiones siguieron un plan urbano y político común. El alto grado de centralización y jerarquía mantenido por la administración jesuita en todos sus asuntos y áreas de influencia les permitió mantener un control estricto sobre las actividades que desenvolvían en regiones distantes. Sin embargo, la Provincia Jesuita del Perú fue sucesivamente dividida en nuevas jurisdicciones (Paraguay, Nueva Granada, Chile), entre otros motivos para facilitar la toma de decisiones. Como consecuencia, los misioneros que trabajaban en regiones distantes tuvieron un grado mayor de libertad para adaptarse al terreno.

Los textos misioneros tempranos dedican descripciones a las características de las tradiciones indígenas, centradas tanto en sus formas de gobierno como en su religión. Estos dos campos fueron los principales objetos de clasificación, diferenciación y jerarquización del mundo indígena. Fue tomándolos como referencia que los jesuitas produjeron sus primeros ensayos de «etnología comparativa» y diseñaron sus métodos de conversión. Como hemos visto, frecuentemente las descripciones enfatizaban la distinción entre lo que constituía una simple costumbre o diversión cotidiana y lo que era considerado una forma de la religión nativa, estrictamente calificada como superstición o «idolatría».

En los textos del siglo XVII, el campo de la religión (las creencias y ritos), aparece claramente diferenciado del espacio de la «civilidad» (el gobierno y las costumbres «naturales» de los indios).²² Pero con el tiempo esta separación tendería a hacerse ambigua. Algunos textos tardíos identifican al cristianismo con la forma más perfecta de civilidad, señalando el carácter inseparable del buen gobierno y la religión, si de religión cristiana se trata. En un contexto de ataques antijesuitas, estos textos buscaban demostrar que la imposición de la idea de civilidad era inseparable de la acción evangeliza-

²² Anthony Pagden explica: «Sixteenth- and seventeenth- century observers also lived in a world which believed firmly in the universality of most social norms and in a high degree of cultural unity between the various races of man. Custom was, in the formulation of the Roman jurist Bartolus, the mirror of a people's mind (*consuetudo repraesentat mentem populi*). Custom served to interpret the law, and the law was far more than a matter of cultural preference: it was the product of an active reason operating upon the natural world. There might, of course, exist a wide variety of local customs (the *ius gentium* or the law of nations was a record of such customs); but they had all to conform to a body of meta-laws, the law of nature, the *ius naturae*, itself. The painstaking description, and the recognition of the 'otherness' of the 'other', which is the declared ambition of the modern ethnologist would have been unthinkable to most of the writers I have discussed in this book» (Anthony PAGDEN 1986: 6).

dora en las Américas, ya que los indios no tenían verdadera política, justicia y religión. Con la imposición de la religión cristiana, las selvas sudamericanas eran introducidas al orden civil en el más puro sentido del término. Un jesuita como Peramás escribiría en el contexto posterior a la expulsión que los «primitivos guaraníes carecían de una forma perfecta de sociedad urbana y civil».²³ Este giro radical es explicable en el contexto de los ataques antijesuitas que experimentaba la Compañía de Jesús, frente a los cuales necesitaba convencer al público europeo de que las misiones eran un ejemplo de buen gobierno y que los jesuitas habían sido responsables de fundarlo.

Debe decirse que algunos jesuitas manifestaban una curiosidad genuina hacia ciertas prácticas indígenas calificadas como «costumbre», las cuales describieron con cierto detalle en los textos de circulación más limitada. Algunos de estos textos solo fueron recuperados después de la expulsión de los jesuitas. El interés en los ritos y lenguas es particularmente fuerte entre los jesuitas exiliados en Italia. Aparte de casos bien conocidos como el de Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, quien estaba interesado en reunir testimonios sobre las lenguas indígenas de Sudamérica, o Sánchez Labrador, autor de descripciones botánicas y zoológicas sobre el Paraguay, otros jesuitas pasaron su tiempo leyendo, sistematizando e intercambiando información sobre las costumbres indígenas. Un ejemplo notable fue Joaquín Camaño, quien transcribió un documento perteneciente a un sacerdote alemán llamado Adan Vidman titulado «Notas sobre las cosas más memorables que ocurren y ocurrieron en la misión desde el año de 1744.» El texto incluye el fragmento sobre una circuncisión femenina entre los indios «pana» del Ucayale, una costumbre que según el testimonio continuaron aún después de cristianizados.²⁴ Camaño desconfiaba del informe de Vidman, diciendo que nadie antes o después había reportado

²³ José Manuel PERAMÁS [1793] 1946: 120.

²⁴ La descripción es la siguiente: «Treinta y tres años tengo de Misionero, y en todo este tiempo jamás llegó a mis oídos una cosa tan extraordinaria, y casi increíble, como era el uso de la circuncisión de las mujeres Panas practicada no solamente en Ucayale, cuando eran infieles, sino también por largos años aun en el pueblo, cuando ya Christianas; y para esconder mas esta función, la hacían en los tambos de Guallaga, donde circundaban à las muchachas de 12 à 14 años; y para darles valor les emborrachaban, lavabanlas con agua caliente, aplicaban parche de barro de que se hacen las ollas; aca/bada la cura celebraban la función con solemne borrachera, y salían del oprobrio, que otras mujeres en pleitos y riñas solian decir à las no circuncidadas, como à floxa, *mana chhuaca*, *mana capasca*; y también para librarse de los oprobrios de los hombres que à las no circuncisas solian decir esta fea palabra racasapa. Por eso algunas mozas ya casadas, y tal vez ya paridas por librarse de esos dichos se sujetaban à esta operación. Yo aun conoci à una de estas circuncidadas y à dos circuncisas, que este año murieron. Lo cierto es que el diablo induce à esta pobre gente à mil boberías, que después de muchos años apenas se descubren» (Upson CLARKE 1937: 106-107).

estas historias, dejando en claro que los «alemanes, mi señor, de acuerdo a la experiencia en nuestras misiones, son muy sospechosos, y muy crédulos». ²⁵ Finalmente, Camaño aportaba información sobre la circuncisión entre los abipones y mocovíes de la región del Chaco, donde él mismo había pasado un período de su vida misionera. ²⁶

Es difícil tener una idea clara de las actitudes individuales de los misioneros hacia las costumbres indígenas cuando no dejaron relatos personales. Testimonios de algunos miembros de la orden sobre sus compañeros parecen resaltar solamente las virtudes y bondades. En la región de Moxos, el obispo Urbano de la Mata dejó una biografía de Cipriano Barace, retratándolo casi como un verdadero «antropólogo». Mata refiere a Barace como un misionero obsesionado en devenir «bárbaro entre los bárbaros». Agrega:

Y fue assi, que se señaló este Venerable Padre en el modo de saber tratar con los indios. Sentábase con ellos, y se tendía en el suelo para conversar. Imitaba con gran propiedad todos sus movimientos, y aquellas acciones estrañas, y al parecer ridículas, con que explican los afectos del alma. Dormía entre ellos y con ellos y con aquel desabrigo, q a manera de fieras desde su nacimiento se acostumbra à las inclemencias del tiempo, sin defensa alguna de la prolixa persecucion de los Mosquitos. Comía con ellos sus comidas escasas y malas: no escusaba el acompañarles en sus cazas y pesquerías, jugando también el arco, y la flecha, para no serles cargoso en el repartimiento de la presa; y assí y otras acciones en que se les hazía del todo semejante, haziéndose por Christo Barbaro con los Barbaros, y consintiendo con los humildes, y pequeñuelos, ocultando la altez de la sabiduria humana, y divina, para ganarlos mejor para Christo. ²⁷

Todo lo que sabemos sobre Cipriano Barace proviene del jesuita Antonio de Orellana (incluida la biografía de Urbano de Mata). Tenemos pocas

²⁵ Upson CLARKE 1937: 107. Pueden encontrarse más informaciones sobre Vidman o Widman en «Apuntes de las cosas más memorables», Adan Widman, c. 1762, Comillas/CP, Serie Negra, Cuaderno n° 108, ff. 49-67, *max.* f. 49.

²⁶ Camaño observa: «La circuncisión de los Mocobies, que dejó escrita el ultimo Secretario de mi Provincia en su Historia (que no me mostró él, sino que después de su muerte me la traxo otro) no solo no es creible, mas, si por circuncisión se entiende cosa distinta de aquel punzarles algunas veces, por una especie de desenvoltura barbara, el miembro à los muchachones, quando voluntariamente se ponen à que los punzen por brazos, piernas & para dar muestras de valor... si se entiende, digo, cosa distinta de esto, es notoriamente falsa...» (Upson CLARKE 1937). Camaño cita otros autores enfatizando que no decían nada sobre la circuncisión. Critica afirmaciones sobre los Chiquitos y los Manacicas: «En el Rio de la Plata no se puede hallar rastro alguno de hebraísmo; porque ni han quedado Indios, ni los antiguos han dejado noticia de sus costumbres. Entre el Rio dicho y la costa del Brasil andan algunos Minuanes, y Guenoas vagamundos en quienes no se ve jota de eso.» (Upson CLARKE 1937: 109).

²⁷ Urbano de MATA (1704: 90).

cartas autografiadas por él. Una de ellas, escrita en 1680, es una incisiva crítica contra el método de evangelización practicado en la misma región por sus colegas José del Castillo y Pedro Marbrán. Barace cuestionaba en particular la dependencia de sus colegas de las dádivas materiales en el acercamiento a los indios (cuchillos, hachas, agujas, etc.). Todo indica que Barace fue bastante fundamentalista en asuntos de religión, hecho que probablemente lo condujo al martirio en manos de los indios baures. No dejó descripciones «etnográficas», lo que sugiere, en contraste con el panegírico de Urbano de Mata, que Barace tenía poco interés en la cultura indígena. Por contraste, los cuestionados Marbrán y Castillo dejaron excelentes descripciones de la cultura moja, algunos de los cuales incluían críticas a la cultura europea.²⁸

En suma, la producción de una «antropología misionera» requiere distinguir niveles de discurso sobre la otredad organizados de manera diferente, a veces contradictoria y ambivalente. ¿Cuáles eran los criterios para distinguir un término o práctica cultural dañinos de uno que no lo era? ¿Era tal distinción inherente a la práctica o dependía de quién la observaba o la llevaba a cabo? ¿Acaso veían los jesuitas solo lo que querían? ¿Distorsionaban lo que veían? Algunos misioneros pueden haber estado genuinamente interesados en la cultura nativa, aunque existan más leyendas que pruebas sobre eso. Las leyendas podían ser contemporáneas o parte de relatos mayores sobre martirio y quasi santidad. No puede trazarse entonces una cronología clara en relación al discurso jesuita sobre las costumbres nativas, pues siempre exhibe ambigüedades y ambivalencias.

El hecho de que las misiones estuvieran localizadas lejos de los principales centros de decisión y que los misioneros tuvieran que trabajar en un cierto grado de aislamiento contribuyó al desarrollo de adaptaciones y de métodos de persuasión como estrategias de acercamiento a los indios que muchas veces tuvieron éxito. Este margen de opción permitía también a los misioneros controlar el discurso sobre las sociedades indígenas, estableciendo clasificaciones funcionales a la tarea administrativa y misionera.

Traduciendo creencias

En los años tempranos de la evangelización en la América Española, muchos misioneros estaban convencidos de que los indios habían recibido

²⁸ Agradezco a Akira Saito las informaciones sobre los jesuitas Barace, Marbrán y Castillo. Para un análisis de las interacciones culturales y políticas en las misiones jesuíticas de Moxos ver Akira SAITO (2004, 2007).

el Evangelio antes de la llegada de los colonizadores de la boca del apóstol Santo Tomás, quien se suponía había viajado a las tierras americanas anunciando varias profecías. Gracias a su prédica, los indios ya tenían una idea del dios cristiano, además de una versión de las narraciones bíblicas como el diluvio universal. Esta leyenda de Santo Tomás circuló desde el Brasil colonial hasta los Andes. Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne sugiere que estimuló la superposición de la hagiografía cristiana con elementos de las cosmologías indígenas, lo que resultó en una interpretación errónea de estos relatos como invenciones indígenas originales. Los indígenas adoptaron «mitos cristianos» de acuerdo a sus propios marcos culturales, y simultáneamente la iglesia defendió devociones sobre la base de la singularización de santos, la identificación de elementos como lugares de veneración, símbolos de martirio, vestimentas que habían sido tocadas por el cuerpo de los santos como reliquias, y pruebas de la preexistencia de esas figuras en América y diferentes continentes.²⁹

En una perspectiva similar, Estenssoro sugiere que los textos de la iglesia oficial atribuían un carácter «auténtico» a muchas creencias indígenas y prácticas que en realidad habían sido creadas por la primera evangelización. Basado en información provista por el jurista Polo de Ondegardo en el Perú, Estenssoro explica que la adopción de la confesión entre los indígenas pronto comenzó a inspirar lo que el discurso oficial identificaba como «idolatrías». En 1570, Ondegardo documentó una confesión paralela tributada a los «ídolos» que presentaba la forma de un decálogo a la *waka*. La iglesia recurrió a este uso paralelo de la palabra y la imagen para hacer a los indios asumir la confesión como una necesidad. El primer paso era hacer a los indios asimilar la noción abstracta de pecado, materializándola en objetos contables de la vida cotidiana. La confesión era explicada como un rito que hacía posible la expulsión de pecados, animales dañinos que habitaban el cuerpo del pecador. Si éste no confesaba, todas aquellas bestias retornarían al cuerpo atacándolo.³⁰

Es difícil, y hasta cierto punto inútil, discernir sobre el carácter autóctono de ciertas creencias y rituales descritos por los cronistas jesuitas. Los jesuitas estaban fuertemente influidos por sus intereses pastorales, y generalmente necesitaban dar coherencia a una «religión pagana». Pero en general sus informaciones son fragmentarias y están lejos de brindar una

²⁹ Thérèse BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1997.

³⁰ «Sabe que cuantos pecados dices, tantos demonios y sapos feos vomitas, y si callas alguno, todos buelven luego contra tí» (Tercer Catecismo, 1585: 68 vuelta) (citado por Juan Carlos ESTENSSORO 2001: 466).

visión coherente como la que los antropólogos del siglo xx construirían.³¹ Usualmente las descripciones jesuitas mezclaban referencias a «creencias indígenas» con alusiones bíblicas con el propósito de determinar los alcances de la evangelización entre los indígenas que habitaban en las regiones fronterizas.

En los años iniciales de la evangelización, el jesuita Barzana aporta la siguiente información sobre la «religión» guaraní:

No tiene esta nación ningunos ídolos, que adore; así me lo dijo el primer Guarani que, en Lima, estando en la muerte confesó por intérprete, que su nación nunca conoció sino un Dios, a quien llaman Tupa, criador de todas las cosas. De donde tuvieron noticia de Dios, no se sabe cosa cierta, y salvo que es voz común, por tradición de los viejos, que vino, en los tiempos pasados, a predicarles uno que ellos llaman Paizume y cuentan que aquél les enseñó que había Dios, y que los indios de un pueblo grandísimo donde predicaba le quisieron matar y súbitamente voló a la cumbre de un alto monte y cubrió una laguna toda aquella ciudad. Es toda esta nación muy inclinada a religión verdadera o falsa, y si los cristianos les hubieran dado buen ejemplo, y diversos hechiceros no los hubieran engañado, no sólo fueran cristianos, sino devotos cristianos.³²

Barzana insistía en el hecho de que los guaraníes, a diferencia de los pueblos andinos que él conocía bien, carecían de ídolos, y por lo tanto, se movían fácilmente hacia cualquier religión, «verdadera o falsa». De acuerdo al pensamiento misionero temprano, los «paganos» pudieron haber desarrollado prácticas cristianas antes de la llegada de los conquistadores.³³ Estos indios tenían una idea clara de la existencia de Dios gracias a la prédica de Paizumé, un homónimo nativo de Santo Tomás. La figura de Paizumé había aparecido temprano en los escritos de jesuita Manuel de Nóbrega, quien había ido tras las huellas del apóstol por las tierras americanas. Algún tiempo después, el jesuita Ruiz de Montoya se convertiría en un defensor apasionado de la leyenda en su *opera magna* sobre la conversión de los guaraníes, *La Conquista Espiritual* (1639).

³¹ Un ejemplo claro es el caso de la «religión tupi-guaraní». La etnología del siglo xx construyó una visión coherente de la misma basada en documentos correspondientes a diferentes períodos. Los informes sobre los Tupinamba de la costa del Brasil fueron un componente importante en esta visión. El linaje antropológico inaugurado por el suizo Alfred Métraux que culmina con los franceses Pierre y Hélène Clastres abonó la definición de una cosmología tupi-guaraní basada en profecías y migraciones a la llamada «tierra sin mal», la cual ha sido altamente cuestionada. Para una crítica ver especialmente Cristina POMPA 2004.

³² Guillermo FURLONG 1968: 93.

³³ Sabine MACCORMACK 1985.

También había otras teorías sobre el modo como los guaraníes habían sabido de la idea de Dios, como la que promovió el jesuita Francisco Díaz Taño, en el contexto de una controversia sobre la traducción del catecismo prescrito por el Concilio de Lima. La controversia se inició en los años 1640 y duró aproximadamente diez años. Constituye un episodio en la larga disputa entre los jesuitas y las autoridades locales, civiles y eclesiásticas en la región del Paraguay, dirigida al control de las misiones y el trabajo indígena. En 1651, el obispo Bernardino de Cárdenas, exiliado en Chquisaca después de una lucha con los jesuitas de la ciudad de Asunción, difundió un tratado anónimo que acusaba a los jesuitas de herejía. Cárdenas alegaba que el catecismo que los jesuitas estaban usando con los indios establecía interpretaciones falsas sobre la gestación eterna y temporal del verbo divino, la virginidad de la madre de Dios y la soberanía del nombre de Dios.

Los términos cuestionados por el tratado anónimo eran *Tupã*, *memby* y *ta'yra*. Para el acusador, el término *tupã* elegido por los jesuitas para referir a Dios, solo expresaba de manera vaga la idea de un gran personaje, temible, que los indios también identificaban con algunos hechiceros y «demonios» en su propia religión. Tampoco *ta'yra* (hijo de un hombre) y *memby* (hijo de una mujer), términos empleados para referir a la persona de Jesús, hijo de Dios y María, respondían al misterio católico de la encarnación, ya que ambos claramente referían a un hijo nacido de una relación carnal.³⁴ En 1656, el funcionario Juan Blazquez de Valverde visitó la ciudad de Asunción para hacer averiguaciones sobre este asunto.³⁵

Los jesuitas se defendieron argumentando que el catecismo guaraní que ellos utilizaban, compuesto y publicado por el misionero Antonio Ruiz de Montoya en Madrid en 1640, era en realidad la «doctrina cristiana» originalmente traducida por el franciscano Luis de Bolaños, previamente confirmada por el Concilio de Lima y los Sínodos de Asunción. Posteriormente los jesuitas exhibían una serie de argumentos lingüísticos, probablemente consistentes en los términos de la época, para justificar el uso de esos términos. Aunque el origen del uso que Bolaños había dado a esos

³⁴ Bartomeu MELIÁ 2003; Otazú MELGAREJO 2006; Guillermo WILDE 2009.

³⁵ Los jesuitas querían demostrar los lazos entre los catecismos de Bolaños y Ruiz de Montoya. Ruiz de Montoya mismo escribió una apología defendiendo el suyo. Los términos cuestionados habían sido incluidos en el *Rituale, seu Manuale Peruanum* de Jerónimo de Ore, donde es mencionado el nombre de Bolaños como autor. En el contexto de la controversia el jesuita Díaz Taño incluyó una copia del catecismo de Bolaños, dentro de su *Demonstración*. Varias décadas después, el indio teólogo Nicolas Yapuguay también lo hizo dentro de su *Explicación del Catecismo* (1727), publicada en la imprenta de las misiones.

términos permanece desconocido, Bartomeu Melià intuye que *ta'yra* y «*memby*» eran expresiones del lenguaje común que el franciscano había empleado inmediatamente, ya que se sabe que Bolaños utilizaba a un buen intérprete para consultas y para entender el significado de algunas palabras. En cuanto a *tupã*, puede haber recurrido a la catequesis brasileña, que desde mucho tiempo antes había adoptado esa designación para el Dios cristiano.³⁶

Los jesuitas insistían en su discusión de las pruebas lingüísticas que los conceptos transmitidos a los indios no contenían herejías contra la doctrina cristiana. En uno de los últimos escritos sobre de la controversia, una *Demostración* de 1656, el jesuita Francisco Díaz Taño escribía que se tenía por cierto que la «nación guaraní», procedía de dos hermanos venidos de España, probablemente en barco «con toda su familia, mujeres, hijos y parentela, a dar a las costas del Brasil». Esos hermanos se llamaban Tupí y Guaraní. Mientras el primero se quedó en el Brasil dando origen a la nación tupí, el segundo entró «tierra adentro» originando la guaraní:

Y así estas dos naciones tienen una misma lengua, y llaman a dios con el mismo nombre *Tupé*, como lo enseña el P. Simón de Vasconcellos, en sus noticias curiosas del Brasil [...] que como procedieron de España donde en aquellos principios llamaban a Dios con el nombre de los filósofos antiguos, lo llamaban, que era Topan, como dijimos, quitándole el artículo To, llegando á estas provincias lo continuaron al modo dicho, llamándole Tupa.³⁷

Cuando llegaron esos primeros migrantes, los indios del Brasil vieron que llamaban a dios «Pan», entonces se espantaron diciendo «tú», que era la expresión de admiración de esa nación. Y concluye Díaz Taño: «admirándose de que el Creador de todo el Universo le llamasen Pan, ellos decían tu Pan, de donde les quedó llamar todos a dios Tupa».³⁸

Estas primeras teorías sobre la designación nativa de la divinidad parecen referir menos a las creencias del nuevo mundo que a la imaginación jesuítica. Según Enrique de Gandía, este tipo de «leyendas» eran proyecciones fundadas en una interpretación de los textos clásicos y los relatos bíblicos, que habían guiado el espíritu de los escritos durante toda la conquista. En esa tradición, los jesuitas construyeron sus propios relatos, leyendas y visiones proféticas acerca de la realidad americana.³⁹

³⁶ Bartomeu MELIÀ 2003: 224.

³⁷ Manuel Ricardo TRELLES 1882: 53.

³⁸ Manuel Ricardo TRELLES 1882: 54-55.

³⁹ GANDÍA 1929.

La polémica en torno del catecismo revelaba el carácter incierto y equívoco de ciertos vocablos guaraníes referentes a la persona divina, tema central de la enseñanza doctrinal, muy proclive a generar confusiones entre los indios. Puede decirse que en este campo se ponía en juego el contraste entre las concepciones de la persona del cristianismo y las religiones nativas. La referencia a *Paizume*, que también retoma Ruiz de Montoya explicando su analogía con San Tomé en definitiva refería a un ser humano capaz de alcanzar un estatus especial cercano a la «divinidad», lo que no resultaba nada descabellado para los guaraníes, quienes reivindicaban a ciertas figuras shamánicas devenidas míticas después de practicar incansablemente el canto y la danza.

La polémica fue resuelta a favor de los jesuitas en circunstancias que tienen que ver menos con la racionalidad de las explicaciones y la consistencia de los argumentos lingüísticos que con un contexto socio-político ventajoso para la Compañía de Jesús tanto a nivel local como global. La traducción era un terreno que presentaba límites insalvables que, en otras regiones, obtuvo soluciones tan prácticas como conservar términos y conceptos de la religión cristiana en la lengua española.⁴⁰

Transponiendo sacramentos

Las percepciones misioneras de los ritos y costumbres indígenas cambiaron significativamente del siglo XVII al siglo XVIII. Algunos ritos y costumbres indígenas alguna vez considerados parodias diabólicas del cristianismo, pasaron a ser revalorizados como versiones corruptas de la veneración cristiana, pero con un origen común.⁴¹ Una primera actitud jesuita hacia los ritos nativos consistió en darles un cierto grado de legitimidad como equivalentes civiles de los sacramentos cristianos, probablemente inculcados por los primeros cristianos con los que los indios supuestamente habían tenido contactos antes de la conquista. Algunos cronistas afirmaban que los indios tenían formas de bautizar a los niños y casar a las parejas, lo que exigía que los sacerdotes administraran los sacramentos a los adultos *sub conditione*, es decir, bajo la condición de no haber recibido previamente

⁴⁰ Concretamente en el caso peruano, se optó por eliminar los vocablos quechuas para expresar ideas cristianas, tanto de los diccionarios como de los catecismos y manuales para predicar a los indios (Sabine MACCORMACK 1985: 456). Ver también Juan Carlos ESTENSORO (2001).

⁴¹ Mónica MARTINI (1993: 24).

el sacramento.⁴² Esta prohibición ocasionaba que los sacerdotes tomaran decisiones *ad hoc* según cada caso individual: o reconocían parcialmente la legitimidad de los ritos previos llevados a cabo por los líderes nativos, o los dejaban de lado como signos de paganismo tolerándolos solo en algunos casos.

En relación a la unión matrimonial, escribía el provincial Diego Ferrer de los indios de la región del Itatin:

Comúnmente cada Indio no tiene mas de una mujer, y tienen su modo de casamiento y es que el Indio y India que se quieren casar van por la mañana a la casa del Cacique o hechicero principal, el qual pone y mezcla la yerva [mate] que beven en un calabazo con agua, y da de beber esta yerva a los dos que se an de casar del mismo calabazo y después el marido y mujer an de trocar juntos la yerva en un mismo hoyo, y esta es la señal exterior del casamiento, o bien del concubinato, porque después viven juntos quanto tiempo quieren, y quando el marido se quiere casar con otra mujer deja aquella, y lo mismo es de la mujer, y no parece que estos Indios en su natural conozcan la perpetuidad del matrimonio.⁴³

El bautismo y el matrimonio fueron los sacramentos más frecuentemente administrados en las Américas. Sin embargo, los bautismos masivos realizados durante la etapa temprana de la evangelización resultaron poco efectivos. Después del III Concilio de Lima que, como ya se dijo, buscó unificar y controlar toda la actividad pastoral en las colonias Sudamericanas, comenzó a darse más importancia a la preparación de los adultos para la recepción de los sacramentos. José de Acosta había sido uno de los principales promotores de este método. Argumentaba que los indios

⁴² El bautismo usualmente aparece equiparado a las prácticas nativas de concepción y nominación en las fuentes tempranas. En un libro de preceptos de las misiones del Paraguay puede leerse: «Los bautizados por algún indio, o india, se han de rebautizar *sub condizione*. Ord. Com. 18». También se subraya la importancia del «padrino»: «Haya siempre en cada pueblo dos o tres viejos señalados, para que ellos solos sean padrinos en los bautismos. Ord. Com 18» ([Preceptos] fj. 15v). En las cartas anuas se mencionan muchos casos como este. Ver especialmente las publicadas por Leonhardt, referentes al primer período de las reducciones. La literatura sobre los sacramentos en el ámbito de las misiones no abunda. Los trabajos dedicados al tema generalmente enfatizan aspectos institucionales y doctrinales más que prácticos. Ver Mónica MARTINI (1993) y Rípodas ARDANAZ (1977 y 2000).

⁴³ MCDA, II: 30. Por su parte, Anton Sepp, en su *Relación de Viaje*, refiere a casamientos realizados por medio del uso de calabazas: «[...] las arras y el impuesto matrimonial y la dote que debe aportar la india al indio es la a menudo mencionada calabaza ahuecada y nada más. Oh, sí, pues esta calabaza incluye una condición: que la mujer debe traer en ella el agua del río al marido. En cambio el marido está obligado a llevar la leña a la cocina. Con esta ceremonia son contraídas las nupcias e iniciado el matrimonio.» (Anton SEPP [1696] 1971: 200).

debían cumplir con ciertos requerimientos antes de recibir los sacramentos y mostrar que poseían buena voluntad, fe y arrepentimiento.⁴⁴

En tanto rito básico de pasaje a la cristiandad el bautismo fue cuidadosamente preparado en el caso de los líderes indígenas que previamente habían aceptado vivir en las misiones. En su detallada descripción de la creación del pueblo de San Juan Bautista, el jesuita Anton Sepp dedica varias páginas a la conversión del cacique Moreyra, quien había sido un gran oponente a la evangelización. El pináculo de este proceso era la nominación de Moreyra. La ceremonia fue celebrada con mucha pompa en la misión durante la visita del Padre Superior. Escribe Sepp:

[...] de común acuerdo con otros misioneros, y luego de larga reflexión, que ni yo ni otro Padre debía bautizar a Moreyra, sino que más bien teníamos que postergar el acto sagrado hasta la visita anual del Reverendo Padre Provincial. De este modo daríamos a esta hermosa ceremonia religiosa un mayor prestigio y festejaríamos el bautismo con más pompa y esplendor en presencia de otros yaros, todavía paganos. Así sucedió en efecto. Cuando nuestro superior, el Reverendo Padre Lauro Núñez, vino a nuestro pueblo, examinó a Moreyra y a su hijo en la doctrina cristiana, encontró a ambos bien informados y los bautizó según el ritual para adultos con todas las ceremonias pertinentes, *sub conditione*, es decir condicionalmente. Moreyra recibió el nombre de Juan Bautista.⁴⁵

Los jesuitas identificaron y describieron ceremonias de nominación nativas, interpretándolas como formas indígenas del bautismo. El jesuita Pedro Lozano explica que en una ceremonia llamada *mbetá* los indios del Chaco «cambian el nombre [de los niños] o les ponen uno Nuevo como los cristianos hacen en tiempo de bautismo». Otro jesuita, José Jolis, dice que entre los indios del Chaco el baño de la madre y su hijo y las palabras que ella pronuncia cuando ambos se sumergen en el agua son una cierta clase de bautismo y purificación de la madre. El jesuita Martin Dobrizhoffer, quien también pasó un largo período entre los indios abipones del Chaco, afirma que el rapado de los primeros cabellos de los niños y la imposición

⁴⁴ Mónica MARTINI 1993: 40. La comunión no fue un sacramento común en las misiones. Estaba reservada a ciertos miembros de la elite indígena que habían recibido preparación especial para ella, por ejemplo los indios que pertenecían a las *cofradías* o *congregaciones*, asociaciones religiosas que honraban a la virgen María y al Arcángel Miguel en las reducción de guaraníes. Sobre el tema ver Carlos LEONHARDT 1931 y Mónica MARTINI: 1992.

⁴⁵ Anton SEPP 1973: 133].

de nombres entre los indios son como la circuncisión para los hebreos o el bautismo para los cristianos.⁴⁶

En general los indios manifestaban una fuerte resistencia a los sacramentos en las Américas. En muchos casos los indios los consideraban como el origen de plagas o formas de envenenamiento, y desarrollaban contra ceremonias con el propósito de inocularlos. La mayor parte de las revueltas de los indios guaraníes contra la creación de misiones, estaban destinadas a evitar la implementación de sacramentos, particularmente el bautismo, el matrimonio y la confesión. Los shamanes guaraníes inducían a los indios a destruir las iglesias, imágenes y cruces, exhortando a sus seguidores a danzar y cantar para preservar su «antiguo ser».⁴⁷

El famoso cacique Juan Cuará, referido por el jesuita Del Techo en su crónica, había recibido el bautismo en el Guayrá y luego viajó por varias regiones, divulgando sus doctrinas y combatiendo a los cristianos. Cuará predicaba que había que apartarse de los sacerdotes y religiosos por ser enemigos jurados de los indios. Afirmaba que la confesión era el medio que tenían los jesuitas para conocer la vida ajena y los secretos de todo el mundo, que el bautismo envenenaba y mataba a niños y adultos, y que los misioneros prohibían la poligamia para evitar la propagación de los indios y facilitar a los españoles que los dominaran. Finalmente, los exhortaba a tener cuantas mujeres pudieran alimentar, a vivir según sus «antiguas costumbres», bailando y bebiendo, «celebrando la memoria de los antepasados». Les decía: «no adoréis las imágenes de los santos, tenedme por vuestra deidad, si no hacéis esto, haré que os veáis en el Paraná convertidos en sapos y ranas». Cuará llegó a predicar a escondidas dentro de una reducción del Itatin hasta que fue descubierto por un jesuita. Entonces huyó con sus concubinas para esconderse en Maracanain, «refugio de perversos», hasta que fue capturado por los asunceños y condenado a muerte.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Mónica MARTINI (1993: 101-102). Los diferentes géneros documentales jesuíticos presentan información dispar sobre las costumbres indígenas. Las cartas anuas tempranas, pese a ser documentos edificantes, contienen informaciones etnográficas valiosas que van desapareciendo con el tiempo. Entre las crónicas más valiosas sobre las costumbres de los indios del Chaco ver Florián PAUCKE ([1829] 1942-44); Martin DOBRIZHOFFER ([1784] 1967) y José SÁNCHEZ LABRADOR ([1770] 1910). Las dos primeras, escritas originalmente en alemán, necesitarían hoy de una traducción revisada. Algunas de estas obras incluyen materiales iconográficos preciosos que aún deben ser analizados en profundidad.

⁴⁷ Para un inventario exhaustiva de las revueltas guaraníes ver Ripodaz ARDANAZ 1987. Mónica MARTINI (1993) presenta varios ejemplos similares correspondientes a las zonas centrales y periféricas de la colonia.

⁴⁸ Nicolás DEL TECHO [1673] 2005: 375-376.

La administración del matrimonio requería la erradicación de una práctica central en la organización social y política indígena: la poligamia. Esto fue un dilema para los jesuitas, porque si forzaban a los líderes indígenas a optar por una sola mujer, corrían el riesgo de que éstos se sublevaran o simplemente abandonaran la misión. En la práctica, los jesuitas apelaron a diversos recursos. No encontrando una solución inmediata al dilema, el sentido práctico los llevó a permanecer en silencio al principio, mientras buscaban una solución canónica. Ruiz de Montoya relata que, temiendo una reacción negativa de los indios, evitaba hablar del tema de la monogamia en sus sermones dominicales. Los jesuitas debatieron dos posturas, las cuales habían sido aprobadas por el papa en el siglo XVI. Una era considerar a la primera mujer bautizada como la legítima esposa del indio pagano, convirtiéndola desde entonces en su esposa por «matrimonio de ley natural». La otra era probar que no existían entre los indios verdaderos matrimonios, de manera tal que pudieran optar libremente por cualquier mujer. Finalmente, los jesuitas optaron por una combinación entre ambas posturas: el jesuita debía, «averiguar en cada caso si existía o no verdadero matrimonio y actuar en consecuencia».⁴⁹

En 1627, el jesuita Diego de Boroa, llevó adelante una defensa de la preexistencia del matrimonio entre los guaraníes, afirmando que los indios conservaban su primera mujer aun cuando tenían muchas otras. Enfáticamente negaba que «estos indios, universalmente hablando, tomen y dejen por su antojo sus primeras mujeres y luego otras, y ellas, otros; antes los más conservan sus primeras mujeres, las cuales no tomaron *ad tempos* sino para vivir con ellos perpetuamente, y esto es lo más común y ordinario, como dije, y aun los caciques, en quien hay mayor desorden en esta parte, aunque tengan muchas mujeres como dije arriba y muden ésas, conservan lo ordinario la primera».⁵⁰

En 1645, el jesuita Zurbano escribe un *Parecer* en el que, ante la falta de acuerdo, sugiere dejar «cada opinión en su probabilidad» examinando

⁴⁹ Rípodas ARDANAZ 2000:17.

⁵⁰ Escribía Boroa: «A la probación respondo negando que estos indios, universalmente hablando, tomen y dejen por su antojo sus primeras mujeres y luego otras, y ellas, otros; antes los más conservan sus primeras mujeres, las cuales no tomaron *ad tempos* sino para vivir con ellos perpetuamente, y esto es lo más común y ordinario, como dije, y aun los caciques, en quien hay mayor desorden en esta parte, aunque tengan muchas mujeres como dije arriba y muden ésas, conservan lo ordinario la primera» (Rípodas ARDANAZ 1977: 396). Boroa concluía: «[...] se contentan con su primer mujer sin tomar otra en su vida, y otros muchos, aunque tenían otras mujeres o concubinas, como lo ordinario tenían los caciques, por ser esto cosa usada de los caciques infieles y no tan repugnante a la ley natural como el dejar la primera, pero casi siempre guardaban lealtad con la primera teniéndola en su casa o en su rancho hasta la muerte» (Rípodas ARDANAZ 1977: 399).

a los indios individualmente para descubrir si hubo o no intención de verdadero matrimonio. Revalidando los matrimonios y recurriendo al Padre Superior y personas doctas, encontrando la solución más conveniente.⁵¹

El proceso de toma de decisiones jesuita en este tipo de cuestiones morales aún necesita de un estudio en profundidad. Es importante subrayar el hecho de que los ignacianos, en diferentes niveles de jerarquía y autoridad, no imponían un orden sacramental rígido para cualquier persona en cualquier lugar, sino que analizaban caso por caso antes de tomar decisiones. La llamada «casuística» jesuítica ocupaba un rol central en la toma de decisiones que concernían a la adaptación en los contextos misionales. El Padre General Vitelleschi, cuyo mandato se extendió entre 1615 y 1645, ordenó la adopción de la doctrina de las «opiniones probables» para resolver estos casos y antes de tomar ninguna decisión a propósito de la validación o disolución de matrimonios. En el caso particular del matrimonio indígena abundantes investigaciones eran realizadas para averiguar la validez de los matrimonios durante décadas. Este hecho expresaba una preocupación jesuita por resolver situaciones: cómo debía actuarse y qué actitud era correcto tomar en casos de conciencia o ante la imposibilidad de reconciliar las reglas con el contexto concreto. Estas actitudes tenían sentido en el marco del programa educacional de los jesuitas, la *Ratio Studiorum*, que sugería evitar debates teológicos abstractos que no tuvieran conexión con casos de conciencia. Se guiaban según una orientación eminentemente pragmática conocida como «probabilismo». Esta teoría suponía que cualquier acción era legítima en la medida que tuviera una opinión favorable o una razón probable, lo que resultaba particularmente eficaz en los diferentes contextos de misión donde decisiones inmediatas debían ser tomadas. Pero el probabilismo rápidamente recibió ataques de los antijesuitas, que acusaron a los jesuitas de ser «moralmente laxos» y de promover la negación de las obligaciones y la transgresión a la autoridad.⁵²

⁵¹ Guillermo WILDE 2009.

⁵² Para el conde de Aranda, el probabilismo equivalía a «la relajación de las doctrinas morales». Aranda escribió que en China y Malabar, los jesuitas habían hecho compatible a Dios y Belial, defendiendo los «ritos gentiles». Aranda estaba pensando también en los matrimonios indígenas, con respecto a los cuales los jesuitas no habían evitado la promiscuidad. Para una discusión comparativa sobre la cuestión del matrimonio indígena y la aplicación del probabilismo ver María Elena IMOLESI (2004, 2012). Es importante decir que los jesuitas desarrollaron muchos recursos para la toma de decisiones. Entre los más importantes se encontraron las congregaciones Generales y provinciales. También produjeron una serie de documentos directamente orientados a preparar la toma de decisiones, tales como libros de preceptos, libros de consultas, instrucciones diversas y letras de diferente tipo.

Ahora bien, si los jesuitas aceptaban ciertas tradiciones indígenas como costumbres, indiferentes a la religión, ¿cómo enfrentarían manifestaciones asociadas a las antiguas cosmologías indígenas? ¿Cómo las domesticarían? ¿Debían acaso adoptar ciertas prácticas indígenas? ¿Cuál era el límite para dicha actitud? Esto nos trae de nuevo a los ejemplos presentados al inicio de este artículo, en los que se trasparenta cierta ambigüedad jesuita, particularmente en lo que respecta al uso de los sentidos y la corporalidad.

Los jesuitas que vinieron a Sudamérica por un lado promovían la *applicatio sensuum*, es decir la instrumentación de los sentidos y la imaginación como un elemento típico del método jesuita de misión, presente en los *Ejercicios Espirituales* de Ignacio de Loyola. La persona que practicaba los ejercicios debía leer la historia de la vida, pasión y resurrección de Jesucristo como una función dramática audiovisual (y perceptual en general, poniendo en juego también sentidos como el tacto y el olfato). Este era el modo de hacer actual al «ojo espiritual». ⁵³ Por otro lado, Loyola había recomendado explícitamente evitar tanto la práctica de la danza entre los jesuitas, debido a las emociones que ésta provocaba, como del canto en el coro en las horas canónicas, debido a las distracciones que implicaba en la tarea apostólica. Sin embargo, los misioneros entre los indios rápidamente se dieron cuenta de que ambas prácticas ayudaban a atraer a los indios a vivir en las misiones. Así, los misioneros promovieron el canto y la danza en las misiones fronterizas como un instrumento fundamental de la conversión. En el siglo XVIII, encontramos descripciones de ambas prácticas plenamente integradas a la vida cotidiana misional. ⁵⁴ ¿Cuáles cantos y danzas? No queda completamente claro en los escritos jesuíticos porque no se brindan muchos detalles al respecto. Si bien pareciera que dichas prácticas se ajustaron a los criterios de solemnidad que imponía la institución eclesiástica, también existió un cierto margen de flexibilidad para ciertas

⁵³ Johannes MEIER (2005: 73).

⁵⁴ Nicolás Del Techo brinda informaciones sobre una danza para honrar a San Ignacio: «Igual conducta observaron los neófitos del Paraná; invitaron á los indios y misioneros de varios pueblos á un torneo. Hubo danzas de soldados, cada uno de los cuales llevaba en su escudo una de las letras que componen el nombre de Ignacio, y con ellas hacían diversos anagramas. Por la noche se verificó un combate naval á la luz de innumerables antorchas, con lo que se acabaron las fiestas» (Nicolás DEL TECHO [1673] 1897: 198). Muchas décadas después, el jesuita Cardiel informa sobre una danza similar en tributo a la virgen María: «[...] comienza a danzar y cantarle juntamente alabanzas al son de Arpas y Violines: y al fin de cada mudanza, arrojan todos a un tiempo por todas partes a los que están presentes, ya una corona ya una palma, y se quedan en positura, en que forman una de las letras del dulcísimo Nombre de María; y así prosiguen danzando y cantando y formando las cinco letras y repartiendo todas las coronas y palmas. Es danza ésta que a muchos hace llorar de devoción» (Guillermo FURLONG 1953: 166).

expresiones autóctonas. Los jesuitas progresivamente transformaron algunas tradiciones rituales nativas buscando eliminar cualquier remanente de significado religioso indígena. De hecho, algunos elementos performativos indígenas fueron incluso aceptados en la liturgia cristiana.

Las autoridades comenzaron a preocuparse precisamente cuando se volvieron problemáticas para el buen orden de la misión, es decir, cuando subvirtieron un espacio solemne estrictamente controlado y gestionado por la institución eclesiástica. De allí la inquietud del padre General Charles de Noyelle, quien en 1684 dirige una carta al Provincial del Paraguay, Tomás Dombidas, quejándose de los muchos desordenes que se producen en el «culto divino». En la iglesia, dice, se cantan letras «y se tocan tonos más que profanos, aun en tiempo de misa, y de cuaresma, aplaudiéndolos los nuestros, y olvidando los indios los tonos devotos». Algunos padres, agrega,

salen antes de la misa, en las fiestas al presbiterio, y puestos en ala, vueltas las espaldas al altar, en que está el Santísimo Sacramento, ven las Danzas, hablan, ríen, como si estuvieran en recreación, dando mal ejemplo de irreverencia al Señor, a todo el pueblo de indios e indias que están presentes.⁵⁵

Años antes, el provincial Agustín Aragón se había quejado de la introducción de «cantares menos honestos» en las reducciones y la realización de cantos llamados *guahú*, una práctica sonora indígena tradicional, a los que concurrían hombres y mujeres «en que necesariamente hay riesgo del alma».⁵⁶

⁵⁵ «Diré a V. R. con brevedad muchas faltas en materia del Culto Divino, reverencia en los templos, y sagradas ceremonias, que se avisan, y no han gastado órdenes confirmadas por mis antecesores para que no se repitan. Dícese, que en nuestra Iglesia se cantan letras, y se tocan tonos más que profanos, aun en tiempo de la Misa, y de Cuaresma, aplaudiéndolos los Nuestros, y olvidando los Indios los tonos devotos; que por gustar de ello el P. Cristóbal Altamirano se dejaron las Procesiones de los Padrones, de N. S. Padre (Ignacio) y le la Santísima Virgen... (Avisan que algunos Padres) salen antes de la Misa, en las fiestas al presbiterio, y puestos en ala, vueltas las espaldas al altar, en que está el Santísimo Sacramento, ven las Danzas, hablan, ríen, como si estuvieran en recreación, dando mal ejemplo de irreverencia al Señor, a todo el pueblo de indios e indas que están presente.» (Carlos LEONHARDT 1924: 206).

⁵⁶ La orden de Aragón decía: «La 2.a falta pertenece a la modestia en que los primeros Misioneros instruyeron a estos indios, a que se oponen algunos cantares menos honestos, que venidos de otros Pueblos se ban comunicando a nuestras Reducciones como también el que casi por toda la noche en visperas de las fiestas mayores anden los indios por todo el lugar con atambor, y flautas Cantando el Guahu concurriendo hombres, y Mugerres en que necesariamente ay riesgo del alma. Y assi encargo que en dichas Fiestas no se permitan estos Cantos, y Flautas, et.ca sino es delante de la iglesia sin concurso de Mugerres, y solo hasta la hora de tocar a las Animas.» (citado por Illari 2006: 455). Aparentemente estas prácticas musicales persistieron hasta el siglo XVIII, según se infiere de crónicas posteriores (Guillermo FURLONG 1965: 102).

Todo parece indicar que estas situaciones resultaban de una cierta permisividad (incluso complicidad) jesuita hacia las tradiciones nativas, que muchas veces se volvían en contra del régimen establecido. Los jesuitas concentraron sus esfuerzos en controlar tales prácticas. Sin embargo, a pesar de las prohibiciones que se les imponían, no desaparecieron de las misiones, como lo revela evidencia posterior. A finales del siglo XVIII, el jesuita Escandón refiere a un interesante canto que los indios hacían durante la misa de los difuntos. Relata que después de que el cuerpo era colocado en la sepultura,

empiezan los llantos de la madre, mujer o parientes con un género de canto lúgubre y tan desentonado, que es imposible explicar su desentono. A este canto o lloro llaman en su lengua *guahú*, o lamentación. De que usan totalmente las mujeres. En él cantan, lloran o rabian las alabanzas del difunto, diciendo no sólo lo que fue, sino lo que se esperaba que fuese, si no hubiera muerto.⁵⁷

Reservado a las mujeres, este canto elogiaba las cualidades del difunto, diciendo no solo cómo había sido sino cómo se esperaba que fuera si no hubiera muerto. El *guahú* entonces persistió con un significado diferente al que le atribuían las fuentes tempranas. Ya no era más una música festiva para el regocijo y la diversión sino una expresión solemne de recogimiento incorporada a la liturgia cristiana.

Administrando lo sagrado: apropiación y mimesis

Al circular por las selvas de las Tierras Bajas de Sudamérica los jesuitas encontraron pueblos que exhibían concepciones singulares de la religión y la política, diferentes de las que se conocían hasta entonces en las zonas centrales. Los jesuitas constataron que estos indios no adoraban *wakas* y no utilizaban objetos sagrados de adoración en sus ceremonias. Más bien temían a las imágenes figurativas, las cuales no formaban parte de sus tradiciones visuales. Aunque este hecho hizo pensar a los primeros jesuitas que los pueblos en cuestión serían fáciles de convertir, pronto notaron que se interponía un gran obstáculo. Este obstáculo era los shamanes o líderes religiosos, hombres y mujeres que incitaban a sus seguidores a retornar a sus antiguas costumbres, a un «antiguo ser». El jesuita Ruiz de Montoya lo explicaba de manera clara:

⁵⁷ Guillermo FURLONG 1965: 102.

No tienen adoración ni ídolos pero tienen hechiceros que su ciencia no es más que adivinar e decir mentiras. Consultan el oráculo con un calabazo de yerba. Hablan con ellos, sóplanle, regüeldan, menean los ojos, alzan la cabeza, vuélvenla a una parte y a otra, pónense atentos y hacen otras ceremonias a este modo.⁵⁸

En la formación de las misiones, los jesuitas libraron un combate contra estas figuras indígenas, que promovían la continuidad de las antiguas costumbres y ritos (especialmente cierto tipo de canto y danza), liderando numerosas revueltas contra los colonizadores.⁵⁹ Los shamanes eran percibidos como un peligro para la estabilidad de las misiones no solo por ocasionar problemas e instigar revueltas sino también, y más importante aún, por apropiarse del discurso y ritual cristianos con mucha facilidad, usándolo para competir con los sacerdotes y ganar nuevos seguidores. Ruiz de Montoya refiere a una cómica parodia de la misa realizada por el «hechicero» Miguel Artiguayé frente a los indios:

Pasó este pobre [Artiguayé] adelante con sus embustes, y para acreditarse más con los suyos se fingió sacerdote; vestíase en su retrete de un alba, y adornándose con una muceta de vistosas plumas y otros arreos, fingía decir Misa; ponía sobre una mesa unos manteles, y sobre ellos una torta de mandioca y un vaso pintado de vino de maíz, y hablando entre dientes hacía muchas ceremonias, mostraba la torta y el vino al modo que los sacerdotes, y al fin se lo comía y bebía todo, con que le veneraban sus vasallos como a sacerdote: era sobremanera deshonesto, porque tenía gran número de concubinas, consintiéndolo todo y fomentándolo su fingida mujer.⁶⁰

La apropiación de ceremonias cristianas por parte de los líderes indígenas tenía un efecto paradójico, ya que servía como un medio de absorción simbólica de potentes instrumentos de la sociedad dominante en condiciones de subordinación. En el contexto de la crisis que los líderes indígenas experimentaron con la invasión europea, era razonable pensar que irían perdiendo su poder y que deberían recurrir a todos los medios posibles para conservar su legitimidad. La mimesis fue en este sentido un instrumento de combate y agencia indígena. Por medio de la apropiación

⁵⁸ MCDA, I: 298.

⁵⁹ En una de ellas, el líder Ñezú gritaba a sus seguidores: «¡Matemos a los jesuitas! Tengamos en nuestra tierra el sonido de nuestros calabazos y tacuaras». Para un análisis más detallado del uso de estos instrumentos en las tradiciones rituales guaraníes y la transformación de sus usos y significados en las misiones ver Guillermo WILDE 2008. Ver también Guillermo WILDE 2015.

⁶⁰ Ruiz de MONTTOYA [1639] 1989: 82-83.

del poder de los recién llegados como si fuera su propio poder, neutralizaban una relación asimétrica creada por el sistema colonial.⁶¹

La inmediata apropiación de ceremonias también revela una concepción no ortodoxa de la «religión» entre los indígenas.⁶² Como afirma Carlos Fausto, «desde el punto de vista nativo, lo que estaba en juego no era un conflicto entre dos ‘religiones’ en el sentido de dos credos u ortodoxias mutuamente excluyentes». ⁶³ De hecho, los indios eran descritos como encarnaciones de «almas inconstantes» hechas de cera.⁶⁴ Con la misma avidez que recibían la palabra de Dios, parecían olvidarse de todo muy pronto.⁶⁵ La autoridad de los shamanes era enteramente provisional y la conservaban en base al ensayo-error. Los ritos cristianos eran eficaces en la medida que hacían crecer a los shamanes su autoridad.

Varios años antes, otro jesuita escribió que un cacique le había dicho que él «también era Papa y sacerdote y que sabía la palabra de Dios como los jesuitas, y que él solo podía predicar a sus vasallos, y que los jesuitas debían irse». ⁶⁶ El riesgo era doble: los shamanes podían continuar sus antiguos ritos o adoptar los cristianos despojándolos de sus virtudes y usarlos de manera autónoma para ganar legitimidad entre sus seguidores. El dilema era, finalmente, el control de la administración de lo sagrado, lo que

⁶¹ «[...] the Guarani were not led to think of themselves as others, for they made this alterity entirely their own. This meant forgetting the process through which they appropriated and transformed an alterity that simultaneously transformed them. But how do we define this other form of forgetting? Is it simply a failure to remember typical of a society without history and without writing- an unfortunate *pathos* that blocks any conscious recognition of the fact that human activity is a making that unfolds over time? Or are we faced with an active-passive phenomenon that implies a specific mechanism for producing a sociocultural world and a collective memory?» (Carlos FAUSTO 2007: 91).

⁶² Estenssoro encuentra un caso similar en el contexto andino remarcando que estas expresiones eran explícitamente justificadas por el catolicismo, incluso cuando la adhesión indígena a las mismas implicaba el uso de productos locales tales como la chicha y el maíz: «Luego el sacrosanto sacramento del altar remedan con astucia y desvergüenza de los sacerdotes los cuales llaman a sus feligreses y les dicen mirad cómo los Virachochas, esto los españoles, ofrecen pan y vino a su Dios y el pan y vino se convierten en su carne y sangre, así las tortas de maíz y chicha que ofreceis a nuestro Dios está él mismo y toda su mitad. Danles luego parte del sacrificio comulgándolos en ambas especies [...]» (documento del Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, citado por ESTENSSORO 2001: 464). Estenssoro se pregunta cómo estos fenómenos pueden ser explicados afirmando al mismo tiempo la falta de fe. Los ritos indígenas que la iglesia combatía estaban claramente inspirados por las ceremonias católicas, tanto en sus aspectos externos como en sus explicaciones internas.

⁶³ Carlos FAUSTO 2007: 83, traducción mía.

⁶⁴ Sobre la «inconstancia del alma salvaje» ver Eduardo VIVEIROS DE CASTRO 2002.

⁶⁵ Carlos FAUSTO 2007: 91.

⁶⁶ MCDA, II: 34.

en la mirada jesuita jamás debía escaparse de las manos de los sacerdotes católicos.

En el largo plazo, la tarea de los jesuitas fue crear espacios para la educación religiosa y devocional de la población indígena, negándole todo tipo de acceso al sacerdocio. De una manera complementaria, exhortaron a los indios a vivir la buena vida cristiana por medio de la observancia de sermones y confesiones. Los misioneros también prescribieron y regularon las prácticas y comportamientos correctos, adaptando algunas formas de los ritos tradicionales indígenas (canto y danza), y el uso de ciertos instrumentos musicales en actuaciones públicas. Sin embargo, las estrategias oficiales tuvieron también una consecuencia no esperada. Esta fue que dentro de los espacios misionales, algunas formas de devoción adquirieron una creciente autonomía. Es en este sentido que la acción misionera tuvo un efecto contradictorio: por un lado, produjo una fuerte transformación en las sociedades indígenas como sujetos de conversión, por otra, brindó a dichas sociedades elementos para su propio desprendimiento de la acción misionera. Esos elementos fueron apropiados por las sociedades indígenas para producir una esfera autónoma de acción, la cual resultaba, irónicamente, de la interacción asimétrica.⁶⁷

A modo de conclusión

El trabajo de los misioneros en las regiones periféricas de América del Sur comenzó por un acercamiento a las lenguas y costumbres indígenas con el objeto de ganar la confianza indígena, y lograr, preferentemente por medios persuasivos, su relocalización en las misiones, donde adoptarían la fe cristiana y se transformarían en tributarios del rey.⁶⁸ La gran cantidad de escritos jesuitas sobre estas áreas generalmente tenía propósitos administrativos y pastorales, brindando información sobre las lenguas, costumbres y ritos nativos.

Mi argumento es que los jesuitas, como productores de conocimiento sobre las sociedades indígenas administraron, controlaron, regularon y manipularon sus descripciones de acuerdo a las condiciones que debieron

⁶⁷ Sobre la cuestión de la indianización y el debate intelectual entre los jesuitas y los indios en las misiones ver Guillermo WILDE 2011, 2012, 2014.

⁶⁸ La relación entre lengua y prácticas rituales es altamente significativa en el discurso jesuítico, en la medida que ambos niveles definen la unicidad de cada sociedad y las condiciones de su convertibilidad. La orden promovió la descripción sistemática de ambas como instrumento esencial de la acción misionera. Para una discusión sobre la gramaticalización de las lenguas indígenas ver Andrea DAHER 2011 y Eduardo NEUMANN 2015.

enfrentar, sus intereses políticos y sus interlocutores. La autoridad de los textos misioneros se basaba en la estancia prolongada en las tierras misioneras, donde debían enfrentar problemas derivados de la interacción cotidiana. En primer lugar, he destacado la ambigua y arbitraria dicotomía del discurso misionero destinada a distinguir en el mundo indígena «lo indiferente» y «lo esencial» a la religión cristiana. En segundo lugar, analicé las controversias relacionadas con la traducción de los conceptos cristianos a las lenguas indígenas. Finalmente, me centré en el análisis de las traducciones misioneras de los rituales indígenas a los sacramentos cristianos, y las luchas que mantuvieron los religiosos con los líderes indígenas por el control espiritual. Durante el siglo XVII, los jesuitas del Paraguay mostraron una actitud ambigua y ambivalente hacia los ritos indígenas. En algunos casos, tendieron a valorizarlos como tolerables costumbres locales o como prácticas que presentaban analogías con algunos sacramentos cristianos, en otros, los condenaron como imitaciones vulgares instigadas por el diablo.

Los misioneros estaban constantemente jugando con la definición de los límites entre lo que podía ser tolerado como costumbre nativa, y una condenable práctica pagana. Lenguaje y costumbres eran dos niveles diferentes del mismo dilema de adaptación. Mientras el debate sobre la traducción de las lenguas generalmente se extendió en el tiempo, haciéndose más visible y oficial, el debate sobre los ritos se desarrolló en un nivel más subterráneo, apelando al sentido práctico de los misioneros en las zonas remotas, solo emergiendo a la superficie en el caso de acusaciones de testigos externos o problemas de administración. Los ritos indígenas eran un problema de la misión que debía ser resuelto dentro de la misión con la guía del «juicio recto». En las fronteras misioneras, lejos de los principales centros de decisión política, los sacerdotes tenían un grado mayor de libertad para tomar decisiones y desarrollar estrategias de adaptación a las circunstancias locales.

Sin embargo, la tendencia creciente a la adaptación en las misiones de frontera podía tener dos consecuencias no deseadas. La primera era que los misioneros optaran por el camino de la indianización, participando en las «costumbres» indígenas mismas. En el intento de convertir a los indios, ¿cuál era el punto límite en el que la acomodación podía convertirse en indianización? ¿Cómo influyó la personalidad, nacionalidad o idiosincrasia de ciertos jesuitas en su actitud hacia el otro? ¿Cómo colaboraron los indios con los jesuitas en la producción de conocimiento sobre sus propias tradiciones, pero también sobre la traducción de conceptos teológicos en el contexto de la misión cristiana?

La segunda consecuencia no deseada de la adaptación podía ser ceder autonomía a los líderes indígenas, quienes podían disputar la administración del poder espiritual a los jesuitas. Muchos ejemplos, dispersos en América del Sur, muestran que el grado creciente de apropiación indígena de los valores y rituales cristianos tendía a tornarse en contra del régimen establecido, desembocando a veces en revueltas, rebeliones o movimientos mesiánicos. ¿Cuál fue el límite aceptable para la apropiación indígena de las creencias y prácticas cristianas? Aunque inicialmente los jesuitas recurrieron a dispositivos orientados a excluir deliberadamente a los nativos de la administración de lo sagrado, la consolidación de un régimen misionero estable promovía –de manera inevitable– la creación de espacios en los que los indios ganaban autonomía.

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A produção jesuítica sobre as artes de curar: reavaliando protagonismos, experiências e trocas interculturais (América platina, séculos XVII e XVIII)

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Resumo

Neste artigo, com base em informações extraídas das Cartas Ânua da Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, da obra *Materia Medica Misionera* (1710) – atribuída ao irmão jesuíta Pedro de Montenegro –, e do manuscrito, ainda inédito, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* (1771-1776) – escrito pelo padre jesuíta José Sánchez Labrador –, analisamos o significativo processo de trocas interculturais ocorrido nos colégios e reduções da Companhia de Jesus na América platina, destacando o papel desempenhado por informantes, enfermeiros e copistas indígenas, tanto na identificação, coleta e experimentalismo com plantas nativas, quanto na circulação dos saberes de Botânica Médica sistematizados pelos missionários jesuítas, sobretudo, no século XVIII.

Palavras-chave: Companhia de Jesus, Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, trocas interculturais, circulação de saberes, artes de curar, botânica médica.

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Abstract

In this article, based on information extracted from the *Cartas Ânua* of the Jesuit Province of Paraguay, from the work *Materia Medica Misionera* (1710) – attributed to Jesuit brother Pedro de Montenegro –, and from the manuscript, so far unpublished, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* (1771-1776), written by Jesuit priest José Sánchez Labrador –, we analyse the significant process of intercultural exchange that took place in the colleges and reductions of the Company of Jesus in Platin America, highlighting the role played by indigenous informants, nurses and scribes, in the identification, gathering and experimentations with native plants, as well as in the circulation of the knowledge of Medicinal Botanic systematised by the Jesuit missionaries, above all in the 18th century.

Keywords: Company of Jesus, Jesuit Province of Paraguay, intercultural exchanges, circulation of knowledge, arts of healing, medicinal botanics.

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Uma breve introdução ao tema

Ainda no século XVII, muitos dos jesuítas enviados às terras de missão da América hispânica, apesar de não serem «especialistas en la ciencia de Galeno y en Farmacopea», dedicaram-se à coleta e a experimentos com plantas nativas existentes nas imediações dos colégios e das reduções em que atuaram. No século seguinte, irmãos e padres jesuítas, contando com a colaboração de indígenas, não apenas produziram como fizeram circular saberes e práticas terapêuticas – através da intensa correspondência que os membros da ordem mantinham entre si e de cópias de tratados e receituários –, tanto entre as reduções e os colégios da Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, quanto entre aqueles instalados na Europa¹.

Em muitos destes espaços de atuação da Companhia, encontraremos personagens de indiscutível importância, que, apesar de habitarem regiões marginais no cenário intelectual do período – áreas tidas apenas como receptoras de práticas e saberes produzidos em outras partes do mundo –, foram decisivos na construção e renovação de conhecimentos consagrados de Botânica Médica e Cirurgia². Muitos destes irmãos e padres se dedicaram à produção de livros de referência para o conhecimento da natureza americana, dentre os quais se destacam as «Historias Naturales» e as

¹ Sabe-se que os «libros de medicina» manuscritos circulavam de redução em redução, sob a forma de cadernos, sem especificação de seu autor, e ainda que estes cadernos eram copiados para que as receitas não se perdessem. Um destes receituários [o «Manuscrito de São Borja»] – supostamente do século XVIII, pela forma de sua escritura – contém procedimentos e receitas para afecções do estômago e também para o parto e o puerpério. Não se pode dizer que este tenha sido o primeiro receituário de medicina guarani, mas sabe-se que foi encontrado na redução de São Borja [razão pela qual é denominado «Manuscrito de São Borja»], situada sobre a margem esquerda do rio Uruguai. Se, por um lado, o fato de estar todo escrito em guarani não permite que se afirme que seja um texto propriamente guarani, por outro, mostra a clara intenção, como se pode constatar na «Materia Medica Misionera», escrita pelo irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro, de colocar, concentrados nas reduções, os conhecimentos relativos às artes de curar à disposição dos missionários e dos índios.

² Ver mais em Jorge CAÑIZARES ESGUERRA, *Como escribir la historia del Nuevo Mundo: Historiografías, epistemologías e identidades en el mundo del Atlántico del siglo XVIII*, México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007.

«Materias Medicas»³. Em relação a estas últimas, especificamente, constata-se que se caracterizam não apenas pela inconfundível presença das concepções hipocrático-galênicas, mas também pela apropriação de saberes e de práticas curativas próprias das populações nativas americanas⁴.

As obras escritas pelo irmão Pedro Montenegro⁵ e pelo padre José Sánchez Labrador⁶ se inscrevem nesta produção intelectual jesuítica de

³ Luis Millones FIGUEROA e Domingo LEDEZMA, (eds.). *El saber de los jesuitas, historias naturales y el Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, Iberoamericana, 2005, p. 10.

⁴ Se a incorporação de «aspectos de los lenguajes y las cosmovisiones aborígenes» pelos jesuítas conferiu, segundo Asúa, uma das «características distintivas de la ciencia en las misiones del Paraguay» (Miguel de ASÚA, *La ciencia de Mayo. La cultura científica en el Río de la Plata, 1800-1820*, Bueno

⁵ Aires, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2010, p. 193), nem sempre «hubo interés en reconocer de donde emanaban tales saberes», segundo Maria Silvia Di Liscia; no entanto, isso não impediu que padres e irmãos da Companhia iniciassem «un proceso apropiativo del manejo de la flota y la fauna con fines medicinales». Maria Silvia Di LISCIA, *Saberes, Terapias y Prácticas Médicas en Argentina (1750-1910)*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas – Instituto de Historia, 2002, p. 299. De acordo com Heloísa M. Gesteira, para além da usual justificativa de que os jesuítas investigaram a natureza e trataram dos doentes com a precípua finalidade de praticar a caridade cristã e visando à «maior glória de Deus», é preciso «valorizar o esforço de coleta e sistematização do conhecimento médico por parte dos inicianos, demonstrando como tal iniciativa era feita a partir dos referenciais da cultura erudita do período, sendo os estudos sobre as virtudes das plantas e animais realizados a partir dos referenciais da História Natural e da Medicina hipocrática». Heloísa Meirelles GESTEIRA, «Manuscritos Médicos e circulação de idéias nas missões jesuíticas na América», *Anais Eletrônicos*, VII Encontro Internacional da ANPHLAC, Campinas, SP (2006), p. 1. Quanto aos procedimentos científicos – categorizar, sistematizar, ordenar de certa maneira – adotados pelos missionários jesuítas, «sin embargo, era preciso acceder al conocimiento exacto de sus propiedades y aprender a reconocer las especies en el campo, en medio de otras miles, recogerlas y cultivarlas, separando hojas, semillas, frutos o raíces, estudiando los jugos y las cocciones, los ungüentos y las pomadas. Un proceso complejo, que requiere del ensayo y error, de un saber basado en la experiencia y en la razón, en la práctica y en la teoría». M. S. Di LISCIA, op. cit., p. 296.

⁶ Pedro Montenegro nasceu em 1663, na Galiza, Espanha, e faleceu em 20 de fevereiro de 1728, na redução de Mártires, Argentina. De acordo com o historiador jesuíta argentino Guillermo Furlong, o Ir. Pedro de Montenegro, teria sido um «exímio médico» e autor inquestionável da «Materia Medica Misionera» e do «Libro de Cirugía».

⁶ José Sanchez Labrador nasceu em La Guardia, cidade de La Mancha, no dia 19 de setembro de 1714 ou 1717 e faleceu em Ravena, em 10 de outubro de 1798. Ingressou na Companhia de Jesus em 5 de outubro de 1731, de acordo com Ruiz Moreno (1948), ou em 19 de setembro de 1732, segundo SAINZ OLLERO (1989). Iniciou seus estudos de Filosofia no Colégio de Valladolid, interrompendo-os para viajar ao Rio da Prata em 1734, acompanhando o Padre Antonio Machoni. De 1734 a 1739, estudou Filosofia e Teologia na Universidade de Córdoba, concluindo sua formação no verão de 1739. Entre os anos de 1741 e 1744, atuou como professor na mesma cidade, dedicando-se, concomitantemente, aos estudos de História Natural.

Setecentos⁷ e revelam um intenso e dinâmico processo de trocas interculturais orientado tanto para o conhecimento da flora e da fauna das regiões que compreendiam a Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, quanto para o melhor atendimento de indígenas e missionários enfermos que viviam nas reduções e nos colégios mantidos pela Ordem⁸.

Tanto na obra *Materia Medica Misionera*⁹, escrita pelo irmão Pedro de

⁷ Além dos manuscritos de medicina escritos pelo irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro e pelo padre jesuíta José Sanchez Labrador, existem o «Libro de medicina en lengua guarani» ou MS-Madrid, que se encontra na Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid (BNM), inserido em um manuscrito de Gregorio López (1542-1596), e o manuscrito «Pojha Ñaña. Materia Medica Misionera o Herbario de las Reducciones Guaranies. Misiones. Año de 1725», inteiramente redigido em guarani e atribuído ao irmão jesuíta Marcos Villodas, que vem sendo estudado pela linguista Angélica Otazú, da Universidad Católica Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, Paraguai.

⁸ Nos «libros de medicina» que analisamos neste artigo tanto as enfermidades, quanto as terapêuticas e as plantas medicinais indicadas [por suas virtudes] se aproximam – e até se repetem – de forma muito significativa, o que nos leva a considerar plausível que os manuscritos que se seguiram àquele que, originalmente, Pedro Montenegro escreveu em 1710 procuraram reproduzi-las de forma que missionários e indígenas pudessem – mais eficientemente – contornar os efeitos de epidemias e de outras enfermidades.

⁹ Escrita no ano de 1710, a obra tem 458 páginas, além de 148 desenhos de plantas feitos à mão, e conta em seu frontispício com uma imagem de Nossa Senhora das Dores, padroeira dos doentes. Neste artigo, utilizamos também uma cópia manuscrita do ano de 1790, disponível para consulta no Arquivo do Instituto Anchietano de Pesquisas – IAP-UNISINOS, e também a versão de uma edição argentina, de 1945, disponível na Biblioteca Virtual del Paraguay. No exemplar manuscrito que consultamos há uma breve anotação feita à mão por Bartolomeu Meliã e datada de 1986: «El presente manuscrito parece ser de la época y está escrito por quien no domina la lengua castellana, y así podría ser un índio misionero». Esta observação parece confirmar a hipótese levantada por Heloísa Gesteira de que estes textos eram copiados [pelos próprios missionários ou, então, por copistas indígenas], distribuídos e compartilhados pelos inicianos instalados em várias regiões atendidas pela Companhia de Jesus [daí trazer os nomes das espécies de plantas em espanhol, tupi e guarani], conformando uma «rede de troca de experiências e de informações» e um «processo de cosmopolitização das práticas médicas, que, por sua vez, era acompanhada por um processo de experimentação, cultivo e disseminação de plantas». Heloísa Meirelles GESTEIRA, art. cit., p. 5.

Montenegro, em 1710¹⁰, quanto no *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*¹¹, iniciado em 1771, de autoria do também jesuíta Sanchez Labrador¹², encontramos registradas não só as dificuldades encontradas pelos missionários para contornar as epidemias que se abatiam sobre as populações indígenas, mas também as constantes – e necessárias – experimentações que tiveram que ser feitas devido às características do meio em que eles atuavam¹³ e que implicaram na coleta e na organização de saberes sobre a natureza e o território americano.

¹⁰ Segundo Maria Silvia Di Liscia, o autor da «Materia Medica Misionera» foi, efetivamente, Pedro Montenegro. A autora, no entanto, sustenta que ele a escreveu em 1702 e que «el padre Asperger la copió em 1710 con su nombre». M. S. DI LISCIA, op. cit., p. 301. Neste trabalho, contudo, consideraremos o ano de 1710, por ser o mais aceito entre os historiadores. Em relação à «Materia Medica», foram localizadas duas versões. A primeira, em formato digital, se encontra disponível na Biblioteca Virtual del Paraguay e a outra, um manuscrito datado de 1790, portanto, mais de 60 anos após o falecimento do irmão jesuíta – o que comprova a apropriação e a circulação da obra –, está sob a guarda do Instituto Anchietano de Pesquisas (IAP-UNISINOS), em São Leopoldo, RS. Visando à conferência de passagens e à identificação de adições ou de subtrações, optamos por confrontar as duas versões – a digital e a manuscrita –, recurso também bastante válido para a discussão sobre a apropriação e a difusão das informações sobre plantas nativas e procedimentos terapêuticos dados por Montenegro. Quanto ao «Libro de Cirugía», de 1725 – que, infelizmente, não foi localizado até o momento –, utilizaremos, exclusivamente, as informações que constam em F. GARZÓN MACEDA, *La Medicina en Córdoba*. Apuntes para su historia, Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Rodrigues Giles, 1916.

¹¹ Trata-se de José Sánchez LABRADOR, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*. Noticias del pais, con la explicación de phenomenos phisicos generales y particulares: usos útiles, que de sus producciones pueden hacer varias artes. Parte Quarta, contiene los libros siguientes. I. De los Animales Amphibios. II. De los Animales Reptiles. III. De los Insectos. (Manuscrito inédito), Ravenna, 1771.

¹² A obra *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* já mereceu alguns estudos, todos eles realizados a partir da consulta à fonte manuscrita no ARSI, tais como os de Guillermo FURLONG, *Naturalistas Argentinos durante la dominacion Hispánica*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Huarpes, 1948; de Aníbal Ruiz MORENO, *La Medicina en el Paraguay Natural (1771-1776)* del P. José Sanchez Labrador S. J., Exposición comentada del texto original, Tucumán, Universidad Nacional de Tucuman, 1948; e de Hector SAINZ OLLERO, Francisco Suárez CARDONA, Miguel Vázquez de Castro ONTAÑÓN, *José Sánchez Labrador y los naturalistas jesuitas del Río de la Plata*, Madrid, Mopu, 1989. Sabe-se que Sánchez Labrador «realizou um dos mais amplos trabalhos sobre a natureza, a geografia e as sociedades da região platina colonial. [...] Ainda permanecem dúvidas sobre a forma como Sánchez Labrador redigiu tão vasta obra. Ollero acredita que [ele] teria conseguido levar muitos apontamentos feitos na América. [...] O mais provável é que tenha sido obrigado a escrever a maior parte da obra de memória». Artur BARCELOS, *O Mergulho no Seculum*, Porto Alegre, Editora Animal, 2013, pp. 92-93.

¹³ Sobre esta temática, recomendamos ver: Eliane Cristina Deckmann FLECK, *Entre a caridade e a ciência: a prática missionária e científica da Companhia de Jesus (América platina, séculos XVII e XVIII)*, São Leopoldo, Editora Oikos, 2014; Eliane Cristina Deckmann FLECK e Roberto POLETTO, «Esto es lo que yo buscaba [...] el conocimiento de las yerbas y su aplicación», *Años 90* (UFRGS. Impreso), v. 19 (2012), pp. 411-436; Eliane Cristina Deckmann FLECK, «Da mística às luzes: a medicina experimental nas reduções jesuítico-guaranis (séculos XVII e XVIII)», *Revista Complutense de História de América*, v. 32 (2006), pp. 153-178.

Estas condições e motivações estiveram ainda mais presentes no século XVII, período de implantação das primeiras reduções, durante o qual alguns missionários enviados à Província Jesuítica do Paraguai – por terem tido a oportunidade de realizar «algunos estudios y alguna práctica quirúrgica en Europa» antes do seu ingresso na Companhia de Jesus – se viram obrigados a atuar também como enfermeiros, «medio médicos», «herboristas», boticários e cirurgiões. Sabe-se que o padre Cristóbal Altamirano chegou a organizar uma botica, que atenderia as demais reduções¹⁴, e também que o irmão Diego Bassuari chegou a escrever um «libro de medicina», com base em um «cartapacio de recetas [que fez vir da Europa]» e em suas experiências como enfermeiro nas regiões de Córdoba e Assunção¹⁵. Outro exemplo é o do irmão Blás Gutiérrez, que, por ter sido barbeiro e cirurgião de profissão antes de seu ingresso na Companhia, desempenhou o mesmo ofício junto ao Colégio de Córdoba¹⁶, como confirma seu necrológio, no qual se lê que «avia aprendido, leido e experimentado medicamentos para acudir a los enfermos e nesecitados»¹⁷.

¹⁴ Sabe-se que a primeira botica no território do Rio da Prata foi instalada pelos jesuítas, em Córdoba, na terceira década do século XVII, visando ao atendimento de enfermos «con propósitos de caridad». Acredita-se que, em Buenos Aires, somente em 1680, tenha sido aberta a primeira botica pública, que passou a fornecer águas simples e espirituosas, xaropes, infusões, azeites, unguentos e emplastos, bálsamos, tinturas, sais, pílulas e drogas tóxicas. De acordo com Furlong, o Padre Altamira Santafesino «fue el primero en montar y organizar en Candelaria, la más importante de las reducciones, una botica que sirviera para todas ellas». Guillermo FURLONG, *Misiones y sus Pueblos de Guaraníes*. Buenos Aires, Teorema, 1962, p. 604. Quando em 1767, os jesuítas foram expulsos, «el establecimiento dejó de funcionar hasta 1881, en que la Junta de Temporalidades – encargada de la administración de los bienes de dichos religiosos – la arrendo [...]». Guillermo FURLONG, *Médicos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica*, Buenos Aires, Huarperes, 1947, p. 63.

¹⁵ Guillermo FURLONG, op. cit., p. 605.

¹⁶ Segundo Astrain, o irmão coadjutor Blás Gutiérrez era «natural de Castilla la vieja; pasó a las Indias para ejercer su oficio de barbería y cirugía en que era primo [...] Acudiendo a los enfermos, hasta que dio la vida, y vino a morir en la misma demanda [vitimado pela epidemia que atingiu Córdoba entre 1635 e 1637] a los 72 años de su edad y 22 de Compañía, siendo un verdadero ejemplar y dechado de Hermanos Coadjutores». Joaquim GRACIA, *Los jesuítas en Córdoba – Desde la Colonia hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial*, Córdoba, Editora de la Universidad Católica de Córdoba, 2006, p. 24. Assim como Gutiérrez, muitos outros homens – jovens ou maduros –, como Heinrich Peschke, Segismund Asperger e Pedro Montenegro, serviram à causa da Companhia de Jesus – para «maior glória de Deus» –, atuando como enfermeiros, médicos, boticários e missionários entre os indígenas e espanhóis, dedicando-se às experiências com plantas nativas e à produção de catálogos e receitas – empenhados em curar os doentes e em contornar os efeitos das epidemias – ou, então, aprofundando-se na leitura dos clássicos como alunos ou professores nos colégios da Ordem.

¹⁷ DOCUMENTOS PARA LA HISTORIA ARGENTINA [DHA], *Cartas Ánuas de la Provincia del Paraguay, Chile y Tucumán de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús. 1615-1637*, Tomo XX, Buenos Aires, Talleres Casa Jacobo Preuser, 1927, p. 472.

Houve outros, no entanto, como o padre Antônio Sepp, que, pouco familiarizado com as artes de curar, se viu obrigado a ordenar a realização de uma sangria durante a peste de varíola hemorrágica que se abateu sobre a redução de Nossa Senhora da Fé, no ano de 1695. O empenho na confecção de instrumentos sangradores mostrou-se insuficiente para controlar a epidemia, levando este jesuíta a afirmar que os métodos europeus eram impotentes para curar os enfermos, que sentiam algum alívio apenas com «los remedios caseros e con los propios de la farmacopea indígena»¹⁸.

Em carta enviada em 1702, o irmão Enrique Peschke – que desempenhava as funções de boticário no Colégio de Córdoba – parece confirmar a crescente importância que as «plantas en América» passaram a assumir nas terapêuticas curativas, apesar de observar que eram diferentes das europeias: «en Europa, aún aquellas que en ambas partes tienen las mismas propiedades [...] lo que en Alemania es ancho y áspero, es aquí lanceolado y liso, lo que hay que extender también a otras propiedades externas, por lo que toca a las internas, son maravillosas»¹⁹. À admiração dos jesuítas pela flora americana, contudo, se associava certa inquietação, pois era preciso

[...] acceder al conocimiento exacto de sus propiedades y aprender a reconocer las plantas en el campo [...] recogerlas y cultivarlas, separando hojas y semillas, bayas de raíces, estudiando los jugos y las cocciones, los ungüentos y las pomadas. Un proceso complejo, que requería del ensayo y error y de un saber basado en la experiencia y en la razón, en la práctica y en la teoría.²⁰

A questão que se colocava para os jesuítas que se dedicavam aos estudos de Botânica e à Medicina no início do século XVIII era, sem dúvida: «Cuál es la orientación a seguir [...] cuando la guía botánica es todavía la de Dioscórides y la medicina se debate entre el galenismo y la iatroquímica, entre Paracelso y el nuevo vitalismo?» Muitos deles estavam conscientes de que o sistema de classificação e a nomenclatura das plantas, a partir de suas qualidades galênicas, poderiam resultar em problemas de

¹⁸ Nora Inês ECHENIQUE e Miriam Mirabel FERREIRA, «La Medicina en las Reducciones Jesuíticas», *Anais*, Santa Rosa, Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras Dom Bosco, (1985), pp. 253-254.

¹⁹ Juan MUHN, *La Argentina vista por viajeros del siglo XVIII*, Buenos Aires, Huarpe, 1951, p. 49.

²⁰ M. S. DI LISCIA, op. cit., p. 35. Sabe-se que, além das boticas, os jesuítas mantiveram herbários junto aos colégios e às reduções. A precariedade com que era realizado o transporte e as condições em que chegavam os medicamentos vindos da Europa motivaram os missionários a conhecerem melhor a flora americana e suas possíveis utilidades no atendimento dos enfermos. É preciso, no entanto, ressaltar que plantas medicinais europeias, como o alecrim, a menta, o cominho, a camomila e a losna também foram cultivadas nos herbários dos colégios e nas reduções jesuíticas.

aplicação, dada «la semejanza que suelen tener unas [plantas] calientes con frías, y cordiales con venenos», razão pela qual «examinaban las propiedades de supuestos medicamentos probándolos una y otra vez, en diferentes pacientes y enfermedades, para determinar su utilidad»²¹.

A adoção desses procedimentos fica, aliás, bastante evidente na já referida obra «Materia Medica Misionera», na qual se constata a influência exercida por Dioscórides e por Galeno [«filósofo y príncipe de la Medicina»]²². Se a intenção do irmão jesuíta Montenegro era a de inventariar informações relativas às propriedades curativas das plantas medicinais nativas, consideradas fundamentais para a prática médica nas áreas de atuação da Companhia de Jesus, não deixa, no entanto, de registrar informações sobre «estos pobres índios» com os quais estava em contato e, também, de tecer considerações sobre a qualidade do atendimento prestado aos doentes na então Província Jesuítica do Paraguai. Em relação a este último aspecto, esclarece que na Europa «solo curan hombres capaces, y médicos y cirujanos aprobados, y que han pasado por clases de Theorica, y por maestros en practica, ó por hospitales en ambas materias», enquanto que na América²³ a situação era lastimável²⁴, pois as pessoas estavam à mercê de:

²¹ M. S. DI LISCIA, op. cit., pp. 39-41. É preciso considerar que, durante o século XVIII, «la fructífera relación de la química y la medicina iniciarán un proceso de cambio en la farmacología y jugaron un papel fundamental en el terreno terapéutico. A partir de entonces se produjo una larga carrera entre químicos, farmacéuticos y médicos para encontrar componentes realmente activos de los extractos vegetales». Carlos PAGE, María Cristina Vera de FLACHS, «Textos Clásicos de Medicina en la Botica Jesuítica del Paraguay», *Cuadernos del Instituto Antonio de Nebrija*, n. 13 (2010), p. 121.

²² ARQUIVO DO INSTITUTO ANCHIETANO DE PESQUISAS [IAP], *Materia Medica Misionera*. (Manuscrito de 1790, atribuído ao irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro), Prólogo. Em relação a este aspecto, deve-se, inegavelmente, «valorizar o esforço de coleta e sistematização do conhecimento médico por parte dos inacionos», mas tendo consciência de que «tal iniciativa era feita a partir dos referenciais da cultura erudita do período, sendo os estudos sobre as virtudes das plantas e animais realizados a partir dos referenciais da História Natural e da Medicina hipocrática». H. GESTEIRA, art. cit., p. 1.

²³ Pedro MONTENEGRO, *Matéria Medica Misionera*, Buenos Aires, Edición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1945, Prólogo. O exercício da Medicina na Espanha – e, posteriormente, na América, no México (1546) e em Lima (1570) – era regulamentado pelo Protomedicato que concedia a licença necessária para o desempenho da profissão. As regras de seu funcionamento foram definidas somente durante o reinado de Felipe II (1527-1598), período em que foram instaladas cátedras nas universidades e criados hospitais para o fomento dos estudos de Medicina. Sabe-se que existiam três categorias de médicos à época: o doutor (aquele que havia completado seus estudos na universidade), o licenciado (autorizado a exercer a medicina ou a cirurgia, dentre os quais se destacavam os práticos) e o médico militar. À margem destas categorias, encontravam-se os boticários (encarregados da preparação e venda de medicamentos) e os sangradores.

²⁴ Montenegro afirma que, ao longo dos 21 anos de atuação como missionário na América platina, havia entrado em contato com apenas um médico e um cirurgião formados.

[...] Médicos Curanderos y Curanderas; mas les cuadra el nombre de mata-sano, que el de Cirujano, y el de carnicero que el de medico, ó curandero, y son tantos y tantas los dados á esta secta de locos, que entre tal gana ganado poco ó nada hay que escojer, y cierto es, que á ellos les fuera mejor arar para sustentarse, y á ellas hilar la rueca, que ciegos y cargados de ignorancia, sin advertir el peligro de sus conciencias; ni los homicidios que hasen en los pobres enfermos, que como nescitados admiten el socorro, que estas sabandijas, ó casta de locos les ofrece, no con pequeno riesgo de sus vidas [...].²⁵

Para além da desqualificação do atendimento prestado pelos «médicos curanderos y curanderas», que acabaria por justificar o ofício de «autor de Botica» que Montenegro viria a assumir, a obra nos revela tanto o papel que a Companhia desempenhou na circulação dos conhecimentos de Botânica médica sistematizados pelos seus membros nas diversas Províncias da Companhia na América, na Europa e no Oriente, quanto o papel dos indígenas informantes, enfermeiros e copistas na identificação, na coleta e nos experimentalismos feitos com plantas nativas. Além das duas obras que analisamos, uma delas escrita em 1710, ainda na América, e a outra escrita entre 1771 e 1776, durante o exílio, em Ravena, na Itália, também na correspondência trocada entre os missionários e encaminhada ao Padre Geral da Companhia de Jesus, as Cartas Ânua^s²⁶, fica evidente a manutenção de determinadas práticas curativas tradicionais nos colégios e nas reduções e o papel desempenhado pelos indígenas, como procuramos demonstrar neste artigo.

Evidências de apropriação e circulação de saberes e práticas curativas: dos primeiros experimentos aos «Libros de Medicina»

Uma análise das Cartas Ânua^s escritas pelos missionários jesuítas nos séculos XVII e XVIII revela que muitos deles se dedicaram ao registro e à sistematização tanto das virtudes medicinais das plantas nativas encontradas no entorno das reduções e dos colégios mantidos pela Companhia de Jesus, quanto das práticas curativas adotadas pelos indígenas. Preocupados em

²⁵ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., Prólogo.

²⁶ As Cartas Ânua^s tinham como base os relatórios anuais que o Provincial recebia dos superiores das residências, colégios, universidades e missões junto aos índios, sendo redigidas pelos secretários ou por pessoas com capacidade para escrevê-las, designadas pelo Provincial. Vale lembrar que cabia a esta correspondência unir, por meio da escrita, os diversos e esparsos membros da Companhia de Jesus, promover uma propaganda edificante que inspirasse novas adesões e, ainda, compartilhar as experiências alcançadas, de maneira a tornar as missões mais frutíferas pela troca de informações.

contornar os efeitos das epidemias que atingiam as reduções, os padres decidiram recrutar um corpo de enfermeiros indígenas, os *curuzuyás*, que deveriam «enterarse cada mañana si había algún enfermo en su respectivo barrio o cuartel y como andaban los que ya se sabía que estaban enfermos». Cabia a eles fazer o diagnóstico e sugerir a medicação «según su saber y poder» e, inclusive, administrar todos «los sacramentos, el viático y extrema unción»²⁷. De acordo com Hernández, os *curuzuyás* eram «cuatro, seis ú ocho en cada pueblo y para que pudiesen ejercitar su cargo, estaban exentos de las tareas comunes, y aun les cultivaban su chacra los otros índios» para que pudessem preparar e levar «las medicinas convenientes» aos doentes²⁸.

Na Ânuia de 1635-1637, encontramos registros do envolvimento dos indígenas, inclusive, daqueles que haviam buscado atendimento nos colégios, em tarefas que cabiam aos enfermeiros: «el personal que vive en el colegio, por atender a los apestados se contagian a raíz de lo cual fallecen [...] las indias enfermas por su parte tenían que barrer las salas [...] limpiar los instrumentos de cirugía [...]»²⁹, além de «freg[ar] los platos y pucheros en que comían y lava[r] las alhajas de los que morían»³⁰. Também «los índios de la Congregación de Nuestra Señora acudían [...] a ejercitar su mucha caridad con los enfermos, a aderazarles las camas»³¹.

Na Ânuia de 1650-1652, encontramos relatadas duas situações de complicações surgidas durante o parto. Numa delas, a mulher «estaba ya sufriendo por tres días, y agonizando, cuando se salvó su vida tocándola con la medalla de San Ignacio»; na outra, uma mulher «embarazada la primera vez, pero con un apostema maligno en al seno», foi socorrida pelo padre que lhe aplicou «una reliquia de nuestro Padre Ignacio. Nació bien el hijo, y sanó la madre por completo»³². Em relação ao primeiro caso, o padre registra que «habían ya auxiliado la moribunda», tendo sido chamado – tardiamente e apenas – para administrar os sacramentos³³. Quanto ao auxílio prestado à parturiente moribunda, é preciso considerar que as

²⁷ Guillermo FURLONG, *Misiones y sus Pueblos de Guaraníes*, Buenos Aires, Ediciones Theoria, 1962, p. 613.

²⁸ Pablo HERNÁNDEZ, *Organización Social de las Doctrinas Guaraníes de la Compañía de Jesús*, Barcelona, Gustavo Gili Editores, 1913, pp. 291-292.

²⁹ DHA, *Cartas Ânuias de la Provincia del Paraguay, Chile y Tucumán de la Provincia de la Compañía de Jesús. 1615-1637*, Tomo XIX, Buenos Aires, Talleres Casa Jacobo Preuser, 1927, p. 687.

³⁰ Guillermo FURLONG, op. cit., p. 165.

³¹ Guillermo FURLONG, op. cit., p. 612.

³² IAP, *Cartas Ânuias de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1650-1652* [Versão manuscrita 1927], p. 11.

³³ IAP, *Cartas Ânuias de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1650-1652*, p. 11.

mulheres prestes a dar à luz contavam com o apoio – e o conhecimento – de indígenas parteiras, como se constata nesta referência feita a elas na *Ânu*a de 1659-1660:

Había otra moribunda de parto con hemorragia. Por su extremada debilidad estaba desahuciada por las parteras, diciendo ellas, que la criatura se había muerto en el seno de ella. Auxiliaron a la moribunda con los últimos sacramentos de la Iglesia, y trajeron una reliquia de nuestro Santo Padre. Hizo entonces la mujer la promesa de comulgar por la fiesta de San Ignacio, en caso de escaparse del peligro.³⁴

A menção feita a um parto seguido de hemorragia permite uma breve incursão na obra «*Materia Medica Misionera*». Nela, encontramos uma menção ao «pão porcino», planta empregada para combater veneno de cobras, para purgar a fleuma [um dos quatro humores] ou provocar a menstruação: «Proboca el mestruo a ora se beba o se apliq.^e a la natura dela mujer atada su rais al muslo izquierdo dicen acelera el parto»³⁵. Apesar de parecer um tanto curiosa a orientação de que não era necessária sequer a ingestão da planta para que essa provocasse o efeito esperado – desde que a raiz fosse amarrada na coxa esquerda –, constatamos que procedimentos semelhantes a este eram largamente empregados na Europa, sendo recomendados por Pedro Hispano³⁶ e, especialmente, Dioscórides, que exerceu grande influência sobre Pedro Montenegro.

³⁴ IAP, *Cartas Ânua*s de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1659-1660 [Versão manuscrita 1927], pp. 53-54.

³⁵ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*. (Manuscrito de 1790, atribuído ao irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro), p. 123.

³⁶ Dentre as obras de medicina atribuídas a Pedro Hispano – formado pela Universidade de Medicina de Siena –, destaca-se o *Thesaurus Pauperum*, que data do final do século XIII e reúne orientações de autores clássicos da Medicina sobre vários temas, e que continuavam sendo adotadas nos séculos XVII e XVIII. Numa breve consulta à edição de 1973 desta obra, patrocinada pela Universidade de Coimbra, localizamos nos capítulos XLVI e XLVII, intitulados *Contra a dificuldade no parto* e *A dor depois do parto*, respectivamente, uma série de procedimentos – recomendados por Dioscórides – a serem adotados durante complicações de parto. Algumas das orientações atribuídas a ele e compiladas por Pedro Hispano – ou Papa João XXI – são: “Item 17 – atando serpentária às virilhas da parturiente, imediatamente dará à luz; item 18 – aplicar um emplastro quente de artemísia cozido em água, e imediatamente expele o feto e as secundinas; Item 33 – atar à coxa raiz de ciclame faz dar à luz mais cedo; e, se a mulher passar por cima dessa raiz terá um aborto; dar a beber a erva ou a flor da violeta branca provoca a menstruação depois do parto, extrai a criança morta e destrói a viva; item 34 – aplicar folhas de madressilva põe fora o parto; mas retirem-se logo, não vão arrastar a madre [o útero]; bebê-las expele o feto vivo ou morto e as secundinas.” *Apud* Maria Helena da Rocha PEREIRA, *Obras Médicas de Pedro Hispano*, Coimbra, Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1973, p. 276.

É plausível supor que as inúmeras situações de complicações de parto que Montenegro presenciou ou, então, as informações que obteve de outros indígenas sobre o trabalho das parteiras tenham favorecido a descrição de plantas nativas americanas com propriedades muito similares às que eram amplamente utilizadas na Europa, tais como a serpentária, a artemísia, o ciclâmen, a flor de violeta branca e a madressilva, referidas por Dioscórides. O irmão jesuíta não deixará, contudo, de advertir sobre a inadequação do consumo da planta por mulheres grávidas, pois ela poderia provocar o parto prematuro ou mesmo o aborto. Em relação aos procedimentos adotados pelas parteiras, vale resgatar o registro feito por Montenegro sobre o uso do tabaco durante os partos:

La raíz del o mascando un pedacito con una pupada de ancho la muger que no puede echar la criatura muerta o viva, tragando el sumo de ella echa luego todo lo tenido sino es que este tan atrabesada la criatura que no pueda salir sin que la revuelvan, y esto hace con mayor eficacia y prestesa si la partera masca otro pedaso de rais y con aq.ella saliva le da uncion en los y jares y quadriles ala paciente al mismo tpô. q.e ella traga la saliva de la rais que ella masco poniéndola en pie para q.e salga la criatura.³⁷

A menção feita à ajuda prestada pela parteira, mascando tabaco e ungiendo os quadris da parturiente com saliva, revela não apenas a manutenção de práticas tradicionais largamente adotadas pelos indígenas – mesmo antes de serem reunidos nas reduções jesuíticas –, como o papel que as mulheres viriam a desempenhar no atendimento de gestantes e de doentes nas enfermarias e nos hospitais nelas instalados. Sabe-se que, ainda hoje, em alguns grupos indígenas, as mulheres «ayudan con palabras de ánimo, masajes, unciones, infusiones y té a base de *ys i y yeych*, ‘planta que machacada se torna gomosa y resbaladiza’, atributos que supuestamente facilitan el parto». Em relação às parteiras, sabe-se que eram «reconocidas por su habilidad en reencajar la criatura en los últimos días del embarazo, haciendo que el o la bebé nazca “de cabeza” y no “de pie” [...] el trabajo de parto se hacía en una casita separada, construida para ese fin y proveída de fuego»³⁸.

As inúmeras referências a complicações surgidas durante partos que encontramos nas *Ânuas* da segunda metade do século XVII se mantêm nas *Ânuas* da primeira metade do século XVIII, como se pode constatar

³⁷ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 188.

³⁸ Graciela CHAMORRO, *Decir el Cuerpo – Historia y etnografía del cuerpo en los pueblos Guaraní*, Asunción, Tiempo de Historia e Fondec, 2009, pp. 266-267.

na passagem a seguir e na qual ficam evidentes as críticas de alguns missionários à atuação das parteiras indígenas: «En una estancia vecina estaba gravemente enferma de parto la esposa de Don Alonso de Alfaro. Duró ya 10 días este tormento, por la mala colocación de la criatura y la ignorancia de la partera»³⁹.

Bastante ilustrativos da manutenção de saberes e práticas nativas relacionadas aos partos ou aos abortos nas reduções são os registros que dão conta de que os familiares de uma parturiente já haviam indicado uma série de remédios para que os fetos mortos fossem expelidos e que, por não terem alcançado êxito, recorreram ao padre para que administrasse os sacramentos à moribunda:

Había llegado a un peligro extremo de su vida cierta señora, madre de unos gemelos mellizos, muertos antes de su nacimiento, sin que ella le pudiera dar a la luz, no obstante de todos los remedios que le habían aplicado sus parientes y conocidos. Ya que ella estaba para espirar, se llamó a uno de nuestros Padres, para administrarle los últimos sacramentos. Replicó le el Padre que acudiese con confianza a la protección de nuestro santo patriarca San Ignacio, cuyo socorro en casos de difícil parto era un hecho reconocido en todo el mundo [...] aplicándose aquella santa reliquia [...] dio ella la luz las criaturas y libróse con eso del inminente peligro de muerte con gran admiración de los de su familia.⁴⁰

As passagens destacadas das *Ânuas* e da «Materia Medica Misionera» evidenciam que tanto europeus quanto indígenas conheciam uma infinidade de plantas e procedimentos que favoreciam o aborto, garantiam a continuidade da gravidez e, também, um bom parto. É muito provável que os jesuítas boticários dos colégios e das reduções, e até mesmo aqueles que atuavam como enfermeiros ou médicos, conhecessem as propriedades abortivas de certas plantas que passaram a ser cultivadas nos herbários mantidos pelos missionários. Vale lembrar também que, dentre as recomendações feitas em 1747 pelo padre José Cardiel aos missionários que se dirigiam à América, estava a de que trouxessem alguns livros, inclusive um de «medicina casera»⁴¹, o que poderia explicar o conhecimento e o uso de preparados abortivos, bem como de procedimentos indicados, tanto para favorecer a expulsão dos fetos [em consequência de abortos] e contornar

³⁹ IAP, *Cartas Ânuas de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1720-1730* [Versão manuscrita], p. 79.

⁴⁰ IAP, *Cartas Ânuas de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1720-1730* [Versão manuscrita], p. 52.

⁴¹ JOSÉ CARDIEL, *apud* Guillermo FURLONG, *José Cardiel y su Carta Relación* (1747), Buenos Aires, Librería del Plata, 1953, pp. 212-213.

dificuldades surgidas durante o parto, quanto para amenizar as dores no período pós-parto.

Informações sobre saberes e práticas curativas indígenas também podem ser encontradas em obras escritas por outros missionários da Companhia de Jesus. O padre jesuíta Martin Dobrizhoffer, por exemplo, ressaltará que os Abipones «son expertos conocedores de la utilidad de las hierbas medicinales que crecen en increíble abundancia allí»⁴², e chega a descrever o uso que os índios faziam da substância contida no chocalho da cauda das cascavéis para curar dores de dentes e outras doenças⁴³. O padre Sánchez Labrador, por sua vez, descreve o uso que os indígenas chiquitos faziam da resina retirada de uma árvore, que, queimada como incenso ou aplicada como emplastro, curava dores do corpo⁴⁴.

A observação das práticas curativas adotadas pelos indígenas e os experimentos feitos com plantas nativas ficam muito evidentes na «Materia Medica Misionera», como nesta passagem em que Montenegro refere as virtudes do *araçay*, encontrado nas regiões que circundavam as reduções e utilizado para combater as «camaras de sangre»: «*Pusso la Divina Providencia* en estas tierras tan pobres de médicos y boticas, y la cria en tanta abundancia que hombres e animales se valen de ella para sustento y medicina»⁴⁵.

Mas a observação e as experiências podiam também alterar concepções clássicas, levando o irmão Montenegro a discordar de Dioscórides quanto ao modo de secar as flores: «Las flores en estas tierras tengo experiencia, que las secadas á la sombra presto se corrompen de polilla, ó humedad, principalmente la rosa». E reforçava que mesmo que quisessem criticar-lhe «esta experiencia no es solamente mia, sin que primero me haya

⁴² Martin DOBRIZHOFFER, *Historia de Los Abipones* [1784], Resistência, Universidad Nacional Del Nordeste, 1967, t. 2, p. 250. Martin Dobrizhoffer nasceu em Friedberg, em 1718. Ingressou na Companhia de Jesus em 1736, e dez anos depois iniciou os estudos de Teologia, na Universidade de Gratz. Um ano depois foi enviado para a América, onde atuaria como missionário junto aos Abipones e, posteriormente, entre os índios itatines. Após a expulsão da Companhia de Jesus da América, em 1767, atuou como bibliotecário da Casa professa em Viena, na Áustria. Foi a rainha Maria Teresa quem o incentivou a escrever sobre sua experiência na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai. Os três volumes da obra «Historia de los Abipones» foram escritos entre os anos de 1777 e 1782, mas seriam publicados somente em 1784.

⁴³ Martin DOBRIZHOFFER, op. cit., p. 257.

⁴⁴ José Sanchez LABRADOR, *El Paraguay Católico* [1770], Buenos Aires, Imprenta de Coni Hermanos, 1910, t. 1, p. 19.

⁴⁵ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*. (Manuscrito de 1790, atribuído ao irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro), p. 44 (grifos nossos).

alumbrado el peritísimo Fr. Francisco Sirena, religioso de San Agustín, excelente boticario moderno en su farmacopéa [...]»⁴⁶.

O irmão Montenegro, aliás, não deixou de registrar a engenhosidade dos indígenas, como se pode constatar na descrição que faz da aplicação da planta «vívora de Tarija». O irmão jesuíta informa que, inicialmente, suas propriedades eram conhecidas apenas por um espanhol, que não as revelava por «el interés que le corria». O segredo, no entanto, acabou sendo revelado por um indígena – um caridoso cristão – que, muito perspicaz, observou-o – à distância – colher determinada erva após ser picado por uma cobra:

[...] al punto corrió á un vallecito de un arroyuelo, y un Indio tráz de él, vió que cojió esta yerba, la mascó y aplicó á la herida, y mascando mas tragó el zumo. Dicho Indio fué mas Cristiano, por que luego comunicó el secreto á un su compañero, y de aquí resultó el descubrimiento para conocer su preciosa virtud, y aquel secreto del codicioso europeo. Esto me lo contó dicho Pe. Tomas Moreno.⁴⁷

Este registro possibilita a reflexão sobre três situações: a primeira, que parece revelar o uso de plantas medicinais nativas pelos não-nativos, no caso, por um «encomendero» espanhol, que viria a ser descrito como «codicioso»; a segunda, que destaca a engenhosidade do indígena, que parecia desconhecer a flora da região onde se encontrava e que será descrito como «más cristiano» – na comparação com o espanhol –, e a terceira, que informa que o ocorrido em Tarija havia sido relatado ao irmão Montenegro – instalado no colégio de Córdoba – por outro padre, muito provavelmente, outro jesuíta encarregado do atendimento espiritual dos indígenas da região do noroeste da Argentina.

A existência de medicamentos estocados nas boticas de colégios ou reduções, bem como a circulação de conhecimentos que se dava entre as diferentes regiões de atuação dos missionários jesuítas fica evidente nesta passagem que extraímos da *Ânua* de 1720-1730:

Por colmo de desdicha, siguió después de tres meses otra epidemia, la cual había causado ya inmensos estragos en Lima y en Cuzco, ciudades principales del Perú. *Por suerte nos habíamos ya provisto con una buena reserva de medicamentos, llegados de allá; así se pudo cortar el contagio en Tarija*, donde

⁴⁶ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., 1945, Advertencias Necesarias.

⁴⁷ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 331.

habían sido atacadas ya familias enteras, con la consiguiente molestia de los Padres que los tuvieron que auxiliar.⁴⁸

Como podemos constatar, mesmo sendo um tratado médico, a «Materia Medica Misionera», escrita por Montenegro, parece comprovar não apenas a circulação de medicamentos e conhecimentos entre os jesuítas – através das cópias de tratados e receituários e da intensa correspondência que entre si mantiveram –, mas também a interação de indígenas e missionários, como evidenciado no relato que transcrevemos.

A consulta aos tratados clássicos, a observação, a coleta e os experimentalismos com plantas nativas⁴⁹ parecem ter sido complementados através de intensas trocas com indígenas informantes, como se pode constatar nesta passagem em que Montenegro esclarece que as informações sobre as propriedades da «batatilla» lhe teriam sido repassadas por um índio já convertido:

Ussanla algunos Indios para camaras de sangre assi per bebidas como per ayudas, nose con que buenos susezos, o malos *solo di algún crédito a un buen christiano llamado Clemente* [...] que me aseguro era buena y eficaz medicina y assi no dudo seran las camaras per una de dos causas opor indigestion grave o cosa asentada en el estomago, o por lombrices, o por gujanos que en estas causas le hallo puede ser eficaz.⁵⁰

Na «Materia Medica» são constantes as referências à utilização de plantas medicinais americanas na Europa e na Ásia, apontando não apenas para a circulação de medicamentos, mas também para a troca de conhecimentos e de práticas terapêuticas. Isto pode ser constatado na menção feita ao «bálsamo de copayba» – indicado no tratamento de feridas –, que «es oy mui conocido y usado por toda la Europa, Africa y America, y con grande estima y subido precio en el Japon y China segun estoi informado a causa de sus admirables virtudes»⁵¹. Chama-nos a atenção o quão bem informado estava o irmão jesuíta, sobretudo na menção feita ao preço elevado da «copayba» no Japão e na China, o que parece comprovar que havia efetivamente na América – nas e entre as regiões das Províncias jesuítas-

⁴⁸ IAP, *Cartas Anuas de la Provincia del Paraguay – 1720-1730* [Versão manuscrita], p. 129 (grifos nossos).

⁴⁹ Francisco Suarez de RIBERA, *Medicina Ilustrada Chymica Observada, o Theatros Pharmacológicos, Médico Prácticos, Chymico Galenicos*, Madrid, por Francisco del Hierro, 1724-1725, p. 7.

⁵⁰ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*. (Manuscrito de 1790, atribuído ao irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro), p. 140 (grifos nossos).

⁵¹ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 11.

cas relativamente isoladas geograficamente – uma contínua circulação de informações e ideias.

Para além das recorrentes menções aos autores clássicos, uma passagem na obra parece comprovar a circulação de conhecimentos da arte médica. Nela, Montenegro menciona que, apesar de uma relativa demora, «[...] llego a mis manos las obras de Guillermo Pison, y Jacobo Bonti q.^e escribieron en el Bracil (ñ) en varias Plantas con los nombres de estas tierras [...]». A circulação de algumas obras, especialmente as escritas por protestantes, foi – como bem observado por Montenegro – prejudicada pela censura exercida pelo Santo Ofício:

Muchos años he andado para descubrir esta tan noble rais y escogida después que vi su dibujo en las obras de Menardes y Guerta, *pero pasados dies y ocho años, de Inquisición llegan a mis manos las obras de Guillermo Pison, y las de Jacobo Bonti ynformado mejor de sus circunstancias.*⁵²

À semelhança de Piso, Montenegro dedicou-se a observar a natureza⁵³ – tanto do regime dos ventos e das águas, quanto dos hábitos dos índios e também dos animais –, o que se manifesta na descrição que faz das virtudes do «ceibo»:

[...] y ese remedio usa muchas veces al tigre para refrigerar el ardor de sus uñas embenenadas de gran calor y humedad el qual subiendo a el arana su cortesa profundamente hasta el mismo pala dejandola como zapato [ilegível], con lo qual se refresca y queda muy ligero para sus caserías y pescas [...].⁵⁴

⁵² IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 96 (grifos nossos).

⁵³ Empenhados em evitar as epidemias, os missionários procuravam instalar as reduções em áreas que garantiriam a saúde dos indígenas. No século XVIII, os missionários continuaram observando as Instruções definidas em 1610 pelo Provincial Diego de Torres Bollo, estabelecendo as reduções longe da umidade danosa dos pântanos, para que pudessem desfrutar de ar mais puro, fugir dos mosquitos, sapos e víboras e contar com boas águas para beber, lavar-se e banhar-se, erguendo-as próximos a bosques, seguindo a orientação sul, o que favorecia os ventos frescos tão necessários nesta terra de tantos calores.

⁵⁴ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 55.

Além das referências a autores clássicos da Medicina, como Galeno⁵⁵ e Avicena⁵⁶, Montenegro faz especial menção a Dioscórides⁵⁷, que escreveu a importante obra «*De Materia Medica*». Alguns de seus editores e comentadores do século XVI, como Pietro Mattioli⁵⁸ e Andrés Laguna, são igualmente citados por Montenegro. Isto parece explicar por que, ao escrever sobre as qualidades encontradas nas plantas, o irmão jesuíta tenha recorrido a explicações dadas por Dioscórides e Mattioli: «Quatro son las qualidades calor, humedad, frialdad e sequedad, en cada una de estas se cuentan quatro grados, y los simples de q.^c se trata en este libro tienen de estas qualidades y sus grados en ellas»⁵⁹.

Em relação aos procedimentos que deveriam ser adotados para o reconhecimento das qualidades de cada planta, ele complementa: «Las qualidades actuales de calor, humedad, frialdad o sequedad, se discernem, o conocen por el tacto, cujo principal instrumento es el cuerecito interior de los dedos siendo en medio de todos los excessos constituído»⁶⁰. Outro fator importante para a identificação das utilidades das plantas era o sabor – que teria relação direta com as qualidades acima referidas –, pressuposto, aliás,

⁵⁵ É evidente a admiração de Pedro de Montenegro por Galeno, apresentado como «filósofo y príncipe de la Medicina» e sua identificação com as concepções médicas galênicas. IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, Prólogo. A maioria dos Tratados deste período reflete claramente esta concepção hipocrático-galênica, mostrando a forte influência desta teoria ainda no século XVIII, como fica exposto nos *Principios de Cirugia* de Ayala: «Y assi para que hagan sanidad estos humores, han de tener cierta cantidad, y qualidad, y que esten bien templados». Geronimo de AYALA, *Principios de Cirugia utiles, y provechosos para que puedan aprovecharse los principiantes en esta facultad*, Valencia, Jayme de Bordazar editor, 1705, p. 6.

⁵⁶ Data do período da ocupação muçulmana da Península Ibérica, mais precisamente de 1440, a primeira tradução do árabe do Cânone da Medicina, de Ibn Sina, também conhecido como Avicena. Esta obra é uma síntese dos conhecimentos da Grécia Clássica, conjugando a Teoria dos Humores de Galeno com a Filosofia Natural, as Ciências Médicas e Naturais do período medieval. A obra tornou-se rapidamente o manual padrão das universidades europeias, apresentando de maneira sistemática o conjunto de conhecimentos médicos do mundo árabe. O *Cânone da Medicina* foi impresso pela primeira vez em 1527, tendo sido reeditado trinta e seis vezes, atestando sua ampla difusão e, consequentemente, a apropriação dos princípios, procedimentos e receituários nele contidos.

⁵⁷ O grego Dioscórides é considerado o fundador da Farmacognosia, através da sua obra *De Materia Medica*, considerada um clássico da Farmácia e da Botânica médica no século XVI. A obra está dividida em cinco livros, que descrevem cerca de 600 plantas, 35 fármacos de origem animal e 90 de origem mineral, dos quais cerca de 130 já apareciam no *Corpus hippocraticum*.

⁵⁸ Nascido em Siena, Mattioli (ou Mathiolo) estudou Medicina na Universidade de Pádua, tendo sido o médico de Ferdinando I e Maximiliano II. Foi autor de inúmeros tratados de medicina, com destaque para a obra *De morbi gallici curandi ratione*, tendo sido também o responsável pela tradução, em 1544, da obra *De materia*, de Dioscórides.

⁵⁹ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, Advertências Necessárias.

⁶⁰ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, Advertências Necessárias.

também observado e defendido por Geronimo de Ayala, e que pode ser observado na «Materia Medica Misionera»:

Conocen se también las virtudes potenciales de las medicinas o simples por los sabores, que [ilegível] el gusto los cuales por una mezcla delas cuatro cualidades primas son engendradas; de donde nacen que a los elementos puros, y simplísimos ningún sabor por no costar [sic] cada uno de ellos sino de dos cualidades.⁶¹

Segundo o irmão jesuíta, a maioria das plantas apresentava possibilidades de usos diversos, conforme a parte que fosse usada, como a flor, a folha, a casca ou a raiz, ou, então, diferenciava-se a partir do modo de seu preparo, sendo comuns as beberagens, os pós e as folhas para mastigar, entre outros. Entre as plantas de uso diversificado estava a «coniza mayor» que funcionava como uma espécie de pesticida, espantando pulgas, cobras e aranhas, além de ser aplicada como emplasto e ter função purgativa e abortiva:

Machacada e cosida con bino aplicadas alas mordeduras delas serpientes los socorre y cura las heridas con admiracion asside serpientes como de instrumentos o palos assi como el romero de sus flores ojas y cogollos una onsa cosidas en bino y dado a beber quatro onsas de su cosim.⁶⁰ acelera el parto y hace bajar el mestruo retenido; p.^a sanar el estilicidio dela orina, los torcijones del biente y la ytericia bebidas con binagre el polvo de las mismas cojas sanan la gota coral, su sumo metido en la boca dela matris purgala [...].⁶²

Apesar de descrever as qualidades de todas as plantas referidas no tratado, Montenegro apresenta também dúvidas quanto à adequação e à eficácia do uso de algumas, destacando as contradições existentes entre as opiniões de diferentes autores. Além de evidenciarem seu profundo conhecimento, estas observações parecem revelar uma postura crítica do jesuíta em relação a sua indiscriminada aplicação: «Son los clavos segun Pablo Cgineta odoriferos agudos, y con bastante amargor, calientes y secos en el tercero grad, pero segun la historia de Ethiopia escrita por el padre Manuelte en la cronica de Portugal, es seco en el cuarto grado»⁶³. O mesmo pode ser observado na referência que faz ao «incienso laurel»:

[...] no tengo esperiencia de ella por no haverla sacado, espoco mayor dela del ybabiyo ao rayan montano; esta es la que he podido rastrear de este arbol cierto muy medicinal y amigo dela naturaleza humana para que por aqui

⁶¹ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, Advertências Necessárias.

⁶² IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 136.

⁶³ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 6.

putan otros de mejor ingenio in con el tiempo aberiguando sus virtudes poco a poco por ser tan peligrosas las esperiencias delos simples.⁶⁴

Na «Materia Medica» de Montenegro são também recorrentes as descrições de experiências que ele próprio fazia com plantas, o que, de alguma forma, legitimava e autorizava suas recomendações⁶⁵, como fica demonstrado na descrição feita sobre o «asaro menor» e sua utilização na cicatrização de feridas:

[...] tengo las por calientes en el segundo grado y secos en el tercero aunq.e halla en la superficial y de sus ojas sierta qualidad fria o templada de suerte que al principio aplicadas alas ericipelas o llagas er(x)icipelatosas las delas piernas repelen en [ilegível] y en parte resuelben *como se puede ber por la esperiencia* en toda llaga de destemplansa caliente y en las canserosas con dicha destemplansa como *lo tengo experimentado, y aberiguado barias veces*.⁶⁶

Essa posição é assumida já no Prólogo da obra, no qual Montenegro afirma que a virtude de uma receita residia na sua aplicação conforme a observância de prescrições⁶⁷, pois

⁶⁴ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 27.

⁶⁵ Também na obra *Doctrina Moderna para los Sangradores*, de Ricardo Le Preux, de 1717, a observação e a experiência são exaltadas como procedimentos a serem adotados: «Si en este Tratado me he desviado en algo de las opiniones de los antiguos, no ha sido por falta de la veneración, que se debe a tan grandes varones, sino por no apartarme de la verdad. Con el tiempo se han descubierto muchas cosas, que los antiguos ignoraban, y no es de admirar, porque en las Ciencias, y en las Artes, *que consisten en observaciones, y experiencias, se pueden hacer cada día nuevos descubrimientos* [...]» Ricardo LE PREUX, *Doctrina Moderna para los sangradores, en la qual se trata de la flebotomia, y arteriotomia*, Madrid, Imprenta de Francisco de Yerro, 1717, p. 37 (grifos nossos).

⁶⁶ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 105 (grifos nossos).

⁶⁷ Os Tratados de Medicina dos séculos XVII e XVIII são compostos por «extenso receitaário, indicando os ingredientes e as quantidades das preparações». Foi em decorrência da publicação dos trabalhos de Paracelso que houve significativa mudança na preparação dos medicamentos, já que em «oposição às misturas complexas dos preparados galênicos», foram desenvolvidas «técnicas que visa[va]m obter princípios ativos puros». Os remédios passaram, então, a incluir «sais metálicos, principalmente de antinômio e de mercúrio, e substâncias obtidas por destilação de drogas vegetais. Por isso, os medicamentos eram repulsivos ao paladar e, conseqüentemente, certas porções de açúcar entravam na composição dos mesmos». Catarina Cunha LEAL, Manuela Almeida FERREIRA, «Cuidados de higiene e de saúde em uma comunidade monástica do século XVII: o caso do Mosteiro de Santa Clara-a-Velha de Coimbra», *Portugalia*, Nova Série, v. XXVII-XXVIII (2007), p. 90. O registro e a regulamentação da preparação de medicamentos deram origem à primeira Farmacopéia oficial – a *Matricense* –, publicada em 1739, que simplificou procedimentos e sistemas de anotação e unificou pesos e medidas, substituindo a *Palestra Farmacêutica* de Palacios que vinha sendo utilizada até então.

[...] *va para 18 años q.º estoi aberiguando sus qualidades segun su graduacion [...]* te puedo decir como cosa sierta que desde [ilegível] acuerdo tener uso de rason me siento inclinado [ilegível] de conocer y saver la virtud delas plantas y curar com elas a mi y a mis proximos, y *a ellas devo la vida por tres veses*, q.º de varias enfermedades y heridas mortales de necesidad; segun varios Autores afirman no ser curables [...].⁶⁸

As recomendações para que as receitas fossem seguidas à risca podem ser encontradas ao longo de todo o tratado, com as advertências de que qualquer mudança na composição das medidas⁶⁹ – ou então da parte utilizada da planta – tornaria a receita perigosa ou provocaria outras doenças, como nesta referência ao «Lino Selvaje» ou «*Mbocayi*»:

La raiz del Mbocayi echa cosim.⁷⁰ una onza de ella o media de sus cortesas en tres quartillos de agua y que [ilegível] ga hasta mermar, el uno tiene virtud especial contra las fiebres malignas tomando de su cosim.⁷⁰ en ayunas ocho onzas con dos de mieles de abejas o xarave de limon o sidra, y assi mismo es remedio alas fiebres putridas, y las mordeduras de vivoras y animalejos [...].⁷⁰

Ao descrever o modo de preparo de uma infusão de rosa mosqueta – eficiente para limpar o sangue, purgar a cólera e a melancolia –, Montenegro resalta que deveriam ser fervidas duas onças da flor em uma vasilha de prata – ou vidrada – e um quartilho de água, após o que deveriam ser misturados. As recomendações quanto ao uso de uma vasilha de prata e ao tempo de duração da fervura – o tempo de uma Ave Maria⁷¹ – são recorrentes em diversas fórmulas.

⁶⁸ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, Prólogo (grifos nossos).

⁶⁹ As receitas, vale lembrar, observavam as unidades de medida vigentes à época, tais como as onças (28,691 gramas), o quartilho (0,665 do litro) e a libra (459 gramas). Ver mais em Licurgo SANTOS FILHO, *História geral da medicina brasileira*, São Paulo, HUCITEC/EDUSP, 1991.

⁷⁰ IAP, *Materia Medica Misionera*, p. 198 (grifos nossos).

⁷¹ Também na *Doctrina Moderna para los Sangradores* – ao ensinar o que deve ser feito durante a aplicação de ventosas – Le Preux refere a utilização de uma medida de tempo baseada em orações: «la aplicarè al instante, apretandola medianamente, è igualmente contra la carne; de fuerte, que pegue bien, lo qual se conocerà, apagandose las candelillas, y levantandose la carne, que será muy breve tiempo, tardare en quitarla como cosa de un Credo, ò dos Ave-Marias, aviendo de sarjarse, para que no se quaxe la sangre». Ricardo LE PREUX, op. cit., p. 98. Sabe-se que «a aplicação de ventosas, aquecidas ao vácuo, para fazer afluir o sangue ao local das infecções [...] foi um tratamento que se prolongou até ao [sic] século XX». Catarina Cunha LEAL e Manuela Almeida FERREIRA, art. cit., p. 97.

O ambiente intelectual encontrado por Montenegro, ao instalar-se no colégio jesuítico de Córdoba⁷², deve ter, com certeza, exercido influência tanto sobre suas atividades como encarregado da botica, quanto sobre aquelas que, na condição de missionário, ele viria a desempenhar junto aos indígenas⁷³: a de «enfermero»⁷⁴, a de cirurgião e a de «autor de Botica». A menos documentada destas três atividades é, sem dúvida, a de «cirujano (*chirurgus*)»⁷⁵. Sabe-se que Montenegro participou dos conflitos decor-

⁷² Se, para alguns historiadores, Montenegro se dirigiu a Córdoba ainda em 1691, o historiador jesuíta Guillermo Furlong opta por não confirmar o ano de sua chegada ao colégio que a Companhia de Jesus mantinha na cidade: «El hermano Pedro Montenegro aparece en Córdoba, desde antes de 1695». Guillermo FURLONG, *Medicos argentinos durante la dominación hispánica*, Buenos Aires, Huarpes, 1947, p. 53.

⁷³ As informações que encontramos sobre o início da atuação de Montenegro como missionário junto às missões indígenas são controversas, já que, para alguns, isto se deu ainda em 1693, e não em 1702, como ele próprio relatou na *Materia Medica*: «y, una vez llegado a las misiones guaraníes, en el año 1693, continuó con sus investigaciones botánicas y las propiedades medicinales de las plantas. Ejerció la medicina en las Misiones, escribió la obra *Materia Medica misionera*, donde resumió sus conocimientos sobre las plantas de la región. Estuvo en Córdoba y Tucumán, adquirió la tuberculosis curando enfermos de pecho». Também para os historiadores espanhóis Carmen Martín Martín e José Luis Valverde, Montenegro dirigiu-se às missões da Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, «en 1693, donde actuó como enfermero y herborista aprovechando precisamente esta formación médica adquirida em Madrid em contacto com los enfermos del hospital». Carmen MARTÍN MARTÍN, José Luis VALVERDE, «Aportación de los naturalistas misioneros a la Botánica Farmacéutica», *Libro de Actas*, Congreso Internacional de Historia de la Farmacia, Granada, 1985, pp. 353-354. Já para Sabine Anagnostou (2011), Montenegro teria se dirigido a Córdoba (Argentina) em 1691, onde completou seu noviciado como irmão coadjutor da Companhia de Jesus na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai. Permaneceu no Colégio de Córdoba até 1701, tendo feito seus votos em 1703. O resto de sua vida – cerca de 25 anos – ele passou nas reduções do Paraguai, atuando como profissional da cura e, também, em Córdoba, Tucumán, Buenos Aires e Montevidéu.

⁷⁴ Montenegro pôde, efetivamente, exercer a função de enfermeiro, pois, junto ao Hospital Geral de Madrid «adquirió amplia práctica tanto médica como quirúrgica y en farmacopea hispánica». A esta «formación, empírica al parecer, pues no obtuvo nunca título de médico», somou-se «un verdadero talento de observación, [que] le permitió adquirir un sólido conocimiento de nuestra aún desconocida botánica médica». Fernando MAÑÉ GARZÓN, *Historia de la Ciencia en el Uruguay*. Del Descubrimiento al Fin de las Misiones Jesuíticas, Montevideo, Imprenta Tradinco S/A, 1996, p. 231. A atuação de irmãos jesuítas nesta função é confirmada por Pablo Pastells: «se señalaran enfermeros en cada pueblo y llevaran las medicinas ordinarias, como son: ventosas, lancetas, panos para hilar y vendar, sal, cuchillos para fogear, azufre, ajos, piedra de San Pablo, miel de abejas, 12 hamacas, por lo menos, para los enfermos». Pablo PASTELLS, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1912, Tomo I, p. 287.

⁷⁵ O irmão Montenegro «fue nombrado cirujano de los pueblos e San Borja, San Miguel de la Candelaria y del Ytapaú en 1705», segundo consta em documento publicado em Pablo PASTELLS, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la Provincia del Paraguay*, Madrid, Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1933, Tomo V, pp. 61-64.

rentes da disputa pela Colônia de Sacramento entre portugueses e espanhóis⁷⁶, e que

[...] en 1705 volvemos a tener noticias de él; esta vez en un certificado extendido por el capitán de coraceros Andrés Gómez de la Quintana, en ocasión del sitio de la Colonia del Sacramento, para cuya empresa los jesuitas armaron y condujeron un ejército de 4000 indios guaraníes, donde venía, 'como cirujano para curar heridos', junto con otros religiosos, el hermano Montenegro.⁷⁷

Além deste documento oficial⁷⁸, que refere a sua participação como cirurgião junto a uma milícia de soldados indígenas, algumas informações, apesar de mínimas, podem ser encontradas na «Materia Medica Misionera», de 1710. Sua atuação nos conflitos parece ter se limitado ao preparo de receitas e a sua administração, já que não há nesta obra qualquer descrição de procedimentos cirúrgicos ou menção a instrumentos utilizados para

⁷⁶ Portugal e Espanha entraram em conflito, por motivos que envolviam a sucessão ao trono espanhol, em 1704, o que veio a ter consequências nos conflitos entre as coroas ibéricas na região do Prata. Inicialmente, cogitou-se o envio de nove mil indígenas missionários para o ataque à Colônia, mas os Superiores das Missões do Uruguai e do Paraná não autorizaram sua liberação, temendo pela segurança das reduções. Acredita-se que tenham se deslocado em torno de quatro mil indígenas, provenientes de Corrientes, Córdoba e Tucumán.

⁷⁷ Francisco BAUZA, *Historia de la dominación española en el Uruguay*, Montevideo, Barreiro y Ramos, 1895, Tomo I, p. 551. Esta mesma informação pode ser encontrada na Notícia preliminar de Raúl Quintana à *Materia Medica Misionera*. Buenos Aires. Imprenta de la Biblioteca Nacional, 1945. Ver versão digital disponível na Biblioteca Virtual del Paraguay. Também o historiador jesuíta Charlevoix refere a participação: «O certificado expedido em 15 de junho de 1705, por Baltasar García Ros, destaca os serviços prestados pelos indígenas Diego Gaivipoy, Bonifacio Capi, Juan Mañani e Pedro Mbacapi», e «al lado de ellos [estavam] los hermanos Pedro de Montenegro, Joaquín de Zubeldía y Josef Brasaneli 'sus cirujanos'». Pierre François Xavier CHARLEVOIX, *Historia del Paraguay*, Madrid, Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, 1913, p. 377.

⁷⁸ ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN DEL URUGUAY [AGNU], *Archivo Administrativo* (1705-1750), Certificados. Caja 1, carpeta 1 bis, fls. 2 (Certificado de Andrés Gómez de la Quintana: sobre los servicios prestados por los indios de las reducciones en el desalojo de los portugueses de la colonia. 1705, noviembre 29).

esta finalidade⁷⁹, como se pode constatar nesta passagem em que Montenegro refere o sucesso de um preparado à base da raiz de orozu: «Esto tengo con más de cuatro hecho la experiencia, que atravezados el pecho de lanzas y balas⁸⁰, en las guerras que me hallé, que nadie pensaba que los tales pudiesen vivir 24 horas»⁸¹. Ou, então, nesta passagem, na qual refere que combateu as «camaras de contagio» – diarreas sanguinolentas causadas pelas «muchas lluvias; y poco abrigo, y no tener mas que carne, y aquella flaca»⁸² – que haviam atingido os soldados com «arrayán» e «arazá», plantas que nasciam em «abundancia sobre la Colonia de San Gabriel»⁸³.

Também nas reduções, Montenegro parece ter convivido com situações que requeriam mais do que os conhecimentos próprios de um enfermeiro ou boticário, como esta em que um indígena teve «una dislocación,

⁷⁹ Cabe ressaltar que consideramos como procedente a informação de que Pedro Montenegro seja o autor do *Libro de cirugía médica* trasladada de autores graves y doctores para el alivio de los enfermos, de 1725, um compêndio de cirurgia que Montenegro teria escrito e que, segundo alguns pesquisadores, se encontraria na Biblioteca do Convento Franciscano, em Catamarca, Argentina. O *Libro de Cirugía*, segundo Garzón Maceda, possui nove capítulos: «1 Capítulo: Dispensário Médico, conteniendo diferentes fórmulas magistrales de medicamentos, para ser administrados por via oral o em aplicaciones externas; 2 Capítulo: Anatomía del cuerpo humano; 3 Capítulo: El tratado de sangrar; 4 Capítulo: enfermedades de la cabeza; 5 Capítulo: Enfermedades del pecho; 6 Capítulo: Enfermedades de la cavidad abdominal; 7 Capítulo: Enfermedades de las Mujeres; 8 Capítulo: Tratado de las Fiebres; 9 Capítulo: Tratado sobre el pulso: orina y crisis. Algunos tratamientos quirúrgicos; medidas para curar el ‘morbo gálico’ y el Escorbuto. Se Cierra el Tratado de los Pronósticos con tablas que muestran la complexión y aspecto de los siete planetas y los doce signos celestes, entre los cuales está la luna y los días más convenientes para evacuar los humores, por medio de las sangrias o purgantes. [...] Es lo más completo que ha circulado y lo de mayor mérito que puede hallarse entre los códices médicos coloniales que han llegado hasta nosotros [...]». F. GARZÓN MACEDA, *La Medicina en Córdoba*. Apuntes para su historia, Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Rodrigues Giles, 1916, p. 19.

⁸⁰ Ferimentos como os registrados por Montenegro eram, de fato, inevitáveis, já que as tropas «venían muy bien armadas», sendo que os indígenas seguiram para o conflito «con diferentes bocas de fuego con sus frascos, y bolsas bien providos de pólvora y balas; y otros con lanzas, dardos, arcos con mucha cantidad de flechas, macanas y piedras, armas naturales suyas» Ver AGNU, *Certificado de Andrés Gómez de la Quintana*, Caja 1, carpeta 1 bis (fl. 2).

⁸¹ Pedro MONTENEGRO, *Matéria Médica Misionera*, Buenos Aires, Edición de la Biblioteca Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1945, p. 176.

⁸² Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 176. Como bem apontado por Schiaffino, «En las cuatro expediciones militares, donde invariablemente se agregarán los enfermeros, el aspecto higiénico y sanitario ocupaba un lugar importante». ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA NACIÓN DEL URUGUAY, *Archivo del Sr. R. Schiaffino*, Caja 245, carpeta 21 (Originales de su obra Historia de la Medicina en el Uruguay. Tomo II, cap. II, La Colonia de Sacramento).

⁸³ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 37. Montenegro se refere à pitanga e ao guabiju como *arrayán blanco* e *arrayán negro*, respectivamente. Ambas as plantas eram indicadas para o tratamento de distúrbios estomacais e intestinais, por suas propriedades antidiarréica e antiarréica. Também a espécie *Psidium L.*, denominada como *guayabas* ou *arazá* pelo irmão jesuíta, é indicada para os males do estômago e intestinos.

con grave contución del espinazo y rodilla de un Indio, que por recojer *guabirás* se cayó del arbol sobre piedras, quedando allí casi muerto»⁸⁴; no entanto, ele afirma ter recorrido a um bálsamo de «*yuquirípeí*», que «mitigó los dolores, y quitó la inflamacion en 24 horas»⁸⁵. Em outra passagem, Montenegro ressalta os benefícios da utilização «del unguento del *Guni-lemí*» – já referido por Andres Alcazar, médico e professor em Salamanca, autor de livros de cirurgia, com destaque para um em que aborda o tratamento de feridas na cabeça –, que «es admirable en las heridas penetrantes del pecho y ventre, porque saca las materias y sangre de lo interno por la herida y el ardor de la llaga al mismo tiempo», podendo ser também

⁸⁴ Vale ressaltar que na Europa, e mesmo na América, cabia aos cirurgiões-barbeiros, que não possuíam formação nas Academias, a realização de práticas cirúrgicas – que previam o tratamento de fraturas e amputações – e sangrias. De qualquer modo, o tratamento de fraturas ósseas na América portuguesa previa a indispensável manipulação e emprego de fármacos, aos quais se somavam emplastos, ataduras de panos, talas e muita aguardente para lavar as lesões e imobilizar o ferido. Recomenda-se ver mais em Jean Luiz ABREU, «A colônia enferma e a saúde dos povos: a medicina das “Luzes” e as informações sobre as enfermidades da América portuguesa», *História, Ciência, Saúde – Manguinhos*, v. 14, n. 3 (2007), pp. 761-778; Christian FAUSTO, Monique, Rafael Dias da Silva CAMPOS, «O cirurgião, o físico e as quebras: tratamento e cura de fraturas ósseas em dois manuais de medicina do século XVII», *Antíteses*, v. 6, n. 12 (2013), pp. 239-268; Junia FURTADO, «Barbeiros, cirurgiões e médicos na Minas colonial», *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, v. XL (2005), pp. 88-105. Considerando que os jesuítas enfermeiros contavam com «las medicinas ordinárias» nas boticas instaladas nas reduções, tais como «ventosas, lancetas, panos para hilar y vendar, sal, cuchillos para foguear, azufre, ajos, piedra de San Pablo, miel de abejas», é muito provável que acabassem desempenhando as funções próprias dos cirurgiões-barbeiros. No caso de Montenegro, consideramos plausível que tanto o conhecimento prévio na Espanha, quanto a experiência adquirida no cuidado de ferimentos como os resultantes de quedas ou de conflitos bélicos – e que caberiam a estes profissionais das artes de curar – tenham sido fundamentais para a concepção e a elaboração do *Libro de Cirugía*, cujo sumário pode ser consultado na obra de Garzón Maceda (1916).

⁸⁵ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 244. Também algumas reduções contaram com boticas que dispunham de «el azufre, el alumbre, el sal, el tabaco, la pimienta, la enjudicia de gallina, la graxa de tigre, buey y de carnero y pólvora. Fuera de estos simples tenían siempre prontos tres calabazas llenas de unguentos compuestas una de ellas con un verde hecho con sebo y veinte hierbas distintas y las cortezas de arboles famosas por sus virtudes medicinales». AGNU, *Archivo del Dr. R. Schiaffino*, Tomo II, cap. II (La Colonia de Sacramento). Caja 245, carpeta 21.

empregado nas «quebraduras de los huesos y graves contorciones oseas [...] como yo me he valido y me valgo de el»⁸⁶.

Como se pode constatar, para além do método e da observação rigorosa que caracterizavam a coleta, a catalogação e as experimentações com plantas medicinais realizadas pelo irmão jesuíta Montenegro, bem como as receitas que integram a «Materia Medica Misionera», parecem comprovar tanto a permanência de práticas curativas nativas e de procedimentos próprios da medicina acadêmica [hipocrático-galênica], quanto uma refinada convergência de saberes e de práticas científicas, resultante das experiências por ele realizadas na América⁸⁷.

Mais do que comprovar «sus aficciones desde niño y su estudio favorito – la virtud de las plantas para curarse con ellas y a sus projimos», o «ingenio» e a erudição do jovem galego formado no Hospital de Madrid, a obra nos revela um Montenegro pensador, que põe à prova os conhecimentos dos autores clássicos «por la experiencia» e que investe «el tiempo aberiguando poco a poco las virtudes [das plantas]», não limitando-se à compilação de virtudes, receitas e procedimentos terapêuticos divulgados nos tratados que ele tão bem conhece. Condição que, aliás, o levou a afirmar que as plantas que havia descrito não se encontravam «en ninguno de los herbarios escritores, ni tampoco en ninguna otra parte»⁸⁸.

Em outro momento, consciente das implicações das posições autorais que assumiu, o irmão jesuíta chegou a antever as críticas que seriam fei-

⁸⁶ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 237. Dentre as espécies nativas produtoras de óleos essenciais terapêuticos, que compunham os bálsamos empregados no tratamento de lesões externas indicados por Montenegro, estava a cupay (*Copaifera sp.*) ou copaíba. Na América portuguesa setecentista, os emplastos utilizados na regeneração de ossos fraturados eram feitos também primordialmente à base de copaíba, embaúba e terebintina. Já para doenças ósseas, causadas por fraturas, o físico Jean Vigier, autor de *Thesoro Apollíneo, Galenico, Chímico, Chirúgico, Pharmaceutico*, de 1714, recomendava que fossem administrados remédios de duas classes em caso de fóssea: os ácidos (espírito de sal, espírito de mel, óleo cáustico de antimônio, óleo de vitríolo) e os alcalinos poderosos (euforbio, óleo de papel, alcanfor sem ácidos e cáustico atual). Ver mais em Christian FAUSTO, Monique PALMA, Rafael Dias da Silva CAMPOS, art. cit., pp. 239-268.

⁸⁷ O inventário da botica do Colégio de Córdoba – iniciado em fevereiro de 1768, logo após a expulsão da Companhia de Jesus dos territórios de domínio espanhol e concluído somente em 1772 – parece confirmar esta afirmação, ao relacionar «vinos, unguentos, lameadores, aceites, esencias, espíritus, bálsamos, tinturas y elixires, sal volátil, emplastos, ‘confecciones’, preparaciones y polvos, píldoras, polvos cordiales, harinas, raíces, gomas, succos, flores y aguas». Ao lado de preparados à base de nitro-ácido e amoníaco, como os «vinos», e de águas, como a rosada, de melissa e de canela, encontravam-se os ‘polvos’ extraídos da ipecacuanha, planta medicinal americana. Carlos PAGE, Maria Cristina Vera de FLACHS, art. cit., p. 123.

⁸⁸ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., p. 264.

tas a «este pobre ignorante [que] quiera ir contra las reglas de un Dios Corides [sic], Mathiolo, y Laguna, y otros muchos q.^c en esta facultad han escrito»⁸⁹, recomendando que as receitas por ele indicadas fossem sempre administradas «en la forma que digo, y con las circunstancias que pide la medicina»⁹⁰.

A trajetória do irmão jesuíta Pedro Montenegro e o processo do qual resultou a escrita da «Materia Medica Misionera» parecem, efetivamente, comprovar a existência de uma «epistemologia práctica», aquela que se impôs nas zonas periféricas dos impérios ibéricos, e que se traduziu em «complejos procesos de redefinición del sujeto», resultantes das tensões próprias da experiência missioneira de «representantes del orden letrado en las fronteras»⁹¹.

Sessenta e um anos depois da «Materia Medica Misionera», o padre jesuíta José Sanchez Labrador, durante seu exílio em Ravena, daria início à escrita de uma obra – o *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* – que contemplará as virtudes de plantas medicinais nativas e os saberes e práticas curativas que havia observado ao longo dos anos em que atuou como missionário na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai. Também nesta obra, assim como na «Materia Medica Misionera», encontramos evidências tanto da circulação de saberes relativos às artes de curar entre os vários espaços de atuação da Companhia de Jesus, quanto da apropriação de saberes e práticas curativas nativas e, conseqüentemente, da inegável contribuição de vários grupos indígenas da América platina⁹². É sobre o *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* que tratamos na continuidade.

Da experiência com as artes de curar ao registro sobre plantas e insetos que curam: uma escrita desde o exílio

Assim, como muitos outros padres e irmãos jesuítas que o precederam nas terras de missão americanas, Sanchez Labrador não se dedicou, exclusivamente, à conversão dos indígenas, mas também ao estudo da fauna e da

⁸⁹ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., Modo de Recojer.

⁹⁰ Pedro MONTENEGRO, op. cit., Prefácio.

⁹¹ Ivonne DEL VALLE, *Escribiendo desde los márgenes*, Colonialismo y jesuítas en el siglo XVIII, México, Siglo XXI, 2009, p. 13.

⁹² De acordo com seus biógrafos, entre 1747 e 1757, o padre jesuíta atuou junto às reduções de «Yapeyu, Trinidad, Jesús, Loreto, San Ignacio Mini, San Ignacio Guazu, San Cosme y San Damián e San Lorenzo», convivendo, assim, com indígenas guaranis, zamucos, chiquitos, mbayás e guaicurus. A partir de 1757, passou a atuar em *Apóstoles* (Santos Apóstolos ou Apóstolos São Pedro e São Pablo), tendo como companheiros os padres Lorenzo Ovando e Segismundo Asperger, este último reconhecido por sua atuação como médico e boticário.

flora americana que observou nas diversas regiões da Província Jesuítica do Paraguai em que atuou como missionário.

A obra *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, escrita entre os anos de 1771 e 1776, conta com 100 ilustrações feitas pelo próprio autor e divide-se em quatro Partes. A primeira possui 558 páginas e divide-se em três Livros: Diversidade de terras e corpos terrestres; Água e várias coisas a ela pertencentes; e Ar, ventos, estações do ano, clima destes países e enfermidades mais comuns. A segunda Parte conta com 500 páginas e trata, especificamente, da Botânica. A terceira se divide nos seguintes livros: Animais quadrúpedes (166 páginas); Aves (127 páginas); e Peixes (128 páginas). A quarta e última Parte da obra, que possui 373 páginas, conta com os livros: Animais anfíbios; Animais répteis; e Insetos. Neste tópico, nos deteremos no último livro da Quarta Parte, destacando não apenas as mais variadas formas de utilização de insetos no tratamento de certas enfermidades, como também evidências de troca e de circulação de saberes e práticas curativas entre europeus e indígenas.

Dentre os insetos referidos no último livro do «*Paraguay Natural*» se encontram os escorpiões, *yapeuzu* em guarani, os quais, segundo Labrador, se amassados e colocados sobre a própria picada de seu ferrão, conseguiriam deter o progresso do veneno no corpo da vítima, levando à cura. Para confirmar esta indicação, Labrador se vale da opinião de outro jesuíta, o padre Athanasius Kircher⁹³, que afirmava que os escorpiões atraíam o seu próprio veneno através de uma virtude magnética. Ainda contra o veneno destes insetos, seria bastante eficiente o emprego de «Aceyte de Alacranes» – ou azeite de escorpiões –, produzido através da infusão de escorpiões em azeite de amêndoas, que deveria ser aplicado sobre a área picada⁹⁴. De acordo com o jesuíta, os indígenas, quando picados por escorpiões, ingeriam estes animais amassados misturados à bebida fermentada, enquanto outros preferiam colocar o azeite dentro da ferida. O escorpião,

⁹³ O padre jesuíta Athanasius KIRCHER (1601-1680) foi um eminente professor do Colégio de Roma, tendo atuado também como matemático, físico e astrônomo.

⁹⁴ A utilização destes insetos como um contraveneno, isto é, como um antídoto contra seu próprio veneno, constitui-se em evidência da aceitação e aplicação da medicina dos contrários por Sanchez Labrador. De uma maneira geral, os recursos terapêuticos apresentados nos tratados hipocráticos são as dietas, os medicamentos e a cirurgia. O tratamento, por sua vez, baseava-se na utilização de ações e medicamentos contrários (*to enantíon*, mais tarde *contraria contrariis curantur*), semelhantes (*tó hómoion*, mais tarde *similia similibus curantur*) e dissemelhantes (*tó anómoion*, a futura alopatia). A maior parte dessas concepções serviu como pano de fundo para a teoria humoralista, da teoria *contraria contrariis*, que defendia que os contrários se curavam entre si, razão pela qual os médicos que adotavam este princípio recebiam *medicinas frias* para as *enfermidades quentes* e *remédios secos* contra *enfermidades úmidas*. Ver mais em Pedro Laín ENTRALGO, *La medicina hipocrática*, Madrid, Alianza Universidad, 1982.

segundo ele, possuía também virtudes diuréticas, auxiliando no tratamento de pedras nos rins e na bexiga, devendo, nestes casos, ser queimado vivo e suas cinzas consumidas posteriormente. Para contornar este mesmo problema, era indicado o azeite de escorpiões, devendo-se untar a região da bexiga e dos rins, para, assim, amenizar as dores e ajudar o enfermo a expelir as pedras. O azeite podia, ainda, aliviar dores de ouvido, quando pingado nas orelhas.

Também os grilos possuíam uma grande quantidade de sal volátil e de óleo, sendo, por isso, também eficientes como diuréticos. Estes insetos deveriam ser colocados em um vaso de terra tapado, que deveria ser aquecido sob fogo baixo, para, logo após, serem reduzidos a um pó, que deveria ser dado ao paciente – na quantidade de doze grãos ou mais –, acompanhado de água de salsa. Outra forma de utilizá-los como medicamento, sem que fosse preciso tostá-los, previa que dois ou três desses insetos, após terem removidas suas asas, pernas e cabeças, fossem colocados em água de salsa ou alecrim. Estes insetos deveriam ser deixados em maceração nessa água até que ela se tornasse um licor praticamente branco como leite, que deveria ser coado em um pano e dado de beber para o enfermo. Os grilos também teriam uso externo, já que, após serem amassados e aplicados nos olhos, ajudavam a clarear a visão, sendo também eficientes na cura de parótides e outros tumores do mesmo gênero.

Sanchez Labrador registrou duas formas de preparo de grilos por indígenas. Uma delas consistia em cozinhar alguns grilos, retirar suas tripas e moer o restante de seus corpos até tornarem-se pó, ao qual era acrescentado um «licor conveniente» dado aos doentes que padeciam de problemas dos rins ou bexiga, com grandes resultados. A outra recomendava que, nos casos de urina contida, o doente recebesse o preparado resultante da seguinte receita: dois grilos deveriam ser tostados em uma caçarola de barro, moídos e misturados em um pouco de vinho, água bem cozida ou chicha de milho. Mas, se o paciente sofresse de incontinência urinária, deveria receber um só grilo, amassado e não tostado, misturado com um pouco de água morna. Eles poderiam ser também colocados em um palito e tostados no fogo, como nesta indicação: «y ya tostados muelelos en un poco de vino caliente: este vino mezclado con los Polvos de [Luiyis], *darás ao Indio, o India, que padeciére la retención de orina, y esta poco a poco fluirá*»⁹⁵.

⁹⁵ ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO DE LA COMPAÑÍA DE JESÚS [ARSI], *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*. Noticias del país, con la explicación de phenomenos phisicos generales y particulares: usos útiles, que de sus producciones pueden hacer varias artes. (Versão manuscrita de 1771, do padre jesuíta José Sanchez Labrador), p. 366 (grifos nossos).

Assim como os grilos, os piolhos continham sal volátil e óleo, sendo indicados nos casos de icterícia e febres, recomendando-se que fossem engolidos de cinco a seis deles, no princípio do paroxismo. Concordando com o proposto pelo químico francês Nicolás Lemery⁹⁶, Labrador resalta que o paciente que demonstrasse aversão e apresentasse náuseas ao engolir os piolhos, estaria, na verdade, expelindo a febre e não o remédio em si. Para curar a icterícia, as orientações eram as seguintes: alguns destes insetos deveriam ser consumidos pela manhã – em jejum – em um ovo passado pela água, repetindo-se três vezes este procedimento por três dias consecutivos, interrompendo-se por alguns dias para, depois, repetir o procedimento. O uso externo dos piolhos, segundo Sanchez Labrador, era frequente em crianças que sofriam de retenção urinária, recomendando-se que o inseto fosse colocado vivo sobre alguma parte do corpo do enfermo.

Em relação a este último Livro da quarta Parte do *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* chamou-nos a atenção o fato de que praticamente todos os insetos citados por Sanchez Labrador apresentam propriedades diuréticas, auxiliando, ainda, no tratamento de pedras nos rins e na bexiga. Esta constatação, que precisa ser estudada mais detidamente, parece apontar para a alta incidência destas enfermidades entre os grupos indígenas contatados ou observados pelo missionário jesuíta, e que podem estar relacionadas com mudanças nos hábitos alimentares, mais especificamente, da introdução do consumo de sal ou de açúcar, após a intensificação do contato com os europeus⁹⁷.

Percebe-se, ainda, que Sanchez Labrador fundamenta o emprego terapêutico destes insetos a partir de pressupostos da teoria humoralista, na medida em que levam o enfermo a expelir os excessos dos humores em desequilíbrio. A apropriação da teoria hipocrático-galênica pode ser cons-

⁹⁶ O químico francês Nicolas Lemery nasceu em Rouen, em 1645, e morreu em Paris, no ano de 1715. Era membro da Academia de Ciências e sua obra mais famosa foi *Curso de Química* (1675). Sánchez Labrador, no entanto, refere outras obras suas, tais como *Farmacopea Universal* (1697), *Tratado Universal das drogas simples* (1698), *Tratado do Antimônio* (1707) e *Nova Recopilação de segredos e curiosidades mais raras* (1709).

⁹⁷ Dietas ricas em proteína, sódio (sal) ou açúcar podem levar à formação de cálculos renais, que são formações endurecidas nos rins ou nas vias urinárias, resultantes do acúmulo de cristais existentes na urina. No caso das dietas com presença elevada de sal, elas aumentam a quantidade de cálcio que os rins deverão filtrar, o que consequentemente leva a um risco maior. Também o baixo consumo de líquidos ou doenças do trato digestivo, como inflamação gastrointestinal e diarreia crônica, podem causar mudanças no processo de digestão, afetando diretamente a absorção de cálcio e água e aumentando as chances de formação de pedras nos rins e/ou bexiga. Outra causa para a formação de cálculos renais é o excesso ou, então, a falta de citrato, substância presente, principalmente, nas frutas cítricas; falamos então de híper e hipocitratúria, respectivamente.

tatada em várias passagens, como na referência que o jesuíta faz à náusea provocada pela ingestão de piolhos, que consistiria, segundo ele, justamente, na maneira de o corpo eliminar a febre.

Ao longo das mais de trezentas e setenta páginas deste livro, Sanchez Labrador evidencia não apenas a apropriação dos saberes e das práticas curativas nativas, mas também a legitimação ou a refutação dos pressupostos de vários autores europeus, aos quais ele recorre para fundamentar suas afirmações e descrições das indicações terapêuticas e modos de preparo dos insetos. Dentre os referidos pelo padre jesuíta, destacam-se Robert James (1703-1773), Nicolás Lemery (1645-1715), Esteban Geoffroy (1672-1731), Jacques-Cristophe de Bomare (1731-1807), Marcial (38/40 d.C.-?), Dioscórides (40 d.C.-90 d.C.), Padre Athanasius Kircher SJ. (1601-1680), Martin Lister (1638-1712), Johann Schröder (1600-1664) e Cláudio Galeno (129-199/217 d.C.).

A referência a Galeno pode ser encontrada na passagem em que menciona a utilização de «agua destilada de Moscas [...] contra los males de los ojos; para servirse de ella la mezclan con una yema de huebo, y forman emplasto. Galeno aprueba este remedio»⁹⁸. Ao tratar das propriedades terapêuticas do mel das abelhas, Labrador deixa bastante evidente as leituras que realizou e os autores nos quais se baseava: «Otras virtudes excelentes dela Miel podrán leerse en las Pharmacopeas Matritense, de Lemery, Palacios, James»⁹⁹. Mas, ao referir-se à cera de abelha, o jesuíta deixa evidente sua discordância em relação ao já afirmado por Lemery que:

[...] juzga, que no hay mas cera virgen, que la que en las colmenas se llama propolis, y en Guarani *Eyborá*; que es una especie de Matice dorado, o rubicundo, el qual contiene mucho oleo, y poca sal volátil acida. Es error este de Lemery, y solo impropriamente puede la Propolis llamarse Cera Virgen.¹⁰⁰

Em outra passagem, que trata especificamente das sanguessugas, o jesuíta ressalta as acertadas recomendações feitas pelo químico francês:

Para aplicar las sanguijuelas son necessarias algunas precauciones, que podran verse en el Diccionario de Drogas Simples de Lemery. Este Auctor enseña, que si por casualidad, bebiendo agua, se trago alguna sanguijuela, luego o se beba agua salada en abundancia, porque con ella desiste este

⁹⁸ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 368.

⁹⁹ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 362.

¹⁰⁰ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 362.

insecto de atormentar; y que después se purgue con Mercurio dulce, u otra composición Mercurial.¹⁰¹

O diálogo que Labrador mantinha com as concepções e obras de outros homens de ciência da Companhia de Jesus fica atestado em uma passagem na qual faz referência aos escorpiões, mencionando que «Cree el P. Kircher que los Alacranes atraen el veneno por cierta virtud magnética; pero Hofmann /in Medic. Rat. Syst. tom. P. 2. Cap. 2. §. 27. lo tiene por fabula, que atraiga por magnetismo»¹⁰².

Para abordar as propriedades terapêuticas de aranhas e de suas teias, Sanchez Labrador recorre aos trabalhos tanto de Martin Lister, quanto de Robert James, como se pode constatar nas passagens que destacamos. Em relação ao primeiro autor, o jesuíta afirma que em seu «/Tractat. De Araneis/ [Lister] las atribuye muchas facultades medicinales; pero se desean buenas pruebas, fundadas en experiencias»¹⁰³. Na referência que faz ao segundo, Labrador recorre a James não apenas para legitimar as virtudes e o mais adequado procedimento terapêutico, como para reforçar sua eficácia a partir de experiências bem sucedidas e de registros que a comprovam:

James escribe que se ha de tomar una vez una hora antes que venga el paroxismo; y otra vez quando ya esta próximo a venir. Dice, que le informaron, que los indianos en la Carolina Septentrional, tiene grande confianza en este remedio para el dicho mal, a que están muy expuestos. Añade, que un amigo suyo, que había estado muchos anos en aquellas tierras, le asseguro, que el mismo había sanado de aquel mal con la tela de Araña. Concluye James, y de hecho, la experiencia misma confirma la eficacia de este remedio para sanar las calenturas, que vienen con frío.¹⁰⁴

Este recurso narrativo de legitimação pode ser também observado em outras duas situações, nas quais, ao referir-se à cochonilha, o jesuíta respalda suas descrições em autores como Geoffroy, Schröder e Lemery:

Geoffroy dice, que se usa la cochonilla para todos aquellos fines, a los quales sirve el Chermes. [...] En los Pasmos delas Quixadas, en que estas se aprietan de modo que se cierra fuertemente la boca, son excelentissimo, y prompto remedio, cogese un pedacito de Grana, (que es la substancia de los Gusanos) como una Almendra; desliese en vino; abrese la boca del enfermo con algún palito, y se le hecha en ella la dicha infusión algo tibia con una

¹⁰¹ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 369.

¹⁰² ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 363.

¹⁰³ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 363.

¹⁰⁴ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 363.

cuchara: luego se le desetan los nervios, y habla. Practique este remedio en una ocasión, que llamado a confessar una enferma en la ciudad de Buenos Ayres, la encontré con el referido Pasma. Pudo por este medio confessarse a satisfacción. De otras virtudes dela Grana, vease Schroder en el Libr. citad. Geoffroy. Lemery.¹⁰⁵

Schröder será novamente mencionado na descrição que Labrador faz das virtudes medicinais dos besouros: «Dice Schroder, que el aceyte hecho de la infusión de estos insectos, puesto en el oído, o instilado en la oreja, quita los dolores de los oídos, y la sordera»¹⁰⁶. Mas esta não será a única forma de preparo dos «escarabajos», uma vez que Labrador irá destacar também «El modo mejor de hacerlos polvo, segun Hartmannes, es [...] meter algunos escarabajos en un vaso de tierra; taparle bien, y ponerle al sol a secar; después moerlos»¹⁰⁷.

Referindo-se à utilização terapêutica de piolhos, Labrador descreve e, ao mesmo tempo, desacredita uma das práticas adotadas, afirmando que: «En quanto a el uso externo, sirven para los Niños [os indios], que padecen supressión de orina: suelen poner vivo un Piojo en el Cañoncito, que con la titilación se ensancha, y da lugar a que la orina salga. Schroder no aprueba esto»¹⁰⁸. Por outro lado, ressalta a eficácia de outra forma de utilizá-los, sobretudo, por assegurar, em uma perspectiva humoralista, a retomada do equilíbrio:

Densele al enfermo al principio del paroxismo cinco, o seis, y que los trague, o mas o menos, según se juzgare conveniente. Nota muy bien Lemery, que por ventura al asco, y nausea, que siente el paciente al tomarlos, conduce para expeler la calentura mas, que el mismo remedio.¹⁰⁹

Por sua condição de autor erudito, o jesuíta Sanchez Labrador produziu uma obra em que fica, portanto, evidente a «necessidade de um comentário autorizado da parte de quem é suficientemente «sábio» ou «profundo»¹¹⁰. Entretanto, o que chama a atenção, especificamente, neste livro do «*Paraguay Natural*», não são as recorrentes remissões e evocações aos conhecimentos de autoridades reconhecidas, mas as menções que Labrador faz às contribuições de outros sujeitos, no caso, os indígenas, a quem

¹⁰⁵ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 365.

¹⁰⁶ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 366.

¹⁰⁷ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 366.

¹⁰⁸ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 368.

¹⁰⁹ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 368.

¹¹⁰ Michel de CERTEAU, *A escrita da história*, Rio de Janeiro, Forense Universitária, 1982, p. 82.

denomina de «inteligentes» e «sábios» em algumas situações. Em uma das descrições sobre a utilização terapêutica de grilos (*quiyu*, em guarani), encontramos menção aos indígenas que Labrador denomina de «inteligentes», os quais atuavam como curandeiros:

En el Paraguay un inteligente los preparaba, como ya digo. Cocía levemente unos Grillos, les sacaba las tripas, molía lo demás; y estos polvos daba en licor conveniente a los que padecían dela orina: fluía esta, y quedaba aliviado el paciente. Otro tostaba dos Grillos en una cazuela de barro, los molia; y en un poco de vino, o de agua bien cocida, o de Chicha (Aloxa) de Maiz los daba a beber al enfermo, que padecia dela retención de la orina; obraba luego el buen efecto. Por el contrario si la enfermedad era de demasiado flujo de orina, le daba al enfermo un solo Grillo sin tostar, machacado, y en infusión de un poco de agua tibia.¹¹¹

Em outra ocasião, ele afirma que presenciou dois «inteligentes» e «sábios» indígenas preparando grilos, com o propósito de curar um índio que se encontrava enfermo, e que o procedimento teve resultados positivos. Essa prática de nomeação ou de adjetivação da conduta de certos indígenas traz consigo certa distinção, na medida em que Labrador, apesar de não percebê-los como iguais [em termos de conhecimentos] aos cientistas europeus, acaba diferenciando estes «inteligentes» e «sábios» dos demais indígenas. Como bem observado por François Hartog, a nomeação do outro faz parte do processo da retórica da alteridade e envolve, principalmente, a classificação deste outro, que seria essencial, pois «classificando o outro, classifico-me a mim mesmo e tudo se passa como se a tradução se fizesse sempre na esfera da versão»¹¹².

É importante lembrar que as observações que Labrador fez do emprego de insetos na cura de certas enfermidades decorrem das experiências que vivenciou como missionário na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai. Esta especial condição – de religioso com a missão de evangelizar e civilizar os indígenas – se manifestará, sem dúvida, nas apreciações que fará das práticas curativas indígenas. Neste sentido, vale ressaltar que:

La separación que realizaba el jesuita entre indígenas “más racionales” y “menos racionales” se basaba en el uso de especies vegetales como medicamentos, porque para él la medida de la lógica se daba en relación con el acercamiento al mundo natural, utilizando y aprovechando sus ventajas, a la

¹¹¹ ARSI, *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado*, p. 366.

¹¹² François HARTOG, *O espelho de Heródoto: ensaio sobre a representação do outro*, Belo Horizonte, Ed. UFMG, 1999, p. 259.

vez que se despreciaba lo sobrenatural (el shamanismo, la magia en suma), prueba clara de irracionalidad.¹¹³

No «*Paraguay Natural*», Sanchez Labrador parece estar em sintonia com os avanços no estudo dos invertebrados – particularmente dos insetos – observados no século XVIII, uma vez que não contenta-se em referi-los como «bichos venenosos» ou como organismos «imperfeitos» e, por isso, não dignos de atenção. Opondo-se a esta forma tão negativa de perceber os insetos, aponta para as virtudes terapêuticas de alguns deles e para seu largo uso pelos indígenas americanos. Em razão disso, o Livro sobre os «pequeños vivientes» – como a eles se referia Sanchez Labrador – não se caracteriza por descrições fantasiosas ou crenças arraigadas, oferecendo pelo contrário evidências do estreito convívio do jesuíta com os indígenas junto aos quais atuou como missionário.

O padre jesuíta apresenta suas virtudes e indicações, tencionando sua adequação ao sistema europeu e à teoria humoralista hipocrático-galênica, em consonância com sua condição de europeu e de religioso, e não desconsiderando os saberes próprios dos grupos indígenas com os quais conviveu. Neste sentido, é importante ressaltar a posição privilegiada ocupada pelos jesuítas missionários na produção e divulgação do conhecimento científico e etnográfico americano, pois, como bem observado por alguns estudiosos, eles cumpriram «una importante función en la búsqueda de información», pois se encontravam fisicamente na América, «conviviendo con los indígenas y en un medio ambiente lleno de objetos naturales ‘novedosos’ y por lo tanto esperando su catalogación»¹¹⁴.

Nesta perspectiva, é correto afirmar que os registros que Labrador fez dos saberes e das práticas curativas indígenas – que se caracterizavam pelo emprego de plantas e de insetos – levaram em conta, tanto as obras que consultou na biblioteca do Colégio de Valladolid e, posteriormente, na do Colégio de Córdoba, quanto o diálogo que estabeleceu com outros homens de ciência – durante seu exílio em Ravena, na Itália, período durante o qual dedicou-se à sistematização das informações levantadas na América e à escrita do «*Paraguay Católico*» e do «*Paraguay Natural*».

Por outro lado, Sanchez Labrador estabeleceu contínuas relações e comparações entre as práticas curativas indígenas e europeias, fundamentando suas observações no conhecimento divulgado por autoridades em

¹¹³ Maria Sílvia DI LISIA, op. cit., p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Ivone DEL VALLE, op. cit., p. 52.

Medicina e Farmácia. Em algumas situações, contudo, ele contestou certas concepções europeias, contrapondo-as às observações e experiências que realizou durante o período de sua atuação como missionário junto aos indígenas da região platina. Sua narrativa parece, portanto, sobrepor e mesclar as experiências que vivenciou na América àquelas próprias de seu período de formação na Europa e, ainda, às que viverá durante o exílio na Itália. A obra *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* constitui-se, por isso, em valiosa contribuição tanto para a compreensão dos efeitos das experiências nas terras de missão americanas sobre as concepções [relativas à Medicina] dos missionários da Companhia de Jesus, quanto para a reconstituição dos saberes e práticas curativas dos grupos indígenas americanos.

Considerações finais

Não é incomum que os pesquisadores sobre temáticas circunscritas à História Colonial se deparem com relatos produzidos por missionários ou funcionários reais, nos quais, mais do que descrições minuciosas dos mais variados aspectos da vida indígena, encontram-se evidências de sua intenção de compreender por que os nativos agiam de maneira tão distinta da europeia. Da adoção deste procedimento, resultou uma grande quantidade de informações que nos possibilitam reconstituir as mais variadas expressões dos grupos indígenas tanto da América portuguesa, quanto da espanhola.

Considerando as condições em que se deu o avanço colonial sobre as terras americanas, a personalidade – os talentos – de cada missionário e o isolamento a que muitos deles estiveram sujeitos, é de se esperar que muitos destes registros – quer sob a forma de cartas, diários e crônicas, quer sob a forma de obras como as *Matérias Médicas* e as *Histórias Naturais* – tenham sofrido importantes influências dos saberes indígenas. Influências que se expressam tanto nas ratificações ou retificações às compilações botânicas e zoológicas já consagradas, quanto nos questionamentos acerca das expressões de religiosidade e de humanidade dos indígenas. Ao formularem tais questionamentos e, especialmente, ao registrarem as mais variadas práticas ligadas à vida individual e coletiva indígena, estes missionários não apenas desencadearam uma vasta circulação de conhecimentos sobre as populações nativas americanas, como propiciaram também a difusão dos saberes e fazeres indígenas, especialmente, daqueles relacionados às plantas medicinais nativas.

Uma parte considerável da produção historiográfica que se detém na documentação produzida pelos missionários da Companhia de Jesus considera que ela «enuncia, por princípio, uma versão a partir da visão jesuítica», impedindo qualquer «possibilidade de se fazer outra leitura»¹¹⁵. Esta percepção pode ser observada em trabalhos que, além de difundirem visões estereotipadas, têm se limitado «a repetir e comentar as descrições dos cronistas da época»¹¹⁶, negligenciando a discussão em torno do seu «grau de criatividade» e agentividade dos indígenas¹¹⁷.

Dentre, especificamente, os autores que refletiram sobre as razões do êxito da experiência reducional na Província Jesuítica do Paraguai, muitos o apresentam como única e exclusivamente decorrente do esforço dos missionários, devido à «notória mentalidade infantil dos indígenas» e ao fato de que eles «tão pouco eram talentos criativos»¹¹⁸. Neste artigo, contudo, nos propusemos a apontar para a possibilidade de extrairmos o protagonismo indígena da documentação jesuítica, para, assim, compreendê-los como sujeitos ativos e restituir-lhes a importância devida na conformação dos saberes difundidos na América e na Europa, em especial, daqueles relacionados com a Botânica Médica.

Mais do que saberes negados ou compartilhados, as *Ânuas*, a «Materia Medica Misionera» e o *Paraguay Natural Ilustrado* apontam para a conformação de uma «escritura liminal», que ocupa «un lugar intermedio entre el orden letrado y las fronteras»¹¹⁹. Nelas, ficam evidenciados não apenas os complexos processos de redefinição de concepções e de papéis a serem desempenhados pelos missionários – sujeitos perpassados pelas tensões próprias das experiências vividas nas terras de missão –, como também os papéis que cabiam, originalmente, aos indígenas e aqueles que viriam – com destacado protagonismo – a desempenhar efetivamente.

¹¹⁵ Maria Leônia Chaves de RESENDE, Jesuítas: os mestres do Ñeengatú. *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, PUCRS, v. XXV, n. 1, 1999, pp. 244-245.

¹¹⁶ Bartolomeu MELIÀ e Liane Maria NAGEL, *Guaraníes y jesuitas en tiempo de las Misiones: una bibliografía didáctica*, Santo Ângelo, RS, URI, Centro de Cultura Misioneira, Asunción, CEPAG, 1995, p.107.

¹¹⁷ Bartolomeu MELIÀ; Liane Maria NAGEL, op. cit., p. 197.

¹¹⁸ Odilon JAEGER, A liturgia nas reduções dos guaranis. *Perspectiva Teológica*, Ano II, n. 3, 1970, pp. 203-205.

¹¹⁹ Ivonne DEL VALLE, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

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American Spanish Colonial Confession Manuals and their impact on Amerindian populations

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Resumo

Desde o final do século XVII até ao século XIX, missionários jesuítas e franciscanos estabeleceram missões para populações ameríndias no norte do México, no Novo México, no Texas e na Baixa e Alta Califórnia. A instrução e a formação econômica, cívica e religiosa dependeram, sobretudo, de intérpretes nativos, mas as exigências da vida religiosa tornaram problemáticas a interpretação linguística e a tradução. Para resolver esses problemas, os missionários prepararam manuais de confissão em algumas línguas indígenas. Estes manuais reforçam a preocupação dos missionários com certos mandamentos da igreja, particularmente aqueles associados às práticas sexuais dos indígenas e ao xamanismo, consideradas como pecaminosas e desviantes. Este artigo serve-se de diversos manuais de confissão, conservados em arquivo, para analisar as implicações socioculturais das questões confessionais para as vidas das populações ameríndias durante o período da missão, bem como as suas consequências para as gerações futuras. O artigo também trata a ambivalência das atitudes dos missionários no trabalho de conversão, à medida que se confrontam com as culturas indígenas.

Palavras-chave: América do Norte, populações indígenas, missões, conversão, sacramentos.

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Abstract

From the late 17th through the 19th centuries Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries established missions for Amerindian populations in Northern Mexico, New Mexico, Texas and in Baja and Alta California. Economic, civic and religious instruction and training relied mostly on indigenous interpreters, but the requirements of sacramental life made linguistic interpretation and translation problematic. To address these problems missionaries prepared confessional manuals in some indigenous languages. These manuals emphasize the missionaries' preoccupation with certain church commandments, particularly those associated with indigenous sexual and shamanistic practices, and marked such practices as sinful and deviant. This paper uses several archival confessional manuals to discuss the socio-cultural implications of the confessional questions for Amerindian practices during the mission period as well as their consequences for future generations. The paper also explores the ambivalent attitudes of missionaries toward conversion work as they encountered indigenous cultures.

Keywords: North America, indigenous populations, missions, conversion, sacraments.

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A Background Sketch

Spain's conquest of the Americas relied on two institutions, the Catholic mission and the military presidio. Establishment of missions and presidios accompanied the Spanish colonial move northward from Mexico City since the mid-sixteenth century, though missionary efforts often preceded Spanish settlements. Within the northern frontiers of New Spain, a territory that encompassed modern Northern Mexico, Texas, New Mexico and the Californias, the presidio protected Spanish settlements and missions from Native American¹ groups of hunters and gatherers or agriculturists whose territories the colonists invaded, or usurped. The Catholic mission's role was to Christianize the native populations and make them productive subjects of the Crown of Spain. These processes, often subsumed under the notion of *reducción*, implied teaching the natives the catechism, prepare them to receive the sacraments, teach them the rudiments of the Spanish language, and make them farmers and ranchers.

Missions were to be economically self-sufficient, and aside from crop raising, animal husbandry and fishing, the native residents were taught a variety of crafts, from construction techniques and water management (*acequías* or irrigation ditches), to weaving, leather working and blacksmithing. With few exceptions, the native populations were responsible for all the economic activities associated with the running of the missions and the missionaries had to have the knowledge to teach the natives the necessary skills, or find someone who could do so. A guidebook a Franciscan friar prepared in 1787,² after most of the Texas missions had been either closed or secularized [1689-1773], makes clear the complexity of the job and the tight schedule missionaries had to follow to make sure the mission could provide for its residents and keep a surplus for trade with the presidio and the settlers. The instructional guidebook also implies that a native population of about 200 to 250 people was needed to perform the

¹ Native Americans and Amerindians are used interchangeably in this paper.

² BENOIST and FLORES 1994.

various tasks and make the mission economically viable. This is born out by the normal native population present at the missions, and also means that when the mission resident population dropped below certain thresholds, friars and soldiers traveled to the hinterland (*tierra adentro*) to round up a new group of Amerindians, whether or not they wished to join the mission.

During the Spanish Colonial period, several religious orders were involved in the Christianization of Amerindians in the New World. Jesuits and Franciscans worked in Alta and Baja California, in Northern Mexico and in New Mexico at different times. In Texas, only Franciscans friars operated. The basic tenets of Christianity were obviously the same for both religious orders, but their approaches to the Christianization of native populations were different. These differences reflected the institutional background and foundational principles of the orders,³ as well as the period when the orders were established and the people they attracted.⁴

Missions and cultural change

Missionaries were charged with changing the Native Americans' culture, from their language and beliefs to what they ate and how they dressed. Most of the missions established for Amerindians in Northern Mexico, Texas and the Californias were set up for peoples who made a living by hunting game and gathering wild plants, fruits and nuts. In general, these groups lived in temporary settlements; constructed dwellings of small tree limbs covered with grass or animal pelts, wore no clothing except for a loincloth and in cold weather an animal pelt cape, and used sandals made of vegetable fibers. Ethnic groups were very numerous, spoke different languages or dialects of a language family, identified themselves by specific names, were organized in kin related extended families, and each group had generally between twenty and one hundred members. From archaeology and from European archival records, we know little about their original territories and even less about their beliefs.⁵

In the missions created for hunter-gatherer Amerindians, they had to work to ensure the economic sustainability of the mission and learn the crafts needed to build and maintain the mission structures as well as the complex network of crafts needed to sustain the mission population.

³ POLZER 1976.

⁴ WADE 2008, 33-47.

⁵ WADE 2003, 56-57.

These missions were constructed as walled, gated, compounds in which Amerindians were kept, and if they left without the friar's permission they were considered fugitives and generally pursued, captured, and forced to return to the mission. Commonly, the mission compound included the church, the friar's convent, the soldiers and the Amerindians' houses, granaries, craft shops, storehouses, wells, ovens, stables and animal sheds (Fig 1). In most cases, the mission's agricultural fields and cattle ranches were located at considerable distances from the mission compound. Natives, mostly males, farmed the fields and traveled to the mission ranches to tend to the cattle. Adult women and girls remained in the mission compound. They ground the corn, cooked, washed clothing, cleaned, sewed, and were employed in several tasks such as weaving and candle making. At best, there were two friars and two soldiers at each mission, which means that the indigenous population performed all the labor. The native mission population, willingly or not, sustained the mission as a concept, an institution, a set of buildings, and as a religious-economic enterprise.⁶

Missions established for indigenous agriculturists, such as those in East Texas and in New Mexico, were created for large tribes and the mission church and the friars dwellings were inserted *into* the Native American settlements that had existed for millennia and were fully functioning and self-sufficient. Natives lived in their own houses and maintained the same extended family social arrangements and activities as before the mission church was built. Natives worked their own land, grew crops, made exquisite pottery and had a rich ceremonial life anchored on native beliefs. These were agricultural autonomous villages with organized civic and spiritual leadership. Under such logistic arrangements, the friars could not compel the local natives to attend Catholic ceremonies, learn the catechism or take the sacraments. More important, the friars and the soldiers depended on the local natives for food, shelter, clothing, often for protection and generally for just about everything else. Nevertheless, while the Franciscan missions in East Texas were doomed to failure almost from the beginning and were eventually removed or closed, most New Mexico missions continued to the present day and are important parish communities.⁷

Notwithstanding how today one understands the resiliency and revival of Amerindian cultures and beliefs, the fact is that the changes brought about by the colonial period were radical. At the end of the mission period,

⁶ WADE 2008, 121-130.

⁷ WADE 2008, 107-112.

the majority of Native Americans relied on farming for their subsistence, wore Western clothing, spoke Spanish and practiced the Catholic religion. Indeed, most of them today are Catholic, or identify with Christianity. Even when Amerindian tribes rightfully decry the results of colonialism on their culture, they acknowledge and rely on the baptism, marriage and burial archival records the missionaries kept which are crucial to identify individuals and establish personal genealogies and membership in a group or tribe. For instance, without this type of documentation, United States Federal Recognition of a tribe or community is very difficult.⁸

Missionaries and the work of conversion

At sunrise the church bells tolled calling the mission residents to Mass. Everyone was required to attend and failure to do so resulted in physical punishment, such as lashes. Recitation of portions of the catechism followed Mass. Afterward all natives tended to their assigned chores. Most males twelve years or older worked in the farms or took care of the herds of cattle and horses. The youngest boys slept and lived in the friary and received special instruction in the Spanish language and in catechism. Young and older females remained in the mission compound and worked at the chores the missionaries considered appropriate for women such as cooking and washing. This separation of the family members and the way in which the division of labor was organized were antithetical to Native American social arrangements and behavior prior to entering the missions.

After the main meal at noon, some natives enjoyed a short siesta and then returned to their tasks. At sunset the church bells rang again calling people to the evening prayers, religious hymns and catechism. On Sundays, holy days, and special festivities, such as that of the patron saint of each mission, everyone attended the religious services. These religious ceremonies included performances by proficient native musicians and male and female choir singers.⁹

Aside from Mass, a good deal of time was dedicated every day to the learning of the Catholic Doctrine. On Mondays and Wednesdays the natives learned the catechism using a question-answer system though a young male well versed on the catechism posed all the questions and likely guided the answers. On Tuesdays and Thursdays teaching concentrated on

⁸ For instance, see the BIA requirements for Federal Acknowledgement at <http://www.bia.gov/WhoWeAre/AS-IA/OFA/OFAGuidelines/index.htm>. Accessed December 8, 2015.

⁹ WADE 2008, 194.

learning the basic Catholic prayers such as the Lord's Prayer, the description of the Sacraments and the Act of Contrition. Fridays were dedicated to enacting the Way of the Cross and on Saturdays they recited the Rosary. Again a young male led the recitations. Sunday Mass and associated ceremonies preceded the weekly distribution of meat rations and other goods or gifts.¹⁰ The conjugation of religious ceremonies with ration distribution and gift-giving guaranteed native attendance but the association of economic wants and needs with religious events was a constant in mission life.

The friars' training of young males in the Spanish language and the leadership the latter were allowed to take in catechism teaching and in religious ceremonies upended basic native customs because such leading roles and associated statuses belonged to the group's elders and possibly to the spiritual practitioners (shaman) due to the association between rituals, esoteric languages (Spanish and Latin) and the spiritual realm, characteristic of shamanic practices.¹¹ These same young men, often called *ladinos*, served as translators of religious concepts and Catholic doctrine from Spanish to the predominant native language spoken in the mission. This also means that native mission residents who spoke languages other than that of the interpreter received, learned and comprehended complex doctrinaire concepts filtered through at least three languages – Spanish and two native languages. The semantic problems of translation of complex doctrinal ideas, as well as of behaviors such as sexual acts or cultural customs indigenous cultures sanctioned, occurred frequently in many missions throughout the Spanish colonial world.¹²

The Sacraments

The variety of aboriginal languages complicated learning and internalization of religious concepts, whether or not the natives were willing to accept Christianity. More significant was the need for interpreters to teach the doctrine and administer the sacraments. The language issue was irrelevant for all indigenous people baptized at the deathbed, or for infants or toddlers, but many natives entered the missions as adults and were baptized soon after, often after receiving rudimentary Catholic teachings. Still, the majority of baptisms occurred at death both of infants or adults, and in those cases baptism could be administered without the individual's

¹⁰ Xavier ORTIZ, 1745

¹¹ DURSTON 2007, 282; HANKS and SEVERI 2014, 7.

¹² HARRISON 2014, 121-125.

consent making the language problem void. The archives consulted are silent about the language issues related to baptism, though the sacrament was essential to receiving any other sacrament: without being baptized an Amerindian was a 'gentile' (non-Christian).

Once baptized, the Catholic Sacrament of Confession was essential to receive all other sacraments, and it required the active participation of the native. It also necessitated a fairly good command of the Spanish language and an equal understanding of the Ten Commandments. Given that the majority of missionaries in the areas discussed did not speak any native language and Native Americans had a rudimental knowledge of Spanish at best, before the preparation of native language confessional manuals confession could only be accomplished through interpreters, which means the confession was shared with a third party.

Despite demands that missionaries learn native languages, many did not or experienced great difficulty learning them. Also, in areas like Texas or California the multiplicity of languages and language families present at the missions made the problem that much worse. The close relationships between the native tribes in New Mexico ensured that different tribes spoke or understood the languages of other tribes, making it possible for a missionary to master one language and be understood by different groups, facilitating communication. The frequent use of Nahuatl as a lingua franca in Northern Mexico, also eased communication and Jesuits and Franciscans generally had a working knowledge of Nahuatl. Also the Society of Jesus compelled its members to master native languages and submit to examination, but the Franciscan Order did not.¹³ That said, missionaries came from all over the world and though they learned Spanish, for many that was their second language and their linguistic proficiency was relative. They were, therefore, already translating concepts such as God, the Holy Trinity, divinity, sin, and the soul from their own mother language and conceptual world to that of Spanish. In the best of scenarios, religious ideas and concepts underwent two translations as they were conveyed to Amerindians but often those concepts were filtered through more than four different languages. Such multiple translations resulted in interpretations of Catholic concepts that characterize later Native Americans' practices and understandings of religion. These understandings and practices reflect integrative processes merging Western and Native American cultural and conceptual viewpoints, particularly as the interpreters were

¹³ BURRUS 1984, 224-25.

second and third generation mission residents who had to find ways to translate that which was not possible to translate as it did not have linguistic and culture system equivalents.¹⁴

Aside from those thorny issues, self-confessing implied being able to recall what 'sins' one committed, how many times, under what circumstances and who was involved in those events. These were very complicated problems for Native Americans, particularly those who lived by gathering and hunting as time reckoning was done by seasons, the availability of plant resources and by the movements of herd animals. In some cases, such as some of the Coahuilteco or Apache groups in Texas, we know that time reckoning was also done using the moon cycle. These time divisions did not help track down when one committed a sin or answer the specific questions confessional manuals posed.¹⁵

Confessional Manuals

The Spanish colonial missions in Northern Mexico, New Mexico, Baja California and Texas spanned about the same period, from the late seventeenth through late eighteenth centuries. Northern California's (modern California) Spanish missions were established in the late eighteenth century and remained under control of Spanish missionaries until 1833.

The confessional manuals discussed in this paper were created at different times during the mission period and addressed specific needs related to the groups housed at different missions. The *Cuadernillo de la Lengua de los Indios Pajalates de la Misión de la Purísima Concepción del Río de San Antonio (Tejas)* was prepared by the then President of the Texas Missions Fray Gabriel de Vergara in 1732. Fray Vergara was also the missionary in charge of Mission Concepción in Texas. Vergara was born in Orense, Galicia, in 1673.¹⁶ Attached to the *Cuadernillo's* manuscript were 40 handwritten pages titled *El Confesionario de Indios en Lengua Coahuilteca*. While the *Cuadernillo* reflects the need to master some basic knowledge of the Pajalate language, the *Confesionario* is clearly a language guide for confession. In addition, the *Cuadernillo* was prepared for the Pajalate language with Spanish translation, while the *Confesionario* is in

¹⁴ BAEGERT 1979, 102.

¹⁵ WADE 2008, 239-242.

¹⁶ HOYO 1965, 16.

the Coahuiltecan language with Spanish translation. The documents were published together but the same person did not pen both documents.¹⁷

The Pajalate (Pajalat) were a group of Native Americans represented in several Central Texas missions, though most entered Mission Concepción, located in San Antonio, Texas (Fig. 2). About 33 Pajalat appear in the Texas Missions records. They spoke a dialect of the larger Coahuiltecan language family.¹⁸ The *Cuadernillo* includes translations of nouns, some simple phrases and verbs such as to cut, to burn, to obey, to forgive and to be sorry. A few of the short sentences have to do with being unable to recall. The *Confesionario* on the other hand focuses on specific questions such as: with how many married women did you fornicate? Were these women kinfolk? How many times and with how many women kinfolk did you fornicate? Did you use obscene words? How many people heard you? At the end of the confession and after an explanation of heaven, purgatory and hell, the missionary commanded the penitent to confess within one, two or three moons.¹⁹ The emphasis of the confessional's questions is on the Commandments, and on when, how, with whom and how many times a 'sin' had been committed but also on reporting on others regarding sexual and shamanic practices. While it seems that Native Americans understood the basic notions behind the Commandments, recalling when and how many times they had 'sinned' constituted a problem.

Despite the Council of Trent dispositions,²⁰ there is little information on *where* confessions took place and *how* were confessions heard. The confessional manuals I consulted as well as those used in this work are silent on the manner of confession, though it is clear that it was auricular. While some confessional manuals were introduced and used in the early 17th century, such as the *Confesionario of Fray Francisco Pareja* published in 1613,²¹ those discussed in this paper were used later. Some authors suggest individual, private confession,²² and it is possible that screens or some sort of confessional booths were used but the acknowledged need and practice of using interpreters would indicate face-to-face confession and at best relative privacy.

¹⁷ Ibid., 5.

¹⁸ CAMPBELL and CAMPBELL 1985, 31-32; HOYO 1965, 22-23.

¹⁹ HOYO 1965, 83-85.

²⁰ HARRISON 2014, 8-9.

²¹ MILANICH, and STURTEVANT, 1972.

²² DURSTON 2007, 277; HARRISON 2014, 8.

The *Confesionario*, and other similar manuals, targeted Native American cultural customs such as having sexual relations with single, ‘married’ or kinfolk since the missionaries were interested in containing sexual intercourse and procreation within the Western Catholic version of the nuclear family. We know that members of the hunter and gatherer groups who entered missions, such as the Pajalat, partnered with members of other groups. In some cases we also know that endogamous partnerships were taboo, while in other cases those female/male relationships were encouraged and desirable for intergroup alliances and personal status.

Amerindians may not have abided the rite of confession, but those groups discussed in this work generally did not refuse confession. That said, there is a substantial difference of intent between failure to confess and refusal to confess. Several did fail to confess because they were absent hunting or gathering, left the mission either temporarily or permanently or for other reasons the archives do not specify. Regardless of the reasons or intent, failure to attend religious ceremonies and sacraments resulted in stiff penalties that ranged from whippings to irons and stocks.²³

The *Manual Para Administrar los Santos Sacramentos de Penitencia, Eucharistia, Extrema-Uncion y Matrimonio* was composed and published by Fray Bartholomé Garcia in 1760. There are very close similarities between Garcia’s *Manual* and the *Confesionario*, attached to Vergara’s language manual though Vergara’s was published earlier. Eugenio Hoyo suggests that the missionaries used Garcia’s *Manual* before it was published or, conversely, that Fr. Garcia incorporated pieces of the earlier *Confesionario* the missionaries were already using.²⁴ Regardless, the *Manual* was prepared for the Texas Missions and their native residents, who the Spanish called ‘nations’.

Fr. Guadalupe Prado, who reviewed Garcia’s *Manual*, stated that the most proficient interpreters approved Garcia’s translations, and that most of the young men spoke or understood the *Manual’s* language. According to Fr. Prado, these young men were the target and hope of the friars for the future of Christianity. Fr. Prado also noted how dangerous it was to rely on translators. He stated, “There is every reason to distrust them when they teach the divine law, glossing it with the first thing that comes to their mouths [Con quanta razon debemos desconfiar de ellos quando enseñan la ley divina, glossandola segun lo primero, que se les viene â

²³ ADAMS and CHAVEZ 1956, 254-256; Wade 2008, 188, 257.

²⁴ HOYO 1965, 7-8.

la boca].²⁵ Prado and others were well aware of the intended and unintended problems of translation and the risk of introducing heretic principles into Catholic Doctrine.²⁶ Prado noted that the lack of equivalent concepts or ideas led to paraphrasing and inherent errors, and added that given the complexity of the translation issues, missionaries could only rely on the interpreters' good faith but even in that case missionaries had no way to be sure of the fidelity of the translations since they did not know the native language.²⁷

In the First Commandment the *Manual* asks if the penitents believe in anything special when they hear the birds sing, if they believe in dreams, if they have called on the devil, have practiced witchcraft, if any of those bewitched died and to how many the penitents have taught witchcraft. The confessor asks what things were used in witchcraft and compels the penitent to bring those items to the friar to receive absolution.²⁸ There are few questions for the Second and Third Commandments. The questions related to the Fourth Commandment conflate the penitent's parents with the friars whereby the latter supersede the former's authority. Questions about fornication are addressed specifically to males and females and most inquire if the penitent's offspring witnessed sexual acts. Likewise there are questions about domestic violence addressed to males.²⁹ The Fifth Commandment returns to questions of curses and spells and asks if the penitents have killed anyone and if so, how many. The confessor also asks if the penitents have eaten human flesh, if they have ingested peyote or the little bean (*frixolillo* – the hallucinogenic mesquite bean), and asks women if they have done anything to abort.³⁰

The Sixth Commandment asks individual questions to males and females about sexual partners and the type of sexual relations. The *Manual* notes the problems natives had in describing grades of kinship and since males had relations with many different women, Fr. Garcia suggests that an all-embracing question be asked about sexual partners. The *Manual* asks specific questions about touching breasts and sexual organs, about masturbation, sexual relations in church, anal relations between males and between males and females, as well as questions about the desire to

²⁵ PRADO 1760, 6.

²⁶ DURSTON, 2007, 283.

²⁷ PRADO 1760, 7-8.

²⁸ GARCIA, 1760, 7-8.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

copulate and if others witnessed the penitents' sexual acts (voyeurism). The *Manual* also asks about bestiality and the frequency of those acts. The same queries are asked of females including same-sex questions, though there are none about bestiality.³¹

The Seventh Commandment asks questions about stealing and includes thefts of cattle from other missions and from Spanish settlers. The Eighth Commandment asks about lying and whether or not the penitent is making a complete confession of all the sins "the penitent has committed while in this world" and if the penitent is fully contrite.³² The final pages of the *Manual* speak of the devil and of hell as a place where one cannot eat, sleep or rest and from where one cannot escape – a cataclysmic, scorching place of untold misery.³³

Garcia's questions highlight the missionaries' obsessive preoccupation with sexual behavior, but they raise a pertinent inquiry about whether those questions reflect the missionaries' knowledge about Native American behavior or if the missionaries were transposing Western versions of what was considered abhorrent sexual conduct and in the process introduced those behaviors to the indigenous populations. The ritual uses of specific hallucinogenic plants (see Fifth Commandment) such as the peyote buttons and the mesquite bean (*frixolillo*) were documented as practices among Native Americans in Texas and Northern Mexico.³⁴ This indicates that at least some of the sexual behaviors questioned in the confessionary were practiced, and that the missionaries prepared those questions on the basis of prior knowledge. Likewise, confessional questions prepared for other native populations (see below) reflect knowledge of cultural systems and traditions different from those of Texas and Northern Mexico.

The *Ventureño Confesionario* of Fr. José Señán was prepared between 1797 and 1823; the date Fr. Señán was deceased. Fr. Señán was one of the Franciscan friars who worked at Mission San Buenaventura in Alta California. He was born in 1760 in Barcelona and was knowledgeable in the Chumash languages, the language of the manual.³⁵ Unlike the confessionary manuals discussed before, Señán's informs the penitent that a confessor

³¹ Ibid., 15-23.

³² Ibid., 26.

³³ Ibid., 27-30.

³⁴ CABEZA DE VACA, 1542/2003, 132-3; WADE 2003, 64.

³⁵ BEELER 1967, 2.

cannot divulge what he hears in confession.³⁶ Similarly the friar allows the penitent to confess to those sins he or she remembers, though he insists the penitent must remember all the sins to obtain absolution.³⁷

The First Commandment covers the usual questions about faith, but Fr. Señán intercalates questions and answers about differences in counting (counting by tens or using ten plus four as a solution for fourteen). This commandment includes culture specific questions that did not appear in other confession manuals, such as “did you scattered seeds and beads, and did you believe that by doing so you would kill fish?” or that by scattering seeds and beads “there would be plenty of seeds, deer and rabbits and jackrabbits?” The manual also asks if the penitent believed in dreams, or if shamans made it rain, made acorns grow and healed the sick, or if the penitent was a shaman.³⁸

The questions for the Second, Third and Fourth Commandments include missing Mass, or talking during religious celebrations, but also ask about fasting and eating meat during Lent. The Fourth Commandment's questions collapse friars with parents just like Garcia's *Manual* did, and also includes queries about physical violence against women.³⁹ The Fifth Commandment concentrates on questions about killing others, but includes killing using poison, beating a person to death, using malicious gossip and being high on tobacco. Male penitents were asked if they had persuaded a woman to abort or, if the penitent was a woman, if she had done so. The women were also asked if during sexual intercourse they had “spilled the body's seed” to avoid pregnancy. Several questions about loss of semen during intercourse stress the missionaries' preoccupations with low birth rates and depopulation.⁴⁰

The Sixth and Ninth Commandments emphasize sexual relations between various partners including kinfolk. Unlike Garcia's, Señán's *Manual* goes into great detail about different kinfolk grades of relationship, including incestuous and adulterous sexual encounters as well as those that took place before a penitent became a widow or widower. Some of these questions seem intended to track an individual's sexual history beyond the actual and potentially sinful sexual encounters. Like Garcia's this manual asked about masturbation but placed the emphasis on the loss

³⁶ Ibid., 15.

³⁷ Ibid., 21.

³⁸ Ibid., 25-27.

³⁹ Ibid., 29-35.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 39.

of semen. Questions about intercourse between ‘married couples’ again reflect the friars’ preoccupation with low birth rate. The manual asks about ‘improper’ intercourse to avoid pregnancy but also about male and female willingness to engage in sexual relations any time either partner was willing. The questions on sexual intercourse and bestiality include voyeurism and the notion of pleasure as well as the sex of the animal.⁴¹

A series of questions relate to males lending their wives to other males, and three questions address intercourse with a woman by force (rape). Same-sex questions to males discriminate between intercourse with a male and intercourse with a two-spirited person (sometimes called a berdache) differentiating between a society’s recognized and specialized two-spirited role and a male who did not play that role.⁴² The questions specifically created for women parallel those asked of males, including those that addressed avoidance of pregnancy, desire, and bestiality but there is only one question about same-sex intercourse and there is no reference to a two-spirited female role.⁴³

The Seventh and Tenth Commandments deal with stealing and again incorporate in the questions material culture rather specific to the Chumash tribes, such as seashells, basketry and fish, but particularly those about beads and bone beads on which the Chumash were specialists. The manual includes questions about gambling, which we know groups in Texas and Northern Mexico practiced, though no questions were asked about that in Garcia’s *Manual*. The Eighth Commandment includes only a few questions about lying and reiterates the admonition to confess all the penitent’s sins and repent to obtain absolution.

Analysis

The Sacrament of Confession enabled baptized Native Americans to receive other sacraments such as Communion, Marriage and the Last Rites. While all other sacraments were received generally only once, confession and communion were received multiple times. Confessions were repetitive tests of the natives’ knowledge of the Catholic Doctrine, but they were also teaching moments for the natives as well as the friars. For the indigenous populations the need to recall sins in detail and in time and space, in addition to the fear instilled with the imagery of the devil

⁴¹ Ibid., 50-51.

⁴² Ibid., 53.

⁴³ Ibid., 59-63.

and hell, could not be easily rejected or kept out of the mind. Nevertheless, natives either learned and accepted the sacramental demands, or they developed ways to manipulate the system and sidestep confessional answers.

For the friars, confessions were regular instances to learn about the natives' cultural customs and to hone the missionaries' policies to undermine native traditions. In fact, confessions worked like ethnographic 'interviews' that permitted the friars to target interventions and update confessional knowledge but also allowed the traditional anthropological 'informant' (i.e. the penitent) to mislead the interviewer. The emphases on specific practices in different areas and indigenous cultures make it clear that such was the case, though certainly not the primary intent of confession.⁴⁴ Knowing kinship systems, cultural customs, shamanic practices, the objects involved in shamanistic practices and even the identity of the shamans, made it possible for the missionaries to monitor and curtail shamanic influence, one of the most powerful forces against acceptance of the Catholic faith. Likewise, the native jokes played on friars indicate the extent to which some Amerindians could nuance situations and explore their language understandings to embarrass the friars or challenge their teachings.⁴⁵

When comparing Vergara and García's manuals to the *Ventureño Manual*, the overall tone and the addition of certain questions, particularly those about telling time, recalling and certainly those about abortion indicate the friars' awareness of deep seated cultural problems that affected the indigenous communities, some specially relevant at the end of the mission period such as the low birthrate. The *Ventureño Manual* shows a greater preoccupation to identify specific kin relationships between the penitent and her or his sexual partners, to gauge the degree of the sin committed and promiscuity, and evidently also to become aware of a native group's acceptable mating partners. Most questions were the same for males and females, though those dealing with shamanism were addressed to males. Indeed most ethnographic information about shamans or other spiritual practitioners indicates they were males and very likely experienced and advanced in age. In California, however, there is some historical evidence for women shamans.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ HARRISON 2014, 141.

⁴⁵ DURSTON 2007, 283-285.

⁴⁶ GEIGER and MEIGHAN, 1976, 49.

The daily physical separation of young indigenous females from males was meant to be strict, though they certainly found ways around it. Still, the fact that the friars made the natives' actions unlawful and subversive, tainted normal social intercourse and did not help the low birthrate. While young females remained with their parents and extended family, young males slept and spent most of their time at the friary or were assigned to chores that kept them apart from their families. The missionaries deliberately kept males away from their fathers to minimize the influence they could have on youngsters and to prevent the fathers from teaching indigenous norms and traditions to their children.⁴⁷ Boys were taught Spanish, became interpreters and guides, had greater freedom to leave the mission as they did errands for the friars, and went to the presidio where they had opportunities to engage in trade and work for the military and the settlers. Male adolescents and adults worked in the fields, and as shepherds, ranch hands as well as fishermen.

Young females were seen as potential procreators and domestic workers and trained to provide for the males and the family, but they also were viewed as a problem for young males lest they attracted their attention and disrupted the friars' plans for the young males' education. Women were constantly accused of talking too much, being vain and troublesome. Conversely and because of the patriarchal approach the missionaries took, women were less likely to be closely supervised, and I believe profited from that to subvert the limitations the mission system imposed on them. The fact remains that women were the biological and cultural reproducers and because they were not chosen to learn Spanish and had less contact with the friars and settlers, women likely were adept to keep indigenous traditions alive.

The strong emphasis on sexual conduct and specific sexual acts was similar in other parts of the colonial missionary world. The 1613 Pareja *Confessionario* was prepared for the Timucuan Natives of Florida and asked similar questions about sexual behavior and abortion, but tailored its queries to local native cultural traditions such as agricultural practices, the use of fire or specific herbs.⁴⁸ In Peru, the confessional manuals of the seventeenth century also stressed the first, fifth and sixth commandments, but the number of sexual conduct questions sharply increased after the

⁴⁷ WADE 2008, 196, 223, 231.

⁴⁸ MILANICH and STURTEVANT 1972.

sixteenth century.⁴⁹ Likewise, in colonial Brazil, the issues and practices related to sexual behavior were central to confession as they were to indigenous alliances, personal native status, as well as essential to the missionaries' background knowledge.⁵⁰

Conclusions

Spanish colonial missions constituted an institutionalized patriarchal domain ruled by patriarchal rules and perspectives. The religious concepts and teachings the missionaries brought to the Americas' missions were no different from those used in European convents, religious schools or parishes of the same period and even much later. The difference resides in the imposition of religious, social and economic principles on societies with very different socio-cultural trajectories and the systematic intent to erase indigenous cultures and languages. While Native American societies through millennia had incorporated gender and age arrangements that balanced out power disparities, the missions' structure created gender and age inequalities atop of those inherent to colonial institutions.

Females, young and adult, were taken for granted in their labor and procreative capacity and considered troublesome otherwise. For hunting and gathering societies, females were denied their traditional role as primary gatherers to become mainly food processors (grinding corn). Though males became mostly gatherers (farmers), some were allowed to continue hunting practices through their chores as ranch hands (kill and butcher cattle). These roles' erasures and reversals affected and upended indigenous social structures, value systems and identities well beyond the imposition of the Catholic religion.

Elder males were loathed for their problematic attachment to indigenous traditions and their unnerving power to teach younger generations. In the missions, their role as the experiential memory bank of the group in terms of environmental and hunting information became irrelevant. Their social value was restricted to ritual and healing practices and, to some extent, to knowledge of group alliances and enmities, and even those roles were curtailed. Shamanic and healing practices were anathema to missionary work, and missionaries rightfully considered shamans the greatest obstacle to Christianization. The institutionalized spatial separation of families contributed to diminish or eradicate the influence of elders, the

⁴⁹ HARRISON 2014, 119.

⁵⁰ CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE 2013, 74-82.

affective and teaching ties between parents and their male children, and those between mothers, female youngsters and their respectively male offspring and siblings.

It is within such socio-cultural erasures and disruptions that one needs to consider the forceful introduction of a new religion, a sacramental schedule, concepts of God and sin and alien behaviors such as those regarding sexual customs and associated penalties. And as if this was not enough, old and new ways of living had to be expressed in a new language that subverted the old while polluting the new. Native Americans laughed it out, joked about it, but it penetrated.

Translation goes beyond language. "It designates the exchange not only of words, but also of values, theories and artifacts from one culture to another, for instance in such processes as religious conversion."⁵¹ Regardless of the field of study or the time period, translations of words and concepts and attendant semiotic processes have preoccupied scholars. A recent article on such preoccupations asks "how communicative processes create equivalencies and organize connections among practices and how such processes can also produce incommensurabilities, disjunctures and power differentials."⁵² Colonial Christianization projects produced registers, "sets of linguistic and multimedia signs...culturally associated with particular social practices and with the person-types understood to engage in such practices,"⁵³ that reflected innovative indigenous understandings of Christian doctrine and practices as they did of secular day-to-day activities. After the missions closed in Northern Mexico, New Mexico, Texas, and in the Californias, indigenous groups were left to their own devices to sort and blend old and new practices to construct an ethos that denoted their particular experiences. This task was mostly left to the later generations and it produced a metalanguage of conversion and associated practices, still poorly understood for many Native American groups but which characterizes indigenous Catholicism in the Americas. As Hanks notes for the Maya, the language resulting from those processes "became native."⁵⁴

Colonialism affected the colonized and the colonizer. The cultural trajectory the colonial missions heralded brought about socio-cultural changes that continue to mark the lives of indigenous peoples and certainly that of

⁵¹ HANKS and SEVERI 2014, 8.

⁵² GAL 2015, 226.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁵⁴ HANKS 2014, 29-30, 32-33.

the Catholic Church, as Pope Francis' emphasis on the importance of the Americas to the church demonstrates. The cults of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Mexico, the Virgin of Macana in Mexico and New Mexico, pilgrimages and saint devotions, elaborate shrines on the sides of the road with crosses, skulls and piñatas, and innumerable other signposts perform this colonial *décalage*. Regardless of the historical and political reasons behind these adoptions, perhaps the most telling example is represented by the *Día de los Muertos* celebrated on the first of November in most of Latin America. November 1 is All Saints Day in the Catholic Church while the Day of the Dead in the Catholic Church is celebrated on November 2.

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Portugal e o reino de Oere nos séculos XVI e XVII. Missionação, escravatura e intercâmbios culturais

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Resumo

O tema do artigo são as estreitas relações que Portugal manteve, no final do século XVI e primeira metade do século XVII, com o reino de Oere, situado no território da atual Nigéria Ocidental, com base no comércio de marfim e escravos. Essas relações levaram à adoção pelos respetivos monarcas quer do Cristianismo, quer de nomes e costumes lusos. Dá-se especial ênfase à estadia em Portugal, no começo de Seiscentos, do príncipe D. Domingos, filho do rei D. Sebastião, sobre quem se publica uma fonte inédita.

Palavras-chave: Oere, Nigéria, missionação, tráfico de escravos, D. Domingos.

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Abstract

This article concerns the closed relations between Portugal and the kingdom of Oere, in the West Nigeria, during the final of the Sixteenth Century and the first half of the Seventeenth Century. These relations were based on ivory and slave trade and leded Oere monarchs to adopt Christianity and Portuguese names and customs. The article emphasizes the stay in Portugal of the prince D. Domingos, son of D. Sebastião, which took place in the beginning of the Seventeenth Century. An unpublished document about the prince is included.

Keywords: Oere, Nigeria, Christianization, slave trade, D. Domingos.

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Portugal e o reino de Oere nos séculos XVI e XVII. MissionaçãO, escravatura e intercâmbios culturais

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O estabelecimento de relações amigáveis com os soberanos de países de Além-Mar, africanos e asiáticos, com especial importância para os interesses portugueses fez parte da política da coroa desde o século XV, de que são exemplos o batismo e a receção do rei dos Jalofos, da região do Senegal, D. João Bemoim, pela corte de D. João II, em 1488¹.

O mesmo visava a implantação do Cristianismo nos respetivos territórios, a intensificação das trocas comerciais e a influência política. As motivações dos soberanos alvo dessa ação diplomática eram, frequentemente, a obtenção de apoio militar contra os seus rivais internos ou inimigos externos e, através da adoção de uma nova religião e de rituais cortesãos exóticos, o reforço da sua imagem e poder.

No reinado de D. Manuel I estiveram em Lisboa, segundo o relato do flamengo Jan Taccoen van Zillebeke, três dignitários vindos de Calcutte, com o fim de serem batizados, tendo permanecido na corte até terem adoecido e o rei os ter feito regressar à terra de origem². O exemplo mais conhecido, porém, é o do Congo, cujas relações com Portugal se iniciaram nos anos 90 do século XV e tiveram o seu apogeu nos reinados do Venturoso e do seu filho e sucessor, D. João III³. Durante esse período a influência lusa foi significativa, tendo os soberanos do país adotado nomes portugueses e o Cristianismo sido assumido como religião oficial. Paralelamente foi incrementado o tráfico de escravos, motivação principal de muitos dos agentes portugueses para lá enviados. Mas ainda em 1696 o rei de Bissau, na Guiné, Bacampolo Có, de etnia papel, aliada dos Portugueses, se converteu ao Cristianismo, com o nome de D. Pedro, depois de,

¹ Rui de PINA, «Crónica de D. João II», *Crónicas de Rui de Pina*, Porto, Lello e Irmão, 1977, pp. 951-956.

² Eddy STOLS, Jorge FONSECA e Stijn MANHAEGHE, *Lisboa em 1514. O relato de Jan Taccoen van Zillebeke*, Lisboa, Universidade Nova/Húmus, p. 130.

³ Joseph BALLONG-WEN-MEWUDA, «L'esclavage et la traite négrière dans la correspondance de Nzinga Mbemba (dom Afonso I), roi du Congo (1506-1543): la vision idéologique de l'autre», *Déraison, esclavage et droit*, Paris, UNESCO, 2002, pp. 301-314.

dois anos antes, ter enviado para Lisboa o filho primogênito, D. Manuel de Portugal⁴.

Do Congo, do Benim e de outros territórios vieram para a corte portuguesa familiares e embaixadores dos respectivos reis, a quem foram dadas peças de vestuário de acordo com os usos nacionais, e concedidos alojamento e tenças para que se sustentassem durante a permanência no reino; foi ainda proporcionado a alguns, durante períodos prolongados, o ensino da fé cristã, do latim e de outras matérias, em casas religiosas, como no convento de Santo Elói, de Lisboa, a expensas da coroa. Algumas dessas personalidades foram honradas com a atribuição do hábito da Ordem Militar de São Tiago e com a nomeação como cavaleiros fidalgos da casa do rei⁵. Esta política manteve-se nos reinados de D. Sebastião e D. Henrique e também no período filipino.

Este artigo tem o propósito de divulgar uma fonte inédita⁶ sobre as intensas relações que a coroa portuguesa manteve, nos finais do século XVI e na primeira metade do século XVII, com o monarca do então denominado reino de Oere (termo que hoje corresponde a Warri), que se localizava no território da atual Nigéria Ocidental. Essas relações levaram Atorongboye, que reinou na última década de Quinhentos e primeiras de Seiscentos, a converter-se ao Cristianismo, a adotar o nome de D. Sebastião e a enviar para Portugal o seu filho mais velho, D. Domingos. Servir-me-ei, além dessa fonte e para contextualização da mesma, sobretudo de documentos publicados, na década de 1950, por António Brásio, nos *Monumenta missionaria africana*⁷, e do livro de Zora Seljan *A demanda de Dom Domingos*⁸, além de bibliografia sobre a ação dos Portugueses nessa região de África.

De acordo com a tradição oral do povo itsekiri, o reino de Oere foi fundado por um filho de Nuwa, oba de Benim, chamado Ginuwa, que criou,

⁴ Avelino Teixeira da MOTA, *As viagens do bispo D. Frei Vitoriano Portuense à Guiné e a cristianização dos reis de Bissau*, Lisboa, Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1974, pp. 15-35.

⁵ TORRE DO TOMBO, *Chancelaria das Ordens Militares*, Ordem de Santiago, Chancelaria antiga, Liv. 1, fol. 369 [202] – 20.5.1579; Idem, fol. 396 [231] – 15.5.1579.

⁶ TT, *Cartórios Notariais de Lisboa*, 1.º Cartório, Ofício A, Cx. 27, Liv. 26, fol. 19-22.

⁷ António BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África Ocidental (1570-1599)*, v. III, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955; A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África Ocidental (1600-1610)*, v. V, 1955; A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana (1611-1621)*, v. VI, 1955; A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana (1622-1630)*, v. VII, 1956.

⁸ Zora SELJAN, *A demanda de Dom Domingos*, Rio de Janeiro, Nórdica, 1985. Agradeço ao investigador e colega do CHAM Arlindo Manuel Caldeira a informação que me deu sobre este livro fundamental.

antes de 1482, um território autónomo em terras vassaladas do seu pai, com consentimento deste. Ao seu filho Ijijen se atribuiu a edificação do Grande Warri ou Oere, junto a um afluente do rio Benim, na margem oeste do delta do Níger, entre 1486 e 1516⁹. Nessa época já havia contactos com os Portugueses. Irame, o terceiro monarca ou olu, terá seguido uma política expansionista por meio da guerra aos vizinhos, que convertia em escravos e vendia aos mercadores lusos. Foi no tempo do quinto rei, Esigie, em 1574, que a primeira missão católica esteve em Oere, dela tendo resultado a adoção do nome de D. Sebastião, nome do soberano português, pelo príncipe herdeiro do mesmo, e a designação da capital por Cidade de Santo Agostinho. D. Sebastião, o olu Atorongboye, terá reinado desde antes de 1595 até cerca de 1625.

Os contactos dos Portugueses com o reino de Benim iniciaram-se na segunda metade de Quatrocentos com o objetivo de comerciarem em marfim, escravos e pimenta. Em 1486 João Afonso de Aveiro estabeleceu aí uma feitoria. O território viria a formar um triângulo comercial com São Tomé e São Jorge da Mina, fornecendo escravos em troca de manilhas de cobre ou latão, os quais, depois de armazenados naquela ilha, os navegadores levavam para a Mina, onde os permutavam por ouro com os mercadores africanos, que os utilizavam quer na extração quer no transporte do metal precioso¹⁰. O tráfico negreiro acelerou a constituição na região de formações políticas mais fortes e centralizadas, favorecendo os monarcas e elites dirigentes que se dedicavam à captura de escravos nas suas periferias e à sua venda aos mercadores europeus, em detrimento das populações com estruturas organizativas mais débeis, sujeitas aos raides de vizinhos mais poderosos¹¹.

No Benim chegou a iniciar-se um processo de cristianização, por iniciativa do oba Uzolua, que mandou uma embaixada a Portugal com o propósito de pedir missionários que catequizassem o seu povo. Paralelamente, no entanto, requeria armas para fazer guerra ao reino de Idah, que lhe foram recusadas. Em 1516, um dos missionários que aí se instalaram, Duarte Pires, descreveu o oba reinante, Esigie, como hospitaleiro, muito

⁹ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 41 e 227.

¹⁰ Francisco Mendes da LUZ, «Benim, Feitoria de», *Dicionário de história de Portugal* (Direção Joel Serrão), Lisboa, Iniciativas Editoriais, 1971, pp. 329-331; Vitorino Magalhães GODINHO, *Os descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, v. IV, Lisboa, Presença, pp. 161-164.

¹¹ E. J. ALAGOA, «Les Fon et les Yoruba, du delta du Niger au Cameroun», *Histoire Générale de l'Afrique*, v. V, Paris, UNESCO, 1999, pp. 515-535.

culto, versado em astrologia e capaz de falar e ler português¹². Pediu aos sacerdotes que o fizessem cristão, com o seu filho e os nobres mais destacados, e construiu uma igreja. A missão mantinha uma escola, frequentada pelos filhos da aristocracia¹³. Mas as condições climáticas viriam a afastar os sacerdotes, fazendo fracassar uma tentativa séria de doutrinação, assim como os próprios oficiais da feitoria. Contudo, o comércio continuou por muito tempo¹⁴.

As relações com os monarcas de Oere tiveram um desfecho mais próximo das intenções proselitistas de Portugal do que as estabelecidas com o Benim. O comércio de escravos e de marfim constituiu a base desse relacionamento, embora, como se verá, a procura de ajuda militar por parte dos olus se incluísse entre as respetivas motivações.

Depois dos primeiros contactos com os mercadores lusitanos, cerca de 1472, só um século mais tarde, entre 1571 e 1574, foi enviada para o território a primeira missão cristã, por iniciativa de D. Gaspar Cão, bispo de São Tomé. Foi então que frei Francisco da Madre de Deus, missionário agostinho dotado de grande capacidade de persuasão e que gozava de muito prestígio junto do povo itsekiri, conseguiu batizar o príncipe herdeiro e dar-lhe o nome do rei de Portugal e à cidade de Odé Itsekiri (Oere), a capital, o de Cidade de Santo Agostinho, designação com que era datada a correspondência que, a partir daí, os olus enviavam ao soberano português e ao papa¹⁵.

Anos depois, em 1595, com a chegada a São Tomé do novo bispo D. Francisco de Vila Nova, a cristianização de Oere voltou a ser alvo da atenção das autoridades religiosas e da coroa. Em carta para o rei, o mesmo bispo mostrou-se preocupado com os prejuízos causados à manutenção da religião no país por falta de padres que quisessem ali viver, celebrando missas e ministrando os sacramentos, «por a terra ser muito enferma e sujeita a praga de mosquitos». Por isso e por o rei ser muito pobre, sugeria que, enquanto não houvesse «sacerdotes naturais da mesma terra», os contratadores que fossem ao resgate de marfim a Benim levassem alguns padres para Oere, pagos pelo rei e com licenças de comprar escravos para negociar, semelhantes às que eram dadas aos oficiais da coroa. A decisão do monarca

¹² Elikia M'BOKOLO, *África negra. História e civilizações*, tomo I, Lisboa, Vulgata, 2003, p. 432.

¹³ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., p. 35.

¹⁴ Joseph KENNY, *The Catholic Church in tropical Africa. 1445-1850*, Ibadan, Ibadan University Press and Dominican Publications, 1982, pp. 8-9.

¹⁵ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., p. 59.

foi favorável ao proposto¹⁶. Na opinião de Zora Seljan, foi à influência do bispo que se deveu a decisão de D. Sebastião/Atorongboye enviar o filho a Portugal, para estudar e se instruir na fé cristã e o ajudar na conversão do seu povo. Para o efeito, escreveu a Filipe II, informando-o dos objetivos da sua decisão e pedindo-lhe que supervisionasse a educação do mesmo¹⁷.

Os principais factos ligados à estadia de D. Domingos em Portugal podem-se resumir da seguinte forma: chegou ao reino cerca de 1600, «para estudar e se instruir nas cousas da polícia». Durante esse tempo, o jovem (com mais de 30 anos no fim da estadia, portanto com cerca de 20 quando chegou) estudou latim e outras disciplinas não referidas, à custa da real fazenda, primeiro em Coimbra, recolhido no colégio da ordem de São Jerónimo, e depois em Lisboa, a cargo da Companhia de Jesus. Foi-lhe inicialmente atribuída a importância anual de 200 000 réis, para despesas, mas a partir de 1605 passou a receber 320 000 réis, mais 200 000 para o salário de um clérigo que o acompanhasse ao estudo e para sustento de dois criados que o servissem. Essas concessões eram sempre acompanhadas da recomendação régia no sentido do tratamento de D. Domingos com a deferência que era devida à sua qualidade.

Entretanto, em 1607 o príncipe, a pedido do pai, conseguiu de Filipe II a abertura dos portos do seu reino a todos os mercadores portugueses, como já acontecia no Congo. Provavelmente tratou-se da substituição da exploração e controlo diretos pela administração da coroa, por contratos, com cedência pelos contratadores de licenças a particulares¹⁸. O objetivo de Otorongboye e do filho era o incremento do comércio de Oere e as vantagens que daí adviriam¹⁹.

Em 1608 D. Domingos comunicou que o pai o mandara chamar, pedindo licença para regressar à pátria, o que foi julgado acertado pelo Conselho de Portugal, depois de o vice-rei D. Cristóvão de Moura ter manifestado a opinião de que já não se justificava a sua presença no reino, acrescentando: «É para a cor que tem está bastantemente ensinado»²⁰. O regresso, no entanto, ainda demorou.

¹⁶ A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África Ocidental (1570-1599)*, v. III, Lisboa, Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1953, p. 557.

¹⁷ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 64-65.

¹⁸ Frédéric MAURO, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico. 1570-1670*, v. I, Lisboa, Estampa, 1989, p. 213; Amândio BARROS, «Trato de escravos e economia atlântica. O contrato do navio *Conceição*, 1525-1526», *Trabalho forçado africano. Articulações com o poder político*, Porto, Campo das Letras, 2007, p. 25.

¹⁹ TT, *Chancelaria de D. Filipe II*, Doações, Liv. II, fol. 243.

²⁰ A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África Ocidental (1600-1610)*, p. 438.

No ano seguinte, o príncipe obteve do rei o hábito da ordem militar de Cristo, assim como para o seu pai e um irmão, e que quatro dos seus criados fossem tomados por cavaleiros fidalgos da casa do rei de Portugal. Porém, sobre a ajuda militar que o seu pai pedia, o monarca ordenou ao governador de São Tomé que tivesse com ele «boa correspondência [...] porém sem se empenhar». O pedido de auxílio tornava-se provavelmente necessário devido aos permanentes conflitos em que os monarcas da região andavam envolvidos com os vizinhos.

Filipe II mandava também que lhe fosse dada embarcação nos navios que seguissem para São Tomé²¹. Talvez a causa da demora em sair do país se relacionasse com o projeto de nele casar, pois em junho de 1610 o monarca referia-se ao seu casamento com a filha de D. Cristóvão Pereira, neta do conde da Feira. D. Cristóvão era filho bastardo de D. Álvaro Pereira, e Felgueiras Gaio afirma que teve uma única filha, «mulher de D. Domingos, o Negro Príncipe de Sere, para onde a levou»²². A missiva em que o príncipe lhe dera a conhecer tal facto destinou-se a apresentar queixa de um juiz de Lisboa que tinha mandado prender os seus criados, por terem acudido a uma briga. O rei pediu então ao vice-rei de Portugal que o informasse sobre as circunstâncias do casamento de D. Domingos²³. Não se conhece a resposta. Em novembro do mesmo ano o soberano deu ordem para que o príncipe embarcasse o mais depressa possível²⁴.

Mas ainda antes que o fizesse, a 1 de dezembro e depois de ouvir o Conselho da Índia, o rei autorizou o príncipe de Oere a renunciar, em pessoa apta e em troca do respetivo valor, a várias concessões de que sua mulher era titular: os cargos de capitão e feitor de Cananor, na costa ocidental da Índia, assim como duas viagens de Coromandel a Malaca e outras duas do Porto Pequeno de Bengala (Satigão) (eventualmente também a Malaca, embora o documento não o diga, ou a Coromandel, ambas com carreiras regulares com esse porto²⁵). O valor conseguido com a renúncia devia ser convertido em juro para dote da mesma²⁶. A venda ou a oferta pela coroa, a particulares, de cargos e viagens de comércio foi uma prática comum na

²¹ A. BRÁSIO, op. cit., pp. 497-499.

²² Felgueiras GAIO, *Nobiliário de famílias de Portugal*, v. 8, Braga, Carvalhos de Basto, 1992, p. 175.

²³ A. BRÁSIO, op. cit., p. 590.

²⁴ A. BRÁSIO, op. cit., p. 601.

²⁵ Luís Filipe F. R. THOMAZ, *De Ceuta a Timor*, Lisboa, Difel, 1994, p. 560.

²⁶ ARQUIVO GERAL DE SIMANCAS, *Secretarias Provinciales*, Portugal, Liv. 1498, fol. 89, citado por Z. SELJAN, pp. 136-137.

gestão do império do Oriente, quer como forma de o rentabilizar quer para galardoar serviços²⁷. Deve ter-se tratado de benefícios concedidos à mulher de D. Domingos já com o fim de virem a ser transacionados, permitindo criar um suporte material do seu sustento, em caso de necessidade («por que, sucedendo o que o dito Conselho aponta, fique ela com o remédio»). O que terá dito o Conselho? Seria falta de confiança na capacidade de D. Domingos para sustentar a mulher? Por simples preconceito ou por razões concretas? No ano seguinte, a 16 de novembro, outro despacho de Filipe II consentiu que, com 100 000 réis nele referidos, talvez provenientes da venda das anteriores concessões, fossem compradas umas casas que rendessem para o príncipe africano e a mulher portuguesa, desde que esta desse a isso consentimento²⁸.

No entanto, em junho de 1611, «estando de caminho [...] para fazer viagem ao dito reino de Oere», ainda outorgou em Lisboa o contrato a seguir referido. É provável que tenha regressado nesse ano.

A 9 de junho de 1611 o príncipe de Oere e um indivíduo chamado Ambrósio Carrilho, residente ao tempo em Lisboa, firmaram um contrato que, aparentemente, mostra o objetivo de o segundo outorgante tirar partido da eventual inexperiência de negócios do primeiro. Não conhecemos o carácter de D. Domingos, nem o nível de compreensão a que conseguiu chegar da sociedade portuguesa nos anos em que viveu no reino, nomeadamente da classe mercantil. Sabemos, pelo próprio contrato, que tinha já mais de 30 anos, mas parece evidente que, ao aceitar um acordo como esse, revelou não estar a par do oportunismo e duplicidade que grassavam na sociedade da época, admiravelmente descritos pelo autor da *Arte de fur-tar*²⁹, em que o caso aqui analisado bem podia ser incluído como exemplo. Vejamos do que se tratou.

Nesse dia encontraram-se no cartório de Baltasar de Almeida, notário público, D. Domingos, Príncipe de Oere, filho de D. Sebastião, rei desse estado das «províncias da Etiópia», para onde estava de partida, e Ambrósio Carrilho, estante em Lisboa e, por isso, proveniente de outra localidade do país, para subscreverem um acordo³⁰. A escritura foi testemunhada por três indivíduos, dois deles pretos, criados do príncipe. Entre os pressupostos do mesmo incluiu-se o desejo do príncipe de que os seus compatriotas

²⁷ C. R. BOXER, *O império marítimo português: 1415-1825*, Lisboa, Edições 70, 1992, p. 311; L. F. F. R. Thomaz, op. cit., p. 205.

²⁸ AGS, *Secretarias Provinciales*, Portugal, Liv. 1498, fol. 133 v, citado por Z. SELJAN, p. 138.

²⁹ ANÓNIMO, *Arte de fur-tar* (Século XVII), Lisboa, Estampa, 1970.

³⁰ TT, *Cartórios Notariais de Lisboa*, 1.º Cart., Ofício A, Cx. 27, Liv. 26, fol. 19-22.

passassem a viver «com ordem e polícia» e se propagasse entre eles a fé católica. Além disso, confiava nas qualidades do outro contratante, por possuir «virtude, habilidade e experiência». Através do contrato nomeou-o *governador* da sua «casa e fazenda, reinos e senhorios», assim dos atuais como dos que viesse a possuir, devendo o mesmo ir consigo no navio em que regressava à pátria.

As funções que incumbiriam ao *governador* eram muitíssimo amplas e até irrealistas: devia viver com ele e estar onde lhe ordenasse, governando tudo o que fosse mister naquele reino «como se governam em Espanha»; igualmente «fazer e mandar todas as cousas que lhe parecerem que se hão mister de fazer [...] de qualquer calidade e sorte que sejam [...] inda que sejam cousas e casos não vistos nem imaginados». Do mesmo modo deveria ordenar «juntas, conselhos e República e Repúblicas bem concertadas, as que convenham que com facilidade se possam governar e os daquelas partes viver em polícia». Finalmente, poderia «tratar, negociar e navegar os daquelas partes a estas d’Espanha e os d’Espanha em aquelas partes», de modo a que, «com a comunicação e trato dos fiéis cristãos se provulgue [*sic*] e estenda para aquelas partes a Santa Fé Católica, de que tantos bens se conseguirão».

Como se verá a seguir, o trato e a navegação dos naturais para Espanha e vice-versa não significavam outra coisa senão o previsto tráfico de escravos. As funções, amplas e pouco especificadas do português, que poderiam compreender «cousas e casos não vistos nem imaginados» (naquelas terras, obviamente), eram uma carta-branca destinada a permitir a Ambrósio Carrilho fazer tudo o que desejasse e lhe conviesse.

A atividade que o português se comprometia a realizar em Oere, alegadamente em prol do seu bom governo, sob o ponto de vista europeu, e da implantação do Cristianismo, seria remunerada com um salário anual de 2000 cruzados ou o seu valor em mercadorias, à sua escolha, entre as que existiam nesse reino, nomeadamente «em escravos e escravas, bons e são, moços e não velhos nem enfermos, tais que sejam de dar e de receber», no valor de 8000 réis por cabeça, livres de direitos. Os mesmos ser-lhe-iam entregues quando o navio ou navios em que fossem transportados estivessem prontos, no litoral. O pagamento poderia também ser feito em marfim ou outros produtos que Ambrósio Carrilho escolhesse.

Na hipótese de o pagamento ser feito só em escravos, aparentemente a forma preferida pelo futuro *governador*, o seu vencimento corresponderia a 100 escravos por ano³¹. Os mesmos, depois de transportados para os destinos

³¹ Valendo o cruzado 400 réis, 2000 cruzados = 800 000 réis, 800 000 : 8000 = 100 escravos.

habituais da Península Ibérica ou do continente americano, veriam multiplicado o seu valor para 8000 réis por cabeça. O preço médio de venda dos escravos, por esses anos, em Cartagena de Índias, principal centro de importação e redistribuição de mão-de-obra cativa na América espanhola, era de 26 000 réis e no Brasil de 27 000³², mais do triplo do custo inicial. As Índias de Castela eram o mais importante mercado para os escravos originários da costa africana³³, e o Brasil, objeto de intensa exploração pelos colonos europeus, estava igualmente sempre sedento de escravos negros. Era, por isso, um bom negócio o do tráfico negreiro. Ainda se mantinha atual a afirmação de Garcia de Resende em 1534: «É cousa que sempre val / e tresdobra o cabedal / em Castela e nas Antilhas»³⁴.

Ambrósio Carrilho não se transformaria, com a venda anual dessa centena de cativos, num grande traficante, lugar que cabia aos *assentistas*, grandes arrematantes de licenças de tráfico, que envolviam a deportação de milhares de indivíduos por ano entre a costa africana e a América espanhola, processo dominado pelos Portugueses³⁵, assim como aos principais armadores da praça de Lisboa, impulsionadores do comércio triangular destinado a adquirir escravos em África para, com o produto da sua venda no Brasil e nas Índias de Castela, comprarem açúcar e outras mercadorias de grande valor na Europa. Também não se incluiria entre os pequenos traficantes, de todos os tipos de profissões, que investiam algum capital para negociar com um pequeno número de cativos, uma ou duas dezenas, ou menos ainda. O acordo firmado, a ser cumprido, colocá-lo-ia entre os traficantes de médio porte, numerosos na época. Isto se ficasse pelos escravos obtidos em Oere através do seu vencimento como *governador* de D. Domingos. Se a esses conseguisse juntar muitos outros, a sua atividade como negreiro subiria de tom. Mas é improvável que isso tenha acontecido, pois de outro modo ter-se-ia destacado nesse ramo de negócio, o que não parece ter sucedido atendendo à sua ausência das fontes que nos chegaram.

³² Jean DÉNUCÉ, *L'Afrique au XVI.e Siècle et le commerce anversois*, Anvers, De Sikkel, 1937, pp. 52-54. O autor publica as contas, referentes a 1615, enviadas de Lisboa por Gonçalo Ximenes, representante da casa do mesmo nome, grande interveniente no tráfico negreiro, ao seu irmão Duarte, em Antuérpia.

³³ Vitorino Magalhães GODINHO, *Os Descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, v. IV, Lisboa, Presença, 1983, pp. 176-181.

³⁴ Garcia de RESENDE, «Miscelânea», *Livro das obras de...*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1994, p. 549.

³⁵ Georges SCELLE, *Histoire politique de la traite négrière aux Indes de Castille*, v. I, Paris, J. B. Sirey et Journal des Palais, 1906, pp. 403-470.

O que terá acontecido depois do regresso do príncipe ao reino de Oere? Ambrósio Carrilho tê-lo-á acompanhado, como tinha ficado estabelecido no acordo? Talvez sim e talvez tenha permanecido no território durante algum tempo. Provavelmente até que a pouca utilidade dos seus serviços, nomeadamente o objetivo de introduzir no país as estruturas políticas hispânicas, desajustadas aos hábitos governativos do país, e o seu quase exclusivo interesse pela obtenção de mão-de-obra escrava tivessem levado ao seu afastamento.

E quanto ao casal afro-luso, o que se terá passado depois da ida para Oere? Num relatório redigido em 1620 pelo bispo de São Tomé D. Pedro da Cunha referia-se este a vários aspetos que interessam ao esclarecimento da situação: a mulher do príncipe tinha já falecido nessa data; o pai, D. Sebastião, embora «acabrunhado pela velhice», continuava a reinar, seguindo e propagando o Cristianismo, instruindo ele próprio o seu povo e organizando procissões; e D. Domingos, escolhido pelo pai para lhe suceder, depois de enviuar tornara-se menos próximo dos Portugueses. Quanto ao seu reino, só na pequena cidade de Santo Agostinho havia cristãos, e a maior parte era-o só de nome, para agradar ao rei e ao príncipe, não se casando nem batizando os filhos, circuncidando estes e usando de malefícios e superstições. E tudo isso se passava, como dizia, por falta de sacerdotes que quisessem ali fixar-se.

Em 1625 Filipe III ordenou que fossem enviados «ao Príncipe de Oere» dois frades franciscanos que prestassem assistência religiosa naquele reino³⁶. É provável que o príncipe, depois da morte do progenitor, que deve ter morrido por esse tempo, passasse a ser o principal promotor da influência cristã no seu país.

Segundo o holandês Dapper, na sua *Description de l'Afrique*³⁷, no ano de 1644, já depois de os Holandeses, após a conquista de São Jorge da Mina, em 1637, terem substituído, no essencial, os Portugueses no comércio da região, Oere era governado por D. António «de Mingo» (certamente Domingos ou Domingues), «mulato ou de raça portuguesa», cujo pai tinha estado em Portugal, donde tinha levado uma mulher de quem ele era filho. O soberano orgulhava-se do seu nascimento, vestia-se à maneira portuguesa e levava a espada ao lado, como os outros mulatos. Ele e uma parte da população praticavam a religião romana. Havia uma igreja, em cujo altar estava um crucifixo e as imagens da Virgem e dos Apóstolos. Nela entravam

³⁶ A. BRÁSIO, *Monumenta missionaria africana. África Ocidental (1622-1630)*, p. 336.

³⁷ Olfert DAPPER, *Description de l'Afrique*, Amesterdão, 1686, pp. 314-315.

negros, para rezar à maneira portuguesa (ou seja, católica). Alguns sabiam ler e escrever, procurando empenhadamente livros portugueses. A existência de um olu mulato, filho de D. Domingos e da sua mulher portuguesa, é corroborada pela história oral do país³⁸.

Naturalmente que, depois da drástica diminuição do tráfico português naquelas paragens, a influência lusa passou a ser menor em Oere. Embora São Tomé, a cujos bispos cabia o envio de missionários para o território, tenha estado sob domínio holandês só de 1641 a 1648, as dificuldades em conseguir sacerdotes continuavam também. Além disso, a Congregação para a Propagação da Fé (*Propaganda Fide*), fundada em Roma em 1622, empenhava-se agora ativamente na ação missionária no império português, sobrepondo-se ao exclusivo luso de organização e expansão religiosas nos domínios africanos e asiáticos³⁹. Por seu intermédio foram para Oere, em 1656, os capuchinhos italianos Angelo Maria Ajaccio e Bonaventura da Firenze, que aí permaneceram até 1660. De acordo com relatório deste, reinava no país D. Matias, irmão de D. António Domingos, como ele filho de D. Domingos, mas, ao contrário do irmão, de mãe africana. D. Matias terá casado com uma mulher branca de São Tomé, em 1659 ou 1660, por intercessão de frei Bonaventura, pois o olu ter-lhe-ia afirmado que só deixava a poligamia para casar com uma branca, que não tinha no seu país.

Em 1673 o olu escreveu ao rei de Portugal, tratando-o por irmão, para pedir o envio de padres, pois havia mais de dez anos que o Cabido de São Tomé não lhos mandava, ficando a administração dos sacramentos e o ensino da doutrina cristã nas mãos de franciscanos⁴⁰. Acontecia mesmo que muitos dos convertidos pelos capuchinhos atrás referidos já tinham regressado ao paganismo. Dizia também que já só de três em três anos tocavam em Oere navios portugueses, mesmo assim de passagem. Em face disto, o Conselho Ultramarino decidiu enviar-lhe missionários, mas quanto ao comércio respondeu que não podia obrigar os súbditos portugueses a comerciarem em parte alguma, aconselhando-o a fazer comércio com quem achasse mais conveniente⁴¹. O desinteresse português pelo comércio no país era claro.

³⁸ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 146-151.

³⁹ A. H. Oliveira MARQUES, *História de Portugal*, 2.^a edição, Lisboa, Ágora, 1973, pp. 470-471.

⁴⁰ Susana Goulart COSTA, «Trento e o clero secular nas ilhas atlânticas», *O Concílio de Trento em Portugal e nas suas conquistas. Olhares novos*, Lisboa, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, 2014, p. 206.

⁴¹ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 244-249; J. KENNY, op. cit., pp. 13-15.

A colaboração entre as autoridades lusas e a Santa Sé para o envio de missionários não foi fácil até 1684, pois Roma não reconhecia a restauração da independência portuguesa. Por isso, só nesse ano o pedido de D. Matias foi atendido, seguindo para São Tomé, com o novo bispo D. Bernardo Zuzarte de Andrade, o capuchinho italiano Francesco da Monteleone, que foi depois para Oere. Aí reinava, ao tempo, D. Ludovico Domingos, que tratava por primo o rei de Portugal e enviou em 1688, por intermédio do missionário, dois filhos para São Tomé, onde no ano seguinte já tinham feito progressos na aprendizagem do latim e dos costumes cristãos. Em 1690 o olu doou uma faixa de terra a Monteleone para construir um convento e uma igreja.

Um ano depois, a instâncias do capuchinho, seguiram para o território três padres, sob a liderança de Giuseppe Maria Busseto. A missão correu mal. Um dos sacerdotes dedicou-se mais ao comércio que à missionação e faleceu pouco depois. Como que para justificar a falta de êxito, Busseto comunicou à *Propaganda Fide* que em Oere «eram todos gentios, praticavam a circuncisão, queriam batizar-se sem aprender o catecismo, não recorriam aos sacramentos e, no máximo, só cinquenta pessoas assistiam à missa». Afirmou ainda que o rei e o reino eram católicos só de nome. Após a morte de Busseto em 1692, o único sobrevivente, Protazio Castrezano, levou a Monteleone, em São Tomé, uma carta do olu dando conta de que estava a terminar a igreja e o convento e implorando missionários⁴². Em 1696 três novos missionários italianos foram para Oere. Um deles adoeceu logo.

Daí em diante, a história das relações, cada vez mais ténues, entre a coroa e a Igreja portuguesas e o reino de Oere continuou até 1837, quando um navio negreiro luso foi capturado pelos Ingleses no rio Benim. Antes disso tinha-se mantido e prosperado o tráfico de escravos. Até às últimas décadas de Setecentos continuaram a ir para o território missionários franciscanos, enviados por Roma, que apresentaram à *Propaganda Fide* relatórios cada vez mais pessimistas sobre a situação religiosa, caracterizada por um Cristianismo oficial permeado de crenças e práticas tradicionais, como a idolatria, a feitiçaria e a poligamia.

⁴² Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 250-254.

Nome itsekiri	Nome português	Reinado
Ginuwa	-	c. 1480-séc. XVI
Ogbowuru I (Ijijen)	-	Séc. XVI
Irame I	-	Séc. XVI
Ojoluwa I	-	Séc. XVI
Esigie I	-	Séc. XVI
Atorongboye I	D. Sebastião	Antes 1595-1625
Atuwatse I (Oyeomasan)	D. Domingos	c. 1625-1643
Oyenakpara I (Obanighenren)	D. António Domingos	c. 1643-1653
Omoluyere I	-	Séc. XVII
Abejoye I	D. Matias	Séc. XVII
Akenjoye	D. Ludovico Domingos	c. 1675-1709
Omagboye	-	Séc. XVIII
Akengboye I	D. Agostinho Sebastião Octobia	c. 1730-1732
Atogbuwa I	D. Miguel Octobia	c. 1734-1760
Erejuwa I	D. Sebastião Manuel Octobia	c. 1760-1795
Akengbuwa I (Eyeolusan)	D. João	c. 1808-1848

1 Olus de Oere (séculos XV a XIX)

Lista baseada no livro *A demanda de Dom Domingos*, de Z. Seljan, e no sítio itsekiricanada.com/olu.php, da Itsekiri Association of Canada [consultado a 04/08/2015].

Os reis continuaram a usar nomes portugueses simultaneamente com os ancestrais itsekiris: D. Agostinho Sebastião Octobia (Akengboye I) (c. 1730-1732), D. Miguel Octobia (Otogbuwa) (1734-1760), D. Sebastião Manuel Octobia (Erejuwa I) (c. 1760-1795) e D. João (Akengbuwa I) (1808-1848)⁴³. Com o domínio inglês desapareceram as autoridades tradicionais, só recuperadas depois da independência. Ainda hoje, numerosas palavras de origem portuguesa se mantêm na língua dos itsekiris, falada hoje por 450 000 pessoas, como testemunho da projeção lusa no país, fazendo desse território um dos que, na África Ocidental, receberam maior influência do português⁴⁴.

Do que foi até aqui referido pode concluir-se que os contactos económicos e culturais de Portugal com o Oere foram consequência da vontade

⁴³ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 52 e 257-263. Os nomes africanos dos olus de Oere, assim como a sua correspondência com os nomes portugueses provêm de fontes orais, através do chefe Ogbemi Rewane, que os transmitiu ao casal Zora Seljan e António Olinto, na década de 80. Daí terem de ser tomados com o cuidado necessário relativo a fontes não escritas.

⁴⁴ António OLINTO, *Brasileiros na África*, p. 126, referido em Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 66 e 79.

da coroa e da classe mercantil em desenvolver o comércio, sobretudo de ouro, marfim, pimenta e escravos, nas costas do golfo da Guiné, bem como de expandir o Cristianismo nessa região, causa esta a que, já no século XVII, se veio a juntar a Santa Sé com o envio de missionários. Da parte dos monarcas e elites sociopolíticas do país africano, além dos benefícios económicos resultantes desse comércio e da esperança de ajuda militar, nunca concretizada, a adoção da religião cristã, por regra superficial, constituía um fator de diferenciação e reforço de poder, num contexto de secular luta pela supremacia regional ou pela manutenção da autonomia.

A ligação estreita entre o esforço de cristianização e o tráfico de escravos (que tinha na conversão dos infiéis o seu principal argumento legitimador) ressalta igualmente, atendendo ao abrandamento desse esforço a partir do momento em que as condições para o tráfico diminuíram. Por não se tratar de um domínio português, com fixação de brancos do reino e a formação de uma população mestiça, como sucedeu em São Tomé ou Cabo Verde, não surgiu aqui um clero autóctone, também mestiço, como nesses territórios, que pudesse sustentar uma cristianização mais séria e persistente⁴⁵. Daí a missão ter ficado dependente da ida esporádica de clérigos do reino, sujeitos a condições sanitárias muito diferentes das do país de origem.

Em resultado disso, a Santa Sé passou a assumir a cristianização à medida que o papel da coroa portuguesa ia declinando. Mas mesmo ela acabaria, a longo prazo, por fracassar. Neste aspeto, foi sintomática a decepção de dois missionários italianos dos começos do século XVIII, chocados com o abuso de «se vender e comprar homens e mulheres nos mercados, como bestas» (Padre Bonaventura Occimian, 1701), constatando que a única forma de os padres sobreviverem era pelo envolvimento nesse tráfico, o que, na sua opinião, era «não só insano como totalmente contra a nossa condição» (Padre Cipriano de Napolis, 1709)⁴⁶. As suas opiniões refletiam as críticas desferidas, desde a década de oitenta do século XVII, pelo afro-brasileiro Lourenço da Silva de Mendonça⁴⁷, pelos capuchinhos

⁴⁵ João de FIGUEIRÔA-RÊGO e Fernanda OLIVAL, «Cor da pele, distinções e cargos: Portugal e espaços atlânticos portugueses (séculos XVI a XVIII)», *Tempo*, p. 134; S. G. COSTA, op. cit., pp. 210-212.

⁴⁶ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 252-253.

⁴⁷ Richard GRAY, «The Papacy and the Atlantic Slave Trade: Lourenço da Silva, the Capuchins and the decisions of the Holy Office», *Past & Present*, n.º 115, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1987, pp. 52-68.

espanhóis frei Francisco de la Mota⁴⁸ e Frei Francisco José de Jaca, assim como pelo francês frei Epifânio de Moirans contra o comércio de escravos, que levou à condenação do mesmo pela *Propaganda Fide* e pelo Santo Ofício⁴⁹. Isso, aliado à impossibilidade de combaterem eficazmente a idolatria, a feitiçaria e os vícios em que o povo se obstinava, levava-os a desistir desse esforço inglório⁵⁰.

Em face disto, é de evidenciar a atitude oposta: o aparente consenso entre portugueses e autoridades africanas em volta do comércio de escravos, ao longo de séculos. Da parte de Portugal, coroa, hierarquia eclesiástica, negreiros; da parte africana, monarcas, elites políticas e mercadores, todos retiravam vantagens, cada um do seu tipo e a seu modo, desse género de comércio, de que as únicas vítimas eram os próprios escravos.

O caso aqui abordado do príncipe D. Domingos é representativo do investimento, quer em termos políticos quer financeiros, da coroa portuguesa nos contactos, mutuamente vantajosos, com estados africanos situados em regiões estratégicas. Esse interesse político levava as autoridades a disfarçarem o preconceito em relação à cor e à avaliação negativa que certamente faziam do nível de civilização dos respetivos povos e reis, que se surpreende na resposta do vice-rei Cristóvão de Moura ao Conselho de Portugal, achando que, para a cor que tinha, o príncipe africano já recebera educação suficiente. Mesmo assim, apesar do preconceito, foi possível que uma jovem da nobreza titulada casasse (não sabemos em que circunstâncias) com um negro, embora príncipe, e fosse com ele para um país africano quase desconhecido e com condições climáticas muito severas.

A aproximação a uma cultura tão diversa da portuguesa (tal como sucedeu noutros casos, como o Benim ou o Congo) pôs em confronto hábitos quotidianos, formas de organização, religiões, aspetos físicos e capacidades técnicas como antes nunca tinha acontecido com ambos os povos. Desse intercâmbio resultou um conjunto híbrido de crenças e rituais religiosos cristãos e animistas que, durante mais de dois séculos, se sobrepuseram e concorreram entre si; a penetração da língua itsekiri por elevado número de termos portugueses, facto que ainda se mantém; na sociedade lusa, uma compreensão mais vasta e complexa sobre povos não europeus.

O contrato estabelecido com Ambrósio Carrilho exemplifica o aparecimento, na sociedade da época, de inúmeros particulares sempre prontos a

⁴⁸ Avelino Teixeira da MOTA, op. cit., pp. 49-52.

⁴⁹ José ANDRÉS-GALLEGO e Jesús María GARCÍA ANÓVEROS, *La Iglesia y la esclavitud de los Negros*, Pamplona, Universidad de Navarra, 2002, pp. 71-92.

⁵⁰ Z. SELJAN, op. cit., pp. 254-255.

tirar partido da unanimidade estabelecida em torno do tráfico, justificando as suas ambições com argumentos de elevado sentido religioso e político. Aqui também se nota, agora da parte do negociante, pouca consideração pela capacidade de D. Domingos em compreender as implicações do acordo que tinha subscrito.

Apêndice Documental⁵¹

Lisboa, 09.06.1611

TT, *Cartórios Notariais de Lisboa*, Cart. 1, Ofício A, Cx. 27, Liv. 26, fol. 19-22

Poder. O príncipe d'Oere Dom Domingos a Ambrozio Carrilho

Em nome de Deos Amen. Saibão quantos esta carta de poder e obrigação virem como eu Dom Domingos, Príncipe d'Oere, filho legitimo e natural de Sua Alteza meu senhor e pay Dom Sebastião, Rey de Oere, que he em as provincias de Ethiopia, estante ao prezente em esta cidade de Lisboa e de caminho com a graça de Deos para fazer viagem ao ditto Reyno de Oere, digo que, porque eu tenho desejo e vontade que em aquellas partes vivão os naturais dellas com hordem e policia, para que com ella se provulge e estenda a Fee Catolica de que tanto se servira Nosso Senhor e pondo-o em efeito e avendo visto e entendido de quanta importancia sera levar em minha companhia pessoa que assista comigo [e] esteja aonde eu lhe ordenar que faça e governe todo o que for mister em o ditto Reyno de Oere como se governão em Espanha e porque a de Ambrosio Carrilho, estante em esta cidade de Lisboa, eu tenho delle muita noticia e conhecimento, assy de sua vertude e abelidade, esperiencia como de outras couzas, e que para o ditto efeito he pessoa muy a preposito o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho, para que va em minha companhia e em o navio em que eu for ao ditto Reyno de Vere, e para este efeito lhe dou e quero dar titulo e nome de governador de minha caza e fazenda, reynos e senhorios que eu tenho e tiver daqui adiante e Nosso Senhor for servido de me dar em aquelas partes e em outras quaisquer, para que em eles se estenda e exercite a Santa Fee Catholica e para o ditto efeito como tal governador lhe dou todo meu poder comprido em bastante forma segundo que o ey e tenho e como mais pode e deve valer, para que por mim e em meu nome e como eu mesmo o faria e poderia fazer, possa ordenar, fazer e mandar todas as couzas que lhe pareserem que se ão mister de se fazer e hordenar e mandar, de qualquer calidade e sorte que seião, ainda que para ellas e para [f. 19 v.] qualquer dellas seja necessaria minha presença e pessoa, porque para todos quantos sobsederem em as tais partes lhe dou esta mesma procuração, inda que

⁵¹ Na transcrição do documento foi respeitada integralmente a grafia original. Foram exceção a esta regra o desenvolvimento das abreviaturas, a colocação de maiúsculas nos nomes próprios (exceto nas assinaturas) e topónimos, a separação de palavras que no mesmo aparecem juntas e a introdução de algumas vírgulas e pontos, para melhor compreensão do texto.

sejão couzas e cazos não vistos nem imaginados, porque sey que em todo a-de procurar a utilidade e proveito meu e daquelas partes sobreditas e vassalos e para que possa hordenar juntas, conselhos e Republica e Republicas bem concertadas, as que convenhão, que com faselidade se possão governar e os daquelas partes viver em policia, com todo o demais que for mister e lhe parecer ao ditto Ambrozio Carrilho que convem fazer e para que possa tratar, negosear e navegar os daquelas partes a estas d’Espanha e os d’Espanha em aquellas partes e gozar da merçe que Sua Majestade o Catoliquissimo Rey Dom Phelippe o Terseiro fez ao ditto Reyno de Vere, para que com a comonicação e trato dos fieis christãos se provulge e estenda para aquellas partes a Sancta Fee Catholica de que tantos bens se conseguirão, assy em aquellas partes como em Christandade, para todo o qual e para cada couza e parte dello eu o ditto Dom Domingos, Principe de Vere, dou ao dito Ambrozio Carrilho tão inteira e bastante procuração como eu o tenho, para que fassa e ordene, conceda e prov[e]ja e mande todas as couzas que quizer se lhe pareserem fazer e ordenar e mandar, as quais quero e he minha vontade que sejão guardadas e obedecidas da mesma maneira que se eu as mandasse estando presente porque minha presença e ausencia quero e he minha vontade que se fação ao ditto Ambrosio Carrilho em todas as couzas e cazos que se fizerem e lhe parecer que são mister e convem porque assy he minha vontade, pelo qual cuidado e trabalho e porque va em minha companhia ao ditto Reyno de Vere, as ditas couzas e negosios e governo me obrigo de lhe dar de selario em cada hum anno, dous mil cruzados ou ducados ou seu valor, em que elle ditto Ambrozio Carrilho [f. 20] quizer, que aja no dito Reyno, pagos por seus quarteis de tres em tres mezes como forem compridos, os quais comessarão a correr e se hão-de contar desd’o primeiro dia do mes de janeiro deste anno, de seiscentos e onze anos, e por tempo de seis anos e se acabarão por fim do anno de seiscentos e dezasseis anos, huma paga apos outra, como forem compridas, as quais ditas pagas eu o dito Principe me obrigo de lhe fazer no ditto Reyno de Vere ou junto a elle aonde se possa embarcar o que eu lhe pagar, para que se navege e leve donde o ditto Ambrosio Carrilho quizer e for sua vontade ou neste Reyno e sidade de Lisboa ou em Castella em a cidade de Sevilha, donde eu quizer. E sendo a ditta paga em Espanha a-de ser em reales de pratta, contando onze reales castilhanos por cada ducado. E se a ditta paga for neste reino de Portugal an-de ser quatro tostões por hum cruzado, como valem neste reino de Portugal, de maneira que a paga das tais duas partes an-de ser pelo valor das moedas de prata que naquela parte que lhe pagar valerem, assy a ditta paga for em o ditto reino de Vere

ou em outra parte, ahí junto da barra a-de ser, me obrigo de fazer a ditta paga de todo o que assy dever do ditto selario em escravos, escravas, bons e sãos, moços e não velhos nem enfermos, tais que sejam de dar e receber, a contento do ditto Ambrozio Carrilho ou de seu procurador, me obrigo de os dar ao tempo que o navio ou navios estiverem para navegar e fazer viagem a parte que forem e a preço cada hum dos ditos escravos de oito mil réis, com suas comidas e mantimentos, para que posão chegar a parte e lugar donde o navio ou navios em que carregarem os ditos escravos e escravas forem e todos os ditos escravos e escravas livres e forros de direitos, porque se alguns se deverem eu os tenho de pagar e não o ditto Ambrosio Carrilho.

E assy mesmo he declaração que lhe tenho de pagar ao ditto Ambrozio Carrilho em marfim e em outras couzas e mercadorias, frutos da terra os que o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho quizer pelos preços e valor que em aquella [f. 20 v.] parte valerem, de maneira que sejam couzas acomodadas e a proposito para levar e poder vender em a parte ou partes donde os tais navios forem ter a fazer sua direita descarga e das mesmas mercadorias que eu o ditto Principe fizer carregar em o dito navio ou navios ou das que outras pessoas que nelles carregarem. E assy mesmo me obrigo eu o dito Principe de fazer dar lugar em qualquer dos ditos navios para que lhe llevem ao ditto Ambrozio Carrilho todas as mercadorias e couzas em que eu lhe pagar e tiver pago o ditto seu salario, das quais não avera de pagar nenhuma couza de direitos, ainda que se devão e outros as pagem. E se alguns se deverem e se ouverem de pagar eu o dito Principe me obrigo a os pagar, porque tão somente a-de pagar o dito Ambrosio Carrilho os fretes dos escravos, escravas e das demais couzas em que eu lhe fizer pagar o dito seu salario e os direitos que se deverem pagar em a parte donde forem, porque todo o que eu assy lhe pagar e o ditto Ambrosio Carrilho carregar para quaisquer partes que for, a-de ir por sua conta e risco do ditto Ambrosio Carrilho, eycepto as pagas que se lhe fizerem em Espanha, porque esas an-de vir e ser por minha conta e risco. E o dito Ambrosio Carrilho a-de ser obrigado, se eu lhe pagar ou fizer pagar o ditto seu salario em o ditto reyno de Vere e a paga que eu lhe fizer, fazer a carregar para qualquer parte que for o navio, de declarar em o registo do que assy registrar do que eu lhe ouver pagado e feito pagar aquellas couzas em que eu lhe ouver feito pagar, que são as que eu o dito Principe lhe pagei ou mandey pagar decorrido de seu selario ate o tempo que se lhe ouver pagado por que este registo me possa servir a mym o ditto Principe de quitação e carta de pago e que, se no ditto registo não for a ditta declaração que o ditto Ambrosio Carrilho ou seu procurador ou qualquer deles an-de poder fazer e cobrar todo o que se lhe dever ao ditto

Ambrozio Carrilho do ditto seu salario desde o dito dia primeiro de janeiro deste anno ate o dia em que o pedir e com esta escritura soo e certificação de que em o dito registo na [sic] valha rezão [f. 21] da dita paga que eu o dito Principe lhe avia de fazer de seu salario ao dito Ambrozio Carrilho a-de poder executar em meus bens e isto quero que seja bastante prova de não aver-lhe pago nem feito pagar e com seu juramento somente do dito Ambrozio Carrilho ou de qualquer seu procurador me a-de poder executar em todos meus bens e fazer cobrar todo o que se lhe dever como dito he.

Ittem com condissão que todas as demais couzas e mercadorias que o dito Ambrozio Carrilho tratar por sy ou por interpostas pessoas que a-de ser obrigado elle e ellas a pagar a metade dos ditos direitos que os demais pagarem, porque da outra ametade, assy do que mandarem como do que lhe trouxerem por mar ou por terra, a-de pagar somente a metade do direito que os outros pagarem dos mesmos naturais da terra como não seja para o gasto e provimento da caza do ditto Ambrozio Carrilho e de sua pessoa, porque disto não ha-de pagar couza alguma e demais disto eu o ditto Principe me obrigo de dar ao dito Ambrozio Carrilho para [?] e embarcação em que faça a ditta viagem a minha custa desde o dia em que se embarcarem em que eu eyde ir ao dito reyno de Vere lhe ey-de dar de comer e beber e o sustento de sua pessoa e para dous criados que o sirvão em o ditto navio e levando-me Deos com bem e a salvamento ao dito reyno de Vere lhe ey-de dar caza de aposento em que viva e o sustento de sua pessoa do ditto Ambrozio Carrilho e para quatro criados ou criadas que lhe sirvão todo o tempo que estiver em o ditto reyno de Vere ou em outra qualquer parte por minha hordem e mandado.

Ittem com condissão que se o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho por sua industria ou abelidade fizer ou descubryr ou inventar alguma couza ou couzas que sejam de proveito assy de engenho e arte como de outras quaisquer, ainda que sejam couzas mecânicas em que eu ou outras pessoas tenham ou possam ter proveito e utilidade ou o ditto reyno e aquellas terras que sejam fora do que toca ao governo da gente e terra que eu o ditto Principe de Vere me obrigo de lho pagar conforme a qualidade que tiverem e quero e he minha vontade que se possa consertar comigo para que eu lha page ou gratifique ou outra [f. 21 v.] qualquer pessoa ou [?] previllegio dellas e para esto não se a-de fazer cazo nem contar nem considerar o selario que como guovernador eu lhe tenho de pagar, porque isto a-de ser couza mui distinta e de por sy da paga de governador allem do que he [?] pelo que o dito Ambrozio Carrilho merece e tem he condissão que cada ves e quando que o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho quizer ir-se do ditto reyno de Vere ou de qualquer outra parte daquelas

em que estiver e vir-se para Espanha ou para qualquer outra parte que o a-de poder fazer livremente e eu prometo e dou minha palavra de não lhe empedir a ditta viagem que quizer fazer ainda que não sejam compridos os ditos seis anos, antes o favoreserey e ajudarei e pagarei todo o que lhe dever sem que lhe falte couza alguma e prometo e me obrigo eu o dito Principe a pagar todo o aqui conteúdo e de me não valer do abito de Christo que tenho para o dito efeito e de não pedyr provisão de Sua Majestade para impedir a paga e comprimento desta escritura e quero que sendo necessario [-] a qualquer juiz do crime ou sivel, que qualquer parte que seja para que lhe parem por juízo como se em minha pessoa me sitassem e não porey embargos, eu nem meu procurador nem procuradores a pagar em comprimento desta escritura e que se os pusermos que não nos valhão e os dou por nenhuns e que primeiro depositarey a paga em poder do ditto Ambrozio Carrilho ou de qualquer seu procurador que seja ouvido e que a nenhum deles pedirei fiança, porque declaro que de agora são abonados para fazer em suas mãos o ditto deposito e que sou maior de vinte e cinco anos de idade e que tenho mais de trinta e que estou fora do poderio paternal e sou cazado, ao que obrigo todos meus bens, rendas e direitos que me pertence[m] e pertencerem agora ou daqui em diante no ditto reyno ou em outra qualquer parte sob todas as custas e despezas, perdas e danos que o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho, em razão do sobredito fizer e receber.

E eu Ambrozio Carrilho estando presente me obrigo a todo cumprir assy e da maneira que nesta escritura se contem e aseito todo o declarado nella quanto ao que toca a minha parte e obrigo a isso minha pessoa e bens avidos e por aver. E assy mais nos obrigamos, eu o ditto Principe e eu o ditto Ambrozio Carrilho, a respondermos perante quaisquer justiças ante quem esta escritura for presentada cada hum pella parte que nos toca [...]. E em fee e testemunho de verdade outorgamos este contrato em a cidade de Lisboa, em nove dias do mes de junho de seiscentos e onze, ante Balthasar d'Almeida, notario publico na ditta cidade e seus termos, sendo presentes por testemunhas Domingos Lopes, preto, Estevão Semedo de Carvalho e Gregorio Vasques, preto, criados do dito principe, em sua caza moradores e somos contentes que desta escritura se dem hum, dous e os mais treslados em publico que forem necessarios, hum comprido os outros não valhão. E eu sobredito tabalião presente fuy ao que dito he com as ditas testemunhas e dou fee que conheço os outorgantes, que assynarão no registo com as ditas testemunhas [...].

[Assinaturas:]

Estevão Semedo de carvalho O Príncipe de Oëre Ambrosio CaRilho
Gregorio Vasques pretto D.os Lopez pretto

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Cruzando fronteiras: conversão e mobilidades culturais de escravos no império asiático português (séculos XVI e XVII)

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Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é analisar a cristianização de populações escravizadas no império asiático português, nos séculos XVI e XVII. Abordam-se aspectos gerais relacionados à cristianização de tais escravos, com ênfase na legislação do Arcebispado de Goa e na atividade dos principais agentes da evangelização. Os desafios associados a esse processo de cristianização também são considerados, como a porosidade das fronteiras (geográficas e culturais) que separavam as comunidades cristãs (dos territórios luso-asiáticos) das sociedades locais muçulmanas e hindus. Nesse sentido, investigamos as transformações identitárias de tais escravos – especialmente dos sentenciados pela Inquisição –, que foram convertidos ao catolicismo e transitaram por diferentes sociedades e sistemas religiosos do Índico.

Palavras-chave: império asiático português; escravos; Catolicismo; identidades religiosas.

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyze the Christianization of enslaved populations under the Portuguese Asian Empire during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries. We examine the broader aspects related to the Christianization of these enslaved people, with emphasis on the legislation of the Archbishopric of Goa and on the activities performed by the main agents of evangelization. We also consider the challenges regarding this Christianization process, like the porous borders (geographical and cultural frontiers) that separated Christian communities (in the Luso-Asiatic domains) from local Muslim and Hindu societies. In this way, we investigate the identity shifts of these enslaved people – especially of the enslaved tried by the Inquisition – who were converted to Catholicism and traversed several societies and religious systems throughout the Indian Ocean region.

Keywords: The Portuguese Asian empire; slaves; Catholicism; religious identities.

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Cruzando fronteiras: conversão e mobilidades culturais de escravos no império asiático português (séculos XVI e XVII)¹

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Neste artigo analisamos a cristianização de populações escravizadas no império asiático português, nos séculos XVI e XVII. Inicialmente, abordaremos as leis que trataram da cristianização de escravos (com ênfase nas determinações régias e na legislação do Arcebispado de Goa) e as ações adotadas pelos principais agentes da evangelização.

Entende-se a legislação do Estado da Índia como um produto das relações sociais², e por essa razão consideramos as pressões exercidas pelos diferentes agentes na construção da norma. Os desafios associados à aplicação das normas pelos agentes da conversão das populações escravas também são considerados, com destaque para a porosidade das fronteiras (geográficas e culturais) que separavam as comunidades cristãs (existentes nos territórios luso-asiáticos) das sociedades locais muçulmanas e hindus.

As populações escravas foram submetidas a deslocamentos compulsórios, além de empreenderem fugas, de modo que a mobilidade desses escravos ultrapassou o sentido literal do movimento (dos deslocamentos geográficos), ao propiciar as mobilidades culturais³. Nesse sentido, investigamos as transformações das identidades de tais escravos – especialmente dos sentenciados pela Inquisição de Goa –, que foram convertidos ao catolicismo e transitaram por diferentes sociedades e sistemas religiosos nos

¹ Este artigo apresenta uma parte dos resultados do projecto de investigação «De Goa a Lisboa: religiosidades e vida cotidiana de escravos asiáticos sentenciados pela Inquisição Portuguesa (séculos XVI e XVII)», financiado pela CAPES (Bolsa de Pós-Doutorado, Processo 0717-2015) e FAPERJ (Programa Jovem Cientista, Processo E-26/202.865/2015). Ao longo da pesquisa, desfrutei do diálogo com Didier Lahon, Célia Tavares, Ernestine Carreira, João Teles e Cunha, Cláudio Pinheiro, Eliane Garcindo de Sá, Rômulo Ehalt, Alain Pascal Kaly, com pesquisadores do Laboratório de Mundos Ibéricos (LAMI-UFRRJ) e especialmente do apoio de Alessandro Stella e Maria Manso, aos quais agradeço imensamente.

² Sue PEABODY, «Slavery, Freedom and the Law in the Atlantic World, 1420-1807» in David Eltis e Stanley Engerman (eds.), *Cambridge World History of Slavery*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 594-598.

³ O conceito de mobilidades culturais foi desenvolvido por Greenblatt, que estimula a reflexão sobre a dialética entre a permanência e a transformação das culturas, sem que elas sejam concebidas como fixas, estáveis, plenamente estabelecidas e coerentes. Stephen GREENBLATT *et al.*, *Cultural Mobility*, New York, Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 1-19, 250-253.

mundos ligados pelo Oceano Índico⁴. Para analisar as transformações nas identidades de populações retiradas de seus grupos de parentela, capturadas e transformadas em escravas, forçadas a cruzar múltiplas fronteiras⁵, pensamos em algumas categorias (espaço, religião e status) de forma contingente, em decorrência das fluidas fronteiras culturais, geográficas e sociais, a fim de evitarmos a adoção de categorias definidas pela fixidez, tal como propôs Indrani Chaterjee⁶.

Após a análise dos enquadramentos gerais relacionados à cristianização dos escravos (a legislação e a ação dos agentes da evangelização), desenvolveremos dois estudos de caso que atentam para as experiências de conversão vividas por Gabriel e Gonçalo Toscano⁷.

Escravidão e cristianização nas leis do Estado da Índia: anos iniciais

A conversão das populações escravizadas no Estado da Índia ocupou considerável espaço na legislação produzida por autoridades políticas ou eclesiásticas. No entanto, essa questão recebeu pouca atenção da historiografia, se compararmos com os estudos referentes à dimensão atlântica do império luso⁸.

⁴ A escravidão no Oceano Índico desenvolveu-se no interior de um sistema complexo e durável de trocas comerciais de longa distância, que permitiram ligações entre a China, o Sul e o Sueste da Ásia, o Oriente Médio e a África. Nesse sistema, existiam diversos tipos de trabalho servil e foram envolvidas populações escravizadas de diversas origens, culturas e cores da pele, conforme: Gwyn CAMPBELL, «Slavery in the Indian Ocean» in Gad Heuman e Trevor Burnard (eds.), *The Routledge History of Slavery*, London, Routledge, 2011, p. 61.

⁵ Indrani CHATERJEE, «Renewed and Connected Histories: Slavery and the Historiography of South Asia» in Indrani Chaterjee e Richard Eaton (eds.), *Slavery & South Asian History*, Indiana University Press, 2006, pp. 22-23.

⁶ I. CHATERJEE, op. cit., p. 25.

⁷ ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO [ANTT], *Tribunal do Santo Ofício*, Inquisição de Lisboa (TSO-IL), Processo 4931 (Gonçalo) e 4937 (Gabriel).

⁸ Cf., entre outros estudos: Carlos A. R. ZERON, «O Governo dos escravos nas Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia e na Legislação Portuguesa: separação e complementaridade entre pecado e delito» in Bruno Feitler e Everton Sales (org.), *A Igreja no Brasil: normas e práticas durante a vigência das Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia*, São Paulo, Ed. Unifesp, 2011, pp. 323-353; Mariza de Carvalho SOARES, «A conversão dos escravos africanos e a questão do gentilismo nas Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia» in B. Feitler e E. Sales (org.), op. cit., pp. 303-321; Fernando LONDOÑO, «As Constituições do Arcebispado da Bahia de 1707 e a presença da escravidão», pp. 275-282. [Consultado em 01/12/2015] Disponível em <http://www.humanas.ufpr.br/portal/cedope/files/2011/12/As-Constitui%C3%A7%C3%B5es-do-Arcebispado-da-Bahia-de-1707-e-a-presen%C3%A7a-da-escravid%C3%A3o-Fernando-Torres-Londono.pdf>; Charlotte de CASTELNAU-L'ESTOILE, « La liberté du sacrement. Droit canonique et mariage des esclaves dans le Brésil colonial », *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 65^e année (2010/6), pp. 1349-1383.

Sílvia Lara, importante investigadora da escravidão praticada na América portuguesa, no mundo atlântico, afirma que as normas existentes no reino de Portugal tornaram-se a base para desenvolvimento da legislação adotada nos espaços ultramarinos lusos; porém, considera que também precisamos reconhecer que as práticas adotadas nos territórios coloniais tiveram suas especificidades. As considerações de Sílvia Lara estimulam a análise sobre a tensão entre as normas e a prática da escravidão em outro espaço colonial luso: no Oriente português.

A legislação adotada no Oriente português, por um lado, teve como referência as normas preexistentes no reino de Portugal, que versaram sobre o estatuto do escravo, a sua posse, a sua conversão, oriundas das Ordenações régias e dos direitos romano, canônico e comum. Por outro lado, as leis relacionadas aos escravos ajustaram-se aos diferentes contextos da presença lusa no vasto e heterogêneo «Estado da Índia»⁹.

Além disso, precisamos considerar que o tráfico de escravos e a escravatura no Índico diferiram das experiências no Atlântico¹⁰, pois principiaram antes da inauguração do tráfico transatlântico, envolveram mercadores e diversas sociedades da Península Arábica, da Etiópia, da África Oriental, do Guzerate, das Costas do Malabar e do Coromandel, do Golfo de Bengala, da Insulíndia, da China e do Japão, além de vincular estes espaços com os mercados europeus e americanos¹¹. Como mencionamos, a legislação adotada no Oriente português precisou se ajustar às múltiplas situações jurídico-políticas dos territórios do Estado da Índia, isto é, das conquistas (como Goa ou Malaca), fortalezas, feitorias ou comunidades mercantis portuguesas situadas desde a costa oriental africana até Macau.

⁹ Carmo D'SOUZA, «Slavery in Goa: Legal and Historical Perspectives» in Fernandez Dias e Marie Suzette (org.), *Legacies of Slavery*, New Castle, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007, pp. 62-75; Patrícia S. FÁRIA, «Os concílios provinciais de Goa: reflexões sobre o impacto da “Reforma Tridentina” no centro do império asiático português (1567-1606)», *Topoi*, Vol. 14, n.º 27 (jul-dez, 2013); Ernestine Carreira, *Globalising Goa (1660-1820). Change and Exchange in a Former Capital of Empire*, Goa, Goa 1556, 2013, pp. 384-412.

¹⁰ Jeanette Pinto, *Slavery in Portuguese India*. Bombay: Himalaya Publishing House, 1992; Gwyn Campbell (org.), *The structure of slavery in Indian Ocean Africa and Asia*, London, Frank Cass, 2004, p. vii; Indrani Chatterjee, *Gender, Slavery and Law in Colonial India*. Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999; Pedro Machado, *An Ocean of Trade: South Asian Merchants, Africa and the Indian Ocean*, Cambridge University Press, 2014; C. Costa PINHEIRO, «No governo dos mundos. Escravidão, contextos coloniais e administração das populações», *Estudos Afro-asiáticos*, Vol. 24, n.º 3 (2002), pp. 425-457; E. CARREIRA, op. cit., pp. 377-455.

¹¹ T. SEIJAS, *Asian Slaves in Colonial Mexico*, Cambridge University Press, 2014; MANSO, Maria de Deus B. e Lúcio de SOUSA, «Os portugueses e o comércio de escravos nas Filipinas (1580-1600)». *Revista de Cultural Review of Culture*, Macau, n.º 40 (out/2011), pp. 7-21; Rômulo EHALT, «As faces da escravidão colonial e asiática em Macau e Manila (séculos XVI e XVII)» in *Encontro Regional da ANPUH-RIO*, 2014.

No Estado da Índia, parte das leis relacionadas às populações escravas inseriu-se em um conjunto de medidas destinadas à propagação do catolicismo. Algumas preocupações quanto à conversão de escravos muçulmanos e gentios foram demonstradas logo nos anos iniciais da construção do aparato eclesiástico do Estado da Índia, antes mesmo da criação do Bispado de Goa (1534) e da chegada dos jesuítas à Índia (em 1542)¹². Naquele contexto, a concessão de alforria ao escravo que se convertesse ao catolicismo foi uma questão bastante mencionada na legislação quinhentista. Por esta razão, analisaremos como eclesiásticos, missionários, governadores e mercadores pressionaram em busca do estabelecimento de normas acerca da escravatura que atendessem a suas respectivas aspirações quanto aos negócios espirituais ou temporais. Mencionaremos como tais normas foram instituídas em regiões como a Costa do Malabar, Malaca, Ormuz, Goa e na Província do Norte, bem como consideraremos a possível distância entre o que determinavam as leis e sua aplicação.

Entre as primeiras regiões que foram incorporadas aos domínios lusos na Índia encontram-se as situadas na Costa do Malabar, como Cochim, Cananor e Coullão. Uma parcela dos primeiros convertidos pelos portugueses no Oriente era formada por escravos, conforme as listas das cristandades das fortalezas lusas produzidas na década de 1510¹³. No Malabar, havia populações de castas baixas que trabalhavam em palmeirais, exerciam atividades militares ou viviam como escravos vinculados ao cultivo das terras dos naires (casta alta local)¹⁴. Em 1523, o Bispo D. Duarte¹⁵ escreveu de Cochim para o monarca português, a fim de propor a concessão de liberdade aos escravos que se convertessem, como uma forma de ampliar a cristandade local, bem como ressaltou que, conforme o direito canônico, todos os «infiéis que fugirem para nossa santa fé católica sejam livres»¹⁶.

No Sueste Asiático, em Malaca, após a conquista militar de 1511, Afonso de Albuquerque lançou pregões para que todo escravo que dei-

¹² Ângela B. XAVIER, «A organização religiosa do primeiro Estado da Índia. Notas para uma investigação», *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, n.º 5, dez/2004, pp. 27-59; Ângela Barreto XAVIER, *A invenção de Goa*. Lisboa: ICS, 2008; Célia S. TAVARES, *Jesuítas e inquisidores em Goa*. Lisboa: Roma Editora, 2004.

¹³ A. Silva REGO, *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português no Oriente* [DHMPPO], Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colônias, 1947, v.1, p. 255 (doc.113), ano 1514.

¹⁴ Stephen Frederic DALE, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier: the Mappilas of Malabar. 1498-1922*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1980, p. 22. Sobre a escravidão no Malabar, em contexto posterior ao que investigamos, ver: K. SARADAMONI, *Emergence of a Slave Caste: Pulayars of Kerala*, New Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1980.

¹⁵ O Bispo de Dume, D. Duarte, foi um bispo *in partibus infidelium* enviado à Índia.

¹⁶ DHMPPO, Vol. 2, p. 19.

xasse o serviço do sultão local recebesse mantimentos e fosse alforriado¹⁷. Em Malaca, as populações locais tornavam-se escravas por endividamento, nascimento ou por serem prisioneiros de guerras; igualmente, aportavam, naquela região, navios repletos de negros e cativos trazidos de Java, Sunda, Sião, Pegu, China, Bornéu, Macassar, Timor, Solor e Golfo de Bengala¹⁸. Os escravos dessa sociedade essencialmente urbana e mercantil foram um dos principais alvos da ação proselitista dos jesuítas, que eram cétricos quanto à possibilidade de conversão das demais populações locais, por causa da influência do islamismo¹⁹.

Além disso, havia a preocupação em torno da influência religiosa nefasta que os proprietários «infiéis» poderiam exercer sobre os seus escravos já cristianizados. Essa seria uma das justificativas para que os escravos, cujos senhores não fossem cristãos, fossem libertados após terem aceitado o batismo. A concessão de alforria aos escravos convertidos cujos senhores fossem infiéis parece ter sido adotada em Malaca, até cerca de 1526. No entanto, após terem obtido a alforria, tais populações geralmente retornavam ao islamismo e se juntavam às forças do sultão local. A fim de coibir esse retorno ao islão, o governador-geral do Estado da Índia, D. Henrique de Meneses (1525-1526), determinou a venda de escravos que se batizassem a proprietários cristãos – ao preço de doze cruzados –, sem a concessão de alforria aos cativos convertidos, como até então era a prática adotada em Malaca²⁰.

Em 1532, o vigário de Malaca (Afonso Martins) escreveu ao rei de Portugal para informar que a maioria dos convertidos na região consistia em escravos de moradores e de mercadores; na mesma carta criticou a prática de conceder alforria a escravo convertido sem pagamento de seus senhores, pois os mercadores ficavam insatisfeitos, e recordou a supracitada lei sobre os doze cruzados a serem pagos por escravo²¹. Além disso, propôs a criação de uma casa para acolher os escravos que desejassem se converter²², onde deveriam permanecer por alguns dias antes de receber o batismo, para que fossem examinados acerca da real intenção de se tornarem cristãos e não

¹⁷ L. F. THOMAZ, «A escravatura em Malaca no século XVI», *Studia*, n.º 53 (1994).

¹⁸ V. Magalhães GODINHO, *Os Descobrimentos e a economia mundial*, Lisboa, Arcádia, 1965, pp. 547-548.

¹⁹ Tara ALBERTS, *Conflict and conversion: Catholicism in Southeast Asia, 1500-1700*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

²⁰ L. F. THOMAZ, «A escravatura em Malaca no século XVI», *Studia*, n.º 53 (1994), p. 295.

²¹ DHMPPO, Vol. 2, pp. 227-228.

²² DHMPPO, Vol. 2, pp. 227-228.

retornarem ao islão. A proposta do vigário de Malaca pode ser entendida como uma espécie de solução de compromisso, pois tratava da evangelização dos escravos, mas sem negligenciar as queixas dos mercadores²³.

Em 1533, D. João III declarou ter tomado conhecimento das queixas dos mercadores e ter buscado informações sobre quais as práticas adotadas no Oriente relativas à concessão de alforria. O monarca consultou letrados e teólogos, que recomendaram que os escravos fossem examinados pelos curas das igrejas locais por um período de três a quatro dias, quando receberiam ensino sobre os assuntos da fé católica. Caso o exame confirmasse a intenção de os escravos se converterem, eles deveriam ficar «livres e forros, porque assim estava de direito» e seus proprietários não receberiam qualquer quantia como compensação²⁴, «como diz que até agora se faz»; isto é, a prática adotada até aquele momento era o pagamento dos donos pelo preço de avaliação do escravo batizado. A medida estabelecida em 1533 deveria vigorar em Ormuz, Malaca e demais fortalezas lusas²⁵. O monarca reconheceu que a decisão teria sido tomada em detrimento dos mercadores, mas a serviço de Deus²⁶.

De facto, tal medida suscitou reações, como a dos mercadores de Ormuz, local que representava uma porta de entrada para os lusitanos no Golfo Pérsico, ao permitir o acesso ao mercado de especiarias e demais produtos orientais²⁷. Ormuz recebeu uma base militar portuguesa em 1515 e se tratava de uma região estratégica no âmbito do tráfico de escravos, que envolveu agentes da África Oriental, da Arábia, do Golfo Pérsico e da Índia²⁸.

Na Província do Norte, em Baçaim, um líder nativo chamado Azu Nai-que também declarou seu descontentamento ao rei de Portugal, em 1549. O chefe nativo mencionou que Afonso de Albuquerque havia ordenado que «todos os escravos de gente da terra que se tornassem cristãos fossem

²³ L. F. THOMAZ, op. cit., p. 295.

²⁴ Ver: Luís de MOLINA, *Tratado da justiça e do direito*, Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2012, p. 384: «De que formas são os escravos libertados da escravidão: [...] dá-se quando um judeu, um pagão ou herege possuem [...] um escravo já cristão. [...] por isso, o escravo obtém a liberdade, sem que se pague preço algum».

²⁵ DHMPPO, Vol.7, pp. 207-208.

²⁶ DHMPPO, Vol.7, p. 209.

²⁷ Murray GORDON, *Slavery in the Arab World*, New Amsterdam Books, 1992, p. 138.

²⁸ DHMPPO, Vol. 3, pp. 18-20. Elikia M'BOKOLO, *África Negra: História e Civilizações*, São Paulo, Salvador, Casa das Áfricas, Edufba, 2009, tomo 1 (até o século XVIII), p. 496; MEDARD et al. (org.), *Traites et esclavages en Afrique Orientale et dans l'Océan Indien*, Paris, Karthala, 2013, pp. 6-69. Escravos representavam um dos elementos trocados nestas redes mercantis, em que o comércio de ouro e marfim era predominante.

vendidos, e o dinheiro entregue a seu dono, o que sempre se cumpriu». No entanto, Azu Naique reclamou que «somente de uns anos pera cá mandam que fiquem forros, por onde os donos perdem seus escravos», sem receberem nenhuma restituição – em consonância com a decisão de 1533. Azu Naique declarou que essa prática afastava os mercadores daquelas terras e criticou o facto de que os convertidos deixassem de ser escravos dos antigos donos, mas permanecessem na condição de cativos de cristãos²⁹.

Os responsáveis por dificultar a aplicação das leis que concediam liberdade aos escravos convertidos não foram apenas mercadores e líderes locais muçulmanos e hindus, pois algumas autoridades eclesiásticas ignoraram as determinações régias, como o vigário geral de Baçaim, Sebastião Pires, acusado de ter se apropriado de um escravo (da casta naire) convertido ao cristianismo, por quem o sapateiro Cristóvão Fernandes já havia pago a quantia que lhe correspondia ao seu antigo senhor, com o intuito de alforriá-lo. Apesar disso, o vigário veral (por meio de seu criado Pero Gonçalves) teria tomado este naire cristianizado como seu escravo³⁰.

As normas eram descumpridas também nas comunidades portuguesas situadas no litoral oriental da Índia, o que sabemos graças ao relatório do vigário geral do Estado da Índia, em que denunciou o hábito de os portugueses trazerem escravos da Costa do Coromandel e de outras regiões e não se dedicarem a convertê-los, o que segundo o vigário seria uma tarefa fácil, pois os cativos não impunham resistência ao batismo. Contrariamente, e por causa de dinheiro, os lusitanos os vendiam aos muçulmanos. O vigário já havia requerido ao governador do Estado da Índia que tomasse providências, amparando-se em provisão régia que estabelecia punições aos cristãos que vendessem escravos gentios a muçulmanos ou outros infieis, mas declarou que não esperava que o governador tentasse coibir tais práticas³¹.

Em 1557, o governador do Estado da Índia, Francisco Barreto, reiterou uma provisão anterior, em que os escravos convertidos de senhores não cristãos deveriam ser vendidos a cristãos, mas não se tornariam livres. Alegou o prejuízo causado aos proprietários de escravos que eram alforriados, de modo que deveriam apenas ser obrigados a vendê-los a cristãos³².

²⁹ DHMPPPO, Vol. 4, pp. 456-7, carta escrita em Baçaim (18 de dezembro de 1549).

³⁰ DHMPPPO, Vol. 2, pp. 368-370.

³¹ DHMPPPO, Vol. 3, p. 211; Joseph Wicki, S. J., *Documenta Indica* [DI], Roma, M.H.S.I., 1948, Vol. 1. 1, p. 74.

³² DHMPPPO, Vol. 7, p. 214.

Durante a administração do governador Dom Constantino de Bragança, os escravos comprados por proprietários muçulmanos e gentios em terras sob jurisdição portuguesa e que se convertessem ao cristianismo deveriam ser alforriados, sem que seus donos recebessem qualquer valor por eles. Caso tais proprietários tivessem trazido os escravos de outros territórios e eles se convertessem ao ingressarem em terras lusas, seriam vendidos a cristãos e os antigos donos receberiam o valor correspondente³³.

Em 24 de março de 1559, a determinação da Coroa foi que todos os mercadores ou estrangeiros judeus, muçulmanos e gentios que entrassem em Goa (e demais territórios portugueses) tornavam-se obrigados a vender seus escravos que se convertessem antes que partissem das terras portuguesas. Tais escravos convertidos deveriam ser vendidos a cristãos, mas não obteriam a liberdade³⁴.

Segundo Godinho, a concessão da alforria após a conversão não deve ter sido a regra, mas a exceção³⁵. Com efeito, a instrução do padre Alesandro Valignano, redigida no final do século XVI, menciona que, no «que toca às alforrias dos escravos, especialmente de portugueses, que nisto são muito dificultosos, trate o Pai dos Cristãos com os senhores e veja se pode por via de consciência, constando que são forros, acabar com eles que os ponham em sua liberdade»; ou seja, determinou que o Pai dos Cristãos tentasse sensibilizar as «consciências» dos proprietários, muito «dificultosos» na concessão da alforria³⁶. Ainda que a doutrina cristã aconselhasse os proprietários a conceder a liberdade a seus escravos, como um caminho para obter a remissão de seus próprios pecados, tal apelo não teria estimulado a libertação de todos os escravos, mas de apenas alguns de seus cativos. Por vezes, a concessão de alforria esteve atrelada à obrigação do

³³ DHMPPO, Vol. 7, p. 226, escrita em Pangim, 25 de dezembro de 1558.

³⁴ DHMPPO, Vol. 7, pp. 275-276.

³⁵ V. M. GODINHO, *op. cit.*, pp. 547-548.

³⁶ O cargo de Pai dos Cristãos foi adotado nas missões do Oriente e ocupado por clérigos regulares. Sua tarefa era o provimento dos catecúmenos, o amparo aos conversos, e registrar a alforria concedida aos escravos convertidos. José WICKI, S.J., *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"*, Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969, doc. 1, p. 22.

liberto de permanecer servindo à família do antigo senhor³⁷. Além disso, populações escravizadas que deveriam desfrutar do estatuto de livres, por terem sido adquiridas por meio de «injustos cativos»³⁸, continuavam na posse de seus senhores, que alegavam as terem cativado para lhes retirar da «infidelidade», das seitas muçulmanas ou hindus. Assim, tais senhores recebiam o direito de manter a escravidão temporal de seus cativos por mais alguns anos, como recompensa por terem propiciado a suposta liberdade espiritual de suas almas, adquirida após a conversão ao catolicismo³⁹.

Ademais, nem sempre dispomos de documentação que ateste se a liberdade aos escravos convertidos ao catolicismo era de facto concedida, conforme determinou a legislação portuguesa em determinados períodos do século XVI. Há indícios de que foi concedida a liberdade a alguns, em função de cartas régias e leis que aludem a tal prática (como na legislação citada), mas normalmente não permitem a identificação de quais escravos, especificamente, foram alforriados. A alusão à identidade do escravo cristianizado (nome, circunstância e data em que foi alforriado) revela-se em alguns documentos, como em testamentos ou em casos singulares que

³⁷ V. M. GODINHO, *op. cit.*, pp. 547-548. Precisamos também considerar que, nas sociedades do Índico e do Pacífico, existiam diversos níveis de dependência pessoal, de servidão, de modo que a completa dicotomia entre ser “livre” e “não-livre” não nos ajudaria a compreender os estatutos de tais populações escravizadas no Estado da Índia. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, «Notas sobre a mão de obra na Índia pré-colonial (séculos XVI a XVIII)» in E. Paiva & C. Anastasia, *Trabalho mestiço: maneiras de pensar e de viver (séculos XVI ao XIX)*, São Paulo, Annablume, 2002, pp. 463-479. Sobre a necessidade de não projetarmos, para a Ásia, a concepção construída no Ocidente sobre o que seria um «escravo», bem como não mantermos a dicotomia entre escravidão e liberdade, ver: S. MANICKAM, *Slavery in the Tamil Country: a historical over-view*, Madras, The Christian Literature Society, 1982, pp. 1-7.

³⁸ Sobre os chamados «títulos justos de escravização», cabe mencionar o tratado de Luís de Molina, que destaca que o primeiro título justo de escravização seria a «guerra justa» (a escravização dos cativos como comutação da pena de morte); o segundo, a condenação penal; o terceiro, a venda de si mesmo e dos filhos; o último, o nascimento, pois o filho segue a condição da mãe (conceito romano do *partus sequitur ventrem*). Segundo Hespanha, Molina não teria avaliado a questão dos justos títulos apenas a partir do direito positivo europeu, pois também teria considerado os costumes e as ordens jurídico-políticas da Ásia e da África. A. M. HESPANHA, *Imbecillitas: as bem-aventuranças da inferioridade nas sociedades de Antigo Regime*, São Paulo, Annablume, 2010, pp. 207-214; Luís de MOLINA, *op. cit.*, pp. 309-342.

³⁹ O Pai dos Cristãos, no final do século XVII, menciona casos de escravos e escravas nessa situação. Por exemplo, Esperança, escrava classificada como de casta balagate, com 10 anos de idade, «ainda que a não obriga nenhum legal cativo por ser furtada contudo visto a boa obra de a fazer cristã [...] lhe limito» servir a Salvador Pinto por mais 10 anos (fl. 4). Declara algo similar a respeito do escravo menino Domingos, descrito como casta curumbim, «o qual o não obriga nenhum justo título de cativo contudo por ser comprado para se fazer cristão lhe ter custado quarenta e nove xerafins lhe limito oito anos de serviço» a Francisco do Rosário (fl. 3). HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA [HAG], Cod. 860, Cartas de alforria aos escravos.

foram alvo de atenção especial por parte das autoridades e, por esta razão, foram preservados⁴⁰. As informações mais sistemáticas que possuímos sobre alforrias referem-se a escravos cristãos de Goa no final do século XVII e no século XVIII⁴¹.

Apesar da dificuldade em identificar os casos concretos de concessão de alforria aos escravos no Oriente português, podemos considerar que a problemática em torno da cristianização e da libertação dos escravos foi um tema que recebeu considerável atenção das autoridades do Estado da Índia. É o que constatamos ao apreciar as primeiras recomendações produzidas por autoridades eclesiásticas (como o bispo de Dume sediado em Cochim, os vigários de Malaca e de Ormuz e o vigário geral Miguel Vaz) e nas leis promulgadas pelo rei e pelos governadores do Estado da Índia ao longo das décadas de 1530 e 1550.

Na secção seguinte, analisaremos como tais debates foram retomados nas décadas subsequentes, especialmente nos concílios celebrados em Goa, nos anos de 1567, 1575, 1585, 1592 e 1606.

Escravidão, conversão e liberdade nas atas dos Concílios Provinciais de Goa

Em 1567, foi celebrado o 1.º Concílio Provincial de Goa, cujas atas possuem vários decretos sobre a cristianização de escravos nas conquistas, fortalezas, feitorias lusas situadas ao longo do Índico e do Pacífico. Em linhas gerais, discutiu-se a relação entre conversão e alforria, a posse de escravos cristãos por senhores não cristãos, os deveres dos proprietários em relação à vida espiritual do cativo, a proibição de castigar severamente os escravos e os cativeiros ilícitos⁴². Cabe destacar a preocupação com os deslocamentos desses escravos, pois, caso não fossem cristãos, esperava-se controlar a sua

⁴⁰ Não se trata de libertação decorrente de conversão do escravo catolicismo, mas o citaremos como exemplo de como casos singulares de alforrias de escravos asiáticos foram preservados nos arquivos. Trata-se do escravo chinês António, a quem o monarca D. João III concedeu a liberdade em 1551. António teria dito que o seu dono, o licenciado André Lopes, «quis com ele cometer o crime nefando da sodomia se se prometia a liberdade [...] e metendo-se a língua na boca ele [...] a cortou com os dentes e se foi ao capitão da nau Simão de Mello que disso mandou fazer auto». António solicitou a D. João III que «ele queria fazer mão da liberdade que ele não quis aceitar do dito André Lopes» e, por essa razão, D. João III o declarou «forro e livre de todo cativo». ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João III, Privilégios, Livro IV, fl. 162v-163.

⁴¹ HAG, Cod. 860.

⁴² Um conjunto de decretos alude aos “justos títulos da escravidão” e aos problemas de consciência de proprietários cristãos que possuíam escravos em condições de cativo que não eram amparadas nas leis.

presença em embarcações e territórios portugueses, mas, se fossem cristianizados, tentava-se proibir que fossem transportados e vendidos a não cristãos ou que eles, por vontade própria, partissem para terras de «infiéis».

Uma das questões debatidas no 1.º Concílio – e retomada nos encontros subsequentes – foi a concessão de liberdade aos escravos que se convertessem, cujos proprietários não fossem cristãos. O escravo de infiel que se convertesse seria alforriado, sem que fosse pago qualquer valor por ele, exceto se o escravo tivesse sido levado para terras portuguesas para ser vendido. Nesse caso, os escravos deveriam ser colocados à venda em até três meses⁴³. Sobre os escravos trazidos de terras de reis infiéis com os quais os portugueses possuísem acordos, deveriam ser respeitados os tratados e o costume da reciprocidade⁴⁴.

Se a regra geral no 1.º Concílio foi conceder a alforria aos escravos convertidos, essa determinação adaptou-se aos distintos contextos da presença lusa no Oriente, diante das necessidades de negociação com as sociedades locais⁴⁵, como foi o caso de Malaca. Há um decreto específico para essa região (1.º Concílio, Ação 2.ª, decreto 18), que menciona que muitos escravos infiéis que se convertiam ao catolicismo fugiam para terra de muçulmanos, pois adotavam a fé cristã apenas como uma estratégia para obter a liberdade. O decreto sugere a intensa mobilidade dessas populações, que recorrentemente atravessavam as tênues fronteiras que separavam os territórios lusos dos controlados por muçulmanos.

Em função da constante fuga de escravos cristianizados para comunidades muçulmanas de Malaca, exigiu-se mais rigor antes da concessão do batismo e da alforria. As crianças e mulheres escravas foram isentas do exame pelo bispo de Malaca, pois a crença era de «que não há perigo de se baptizar com intenção de fugirem», ao passo que os escravos homens adultos seriam submetidos a rigoroso escrutínio, para reconhecer os que perseverariam na fé cristã. Os escravos que não convencessem o prelado não obteriam a liberdade e ficariam sob os cuidados de uma pessoa virtuosa para serem doutrinados⁴⁶.

Em 1585, no 3.º Concílio Provincial, reiterou-se que escravos que se convertessem, cujos proprietários fossem infiéis, ficariam forros, determinação que foi estendida também para os escravos de Malaca, para que

⁴³ DHMPPO, Vol. 10, pp. 351-352.

⁴⁴ DHMPPO, Vol. 1, pp. 351-352 (1.º Concílio, Ação 2.ª, dec. 16); L. MOLINA, op. cit., pp. 384-385.

⁴⁵ E. CARREIRA, op. cit., p. 393.

⁴⁶ DHMPPO, Vol. 10, p. 354.

fossem alforriados mesmo se antes da conversão «estivessem hipotecados, empenhados aos cristãos por seus senhores infiéis»⁴⁷. É interessante destacar que, em 1592, o vice-rei Matias de Albuquerque afirmou ter sido informado sobre o caso de proprietários «infiéis» que faziam acordos com cristãos para fingirem que seus escravos já tinham sido vendidos a algum cristão, antes que seus cativos tivessem se convertido⁴⁸.

A legislação sobre escravos também sofreu adaptações em função das pressões de japoneses e chineses, segundo D'Souza, que destacou a provisão régia de 1571, que proibia os portugueses de cativarem os japoneses, e o alvará de 1595 de Matias de Albuquerque, que proibia o rapto e a compra de chineses⁴⁹. No entanto, em 1605, os membros da Câmara de Goa, contrários à proibição de 1571, escreveram que «trinta e tantos anos que há que é passado nunca houve cumprimento» dessa proibição, «nem houve vice-rei que o quisesse mandar cumprir». Alegavam que os japoneses vendiam seus filhos a infiéis, por isso seria lícito que os cristãos os comprassem para doutriná-los. Afirmavam que «esta gente em suas terras é publicamente comprada pelos mouros seus vizinhos, que todos os anos levam naus carregadas pera os fazerem mouros»⁵⁰.

Apesar de a declaração acima ser oriunda de grupos sociais interessados em eliminar as restrições à escravização dos japoneses, o transporte de populações escravizadas nas embarcações para serem vendidas a muçulmanos e gentios foi uma preocupação dos eclesiásticos desde o 1.º Concílio, quando houve a tentativa de restringir a passagem – pelas terras controladas pelos portugueses – de escravos muçulmanos transportados por mercadores «infiéis» (Ação 2.ª, decreto 17), pois o trânsito de tais populações foi concebido como uma ameaça aos cristãos. Os capitães de fortalezas portuguesas e os oficiais de justiça não deveriam permitir a passagem de tais escravos. Todos cristãos deveriam identificar tais escravos islamizados nas embarcações em que se deslocassem. O capitão, o piloto e o mestre da embarcação só poderiam autorizar o desembarque dos escravos muçulmanos após o conhecimento do prelado ou vigário local e a elaboração de uma lista com seus nomes⁵¹.

⁴⁷ Decisão confirmada no 5.º Concílio (Ação 2.ª, decreto 16) celebrado em 1606: Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha RIVARA. *Arquivo português-oriental* [APO], New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, 1992, Fasc. 4, p. 96.

⁴⁸ APO, Fasc. 5, parte III, doc. 983, pp. 1300-1301.

⁴⁹ C. D'SOUZA, op. cit., p. 71; J. Wicki, *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"*, op. cit., doc. 104, p. 358.

⁵⁰ APO, Fasc. 1, Vol. 2, doc. 10 e 13, pp. 125-134, 57-158.

⁵¹ DHMPPPO, Vol. 10, pp. 351-352.

O decreto supracitado parece não ter sido respeitado, especialmente em Ormuz, pois ele foi repetido em 1585, no 3.º Concílio (Ação 2.ª, decreto 21)⁵². O concílio posterior (de 1592) reiterou a mesma determinação e enfatizou a proibição de cristãos venderem escravos não cristãos a proprietários «infieis», com penas maiores se o comprador fosse um judeu ou um muçulmano e o escravo fosse um gentio (Ação 2.ª, decreto 2)⁵³. Em 1606, no 5.º Concílio, a proibição de judeus e muçulmanos comprarem escravos gentios foi repetida (Ação 2.ª, decreto 23)⁵⁴.

Apesar da proibição de venda de escravos convertidos a proprietários não cristãos, a prática deve ter sido recorrente. No final do século XVII, D. Pedro II confirmou o assento da Inquisição de Goa que proibia a venda de escravos católicos na Costa Coromandel (no litoral oriental da Índia). Anteriormente, a Inquisição havia determinado que aqueles que embarcassem com escravos com destino ao Coromandel deveriam notificar ao comissário local do Santo Ofício e vendê-los apenas a católicos, pois estavam sendo vendidos a muçulmanos e a «hereges» (protestantes holandeses)⁵⁵.

A análise das determinações supracitadas evidencia as pressões sociais que acompanharam a aplicação das leis. A reformulação de vários aspectos da lei também sugere as pressões exercidas por mercadores, vice-reis, governadores e demais autoridades do Estado da Índia, que temiam os impactos econômicos de medidas favoráveis à cristianização de escravos, ao afastar negociantes dos territórios portugueses. No entanto, não exploramos suficientemente o próprio alvo dessas determinações, as populações escravizadas, entendidas como agentes desse processo – tal como postulou Sue Peabody, ao buscar deslindar a experiência dos escravos em seus estudos sobre escravidão e leis. As leis podem ser concebidas como indicadores inversos do comportamento que elas tentam controlar, e, no caso das populações escravizadas convertidas, uma forma de perceber o que teria sido a experiência mais recorrente consiste em identificar as leis que se repetiam tentando regular determinado comportamento⁵⁶.

Na próxima seção, pretendemos analisar como as questões relativas à conversão (mencionadas nas atas dos concílios supracitados) aparecem em outras fontes documentais, como nas cartas de missionários que trataram

⁵² APO, Fasc. 4, p. 135.

⁵³ APO, Fasc. 4, p. 186.

⁵⁴ APO, Fasc. 4, pp. 215-216.

⁵⁵ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro [BNRJ], 25,1,005 n. 017, 9 de março de 1684; BNRJ, 25,1,005 n. 16.

⁵⁶ S. PEABODY, op. cit. pp. 594-598.

das práticas de cristianização de escravos. Além das cartas, analisaremos um sermão que faz referências à administração de sacramentos aos escravos. Por fim, consideraremos as informações sobre como os escravos eram doutrinados a partir da análise das confissões de tais cativos aos inquisidores. Analisamos fontes documentais de diferentes naturezas com o objetivo de, ao investigar a história da conversão das populações escravas, podermos considerar o papel dos agentes desse processo de conversão (missionários, inquisidores, confessores) e a experiência dos escravos convertidos⁵⁷.

Práticas e agentes da cristianização das populações escravizadas no Estado da Índia

As populações escravizadas no Oriente português foram, geralmente, submetidas a vários deslocamentos, atravessaram oceanos, serviram seus proprietários nas embarcações (uma das principais atividades desempenhadas pelos escravos), foram vendidas nos diversos mercados de escravos locais. Ressalta-se a intensa mobilidade das populações escravizadas nos territórios luso-asiáticos, a fim de refletirmos inicialmente sobre quais teriam sido as práticas adotadas em busca de sua conversão. E, na parte final do artigo, refletimos sobre a identidade de tais populações que experimentaram diversos deslocamentos, entre reinos, oceanos e sistemas religiosos.

As cartas redigidas por missionários que atuaram no Oriente português são repletas de alusões à presença de escravos nas embarcações e às ações destinadas a evangelizá-los. Em 1551, o padre Gonçalo Rodrigues relatou que, na viagem de Goa a Ormuz, ensinara a doutrina cristã aos escravos, prática que manteve todas quartas-feiras ao chegar à terra firme⁵⁸. O padre Domingos Álvares, em 1567, também mencionou que os padres catequizavam escravos durante a viagem de Moçambique à Índia⁵⁹.

Apesar da retórica dos padres, preocupada em enaltecer as ações da respectiva ordem religiosa⁶⁰, tais relatos podem sugerir como os escravos seriam instruídos nas embarcações, nas cidades e fortalezas. Quando cotejamos com as confissões de escravos aos inquisidores, também constatamos que teria sido prática recorrente a doutrinação em embarcações e portos.

⁵⁷ Esta abordagem, que considera a experiência dos agentes da conversão, foi proposta por Tara Alberts (op. cit., p. VII).

⁵⁸ DHMPPO, Vol. 5, pp. 191-193.

⁵⁹ DHMPPO, Vol. 10, p. 270.

⁶⁰ T. ALBERTS, op. cit., p. vii.

Em 1607, a escrava chinesa Vitória Dias relatou que havia sido batizada «em um navio, com outras pessoas, que estavam pera se batizar, e o modo com que foi batizada se lembra ser, deitaram-lhe água pela cabeça e meteram-lhe sal na boca»⁶¹. Seu rito de passagem para o cristianismo teria ocorrido durante um batismo coletivo no «Japão estando em uma embarcação». Nascida na China, Vitória Dias foi levada ainda muito pequena para Cochim, depois para Goa, onde viveu até ser levada para Lisboa, local em que serviu como cozinheira de uma família de cristãos-novos (os Dias Milão), sem preservar lembranças precisas sobre a sua terra natal, familiares ou sistemas religiosos locais.

O batismo também poderia ser administrado assim que as embarcações aportassem, como foi o caso de Antônio, batizado no porto, ao chegar em Portugal, «junto com outros índios e negros», isto é, com outros cativos asiáticos e africanos que somavam «vinte ou trinta»⁶². Nascido na Costa do Coromandel, na Índia, Antônio tornara-se cativo dos portugueses com cerca de dezesseis anos de idade; portanto, teria vivido mais tempo em comunidades religiosas locais que Vitória Dias – capturada ainda criança –, o que pode explicar porque ele ainda se lembrava, oito anos após ter recebido o batismo cristão, de várias crenças e rituais «gentílicos» praticados em sua antiga comunidade, como se encomendar «a Deus e sol e lua e estrelas quando alevantava pela manhã e outras horas e diziam que aqueles eram os seus pais e mães»; levantavam as mãos, rezavam e tinham «uma casa muito grande como uma igreja com muito ouro e prata», frequentada com muita festa⁶³.

Antônio foi acusado de tentar fugir para terra de muçulmanos, na África. Em 1560, disse que tivera a vontade de ir para terra de mouros e de lá retornar para a Índia, mas alegou que era para viver com os cristãos, pois os gentios nativos não o aceitariam mais em sua comunidade, por ele «ter já comido carne de vaca a qual os naturais da sua terra não comem». Portanto, Antônio tinha a consciência de que a não observância de restrições alimentares de caráter religioso o levaria a ser excluído de sua casta e seita originais⁶⁴. O escravo tentou provar aos inquisidores que não havia sido muçulmano na Índia, alegava o desconhecimento do árabe e das tradições

⁶¹ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 3331, fl. 47v.

⁶² ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 10824, fl. 8v.

⁶³ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 10824, fl. 9v.

⁶⁴ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 10824, fl. 10v.

islâmicas, ao mesmo tempo que tentou demonstrar que vivera entre os «gentios Malabares», isto é, entre comunidades “hindus” do Sul da Índia.

Antônio vivia como católico em Lisboa, mas confirmou que planejava levar, no barco de seu senhor, alguns mouriscos para terra de muçulmanos. Informou que o seu senhor, o pescador Cristóvão Fernandes, foi o responsável por lhe ensinar a doutrina cristã, mas demonstrou desconhecer as orações e ser mal instruído na fé. Confessou que sempre encomendava sua alma à Nossa Senhora e ao Nosso Senhor, mas, quando foi indagado pelos inquisidores sobre quem era Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo, respondeu que «não entendia quem era porque lhe não ensinaram»⁶⁵.

Com efeito, os deveres de doutrinar e batizar os escravos nem sempre eram cumpridos. As Ordenações estabeleciam que os proprietários de escravos deveriam batizá-los até seis meses depois de adquiridos, sob pena de perdê-los. Se o escravo tivesse mais de dez anos de idade e não desejasse se batizar, o proprietário deveria notificar o prior ou cura. Os escravos até dez anos não precisavam consentir e o prazo era de até um mês para que fossem batizados⁶⁶. A mesma determinação vigorou no Estado da Índia, mas parece ter sido negligenciada, visto que nas atas do 3.º Concílio é mencionado o descuido com o batismo dos escravos, não sendo incomum a atribuição de nomes cristãos aos cativos que ainda não haviam recebido esse sacramento. Muitos escravos morriam sem ter passado pelas águas batismais⁶⁷.

Na legislação eclesiástica era subjacente a ideia de que o cumprimento dos deveres cristãos do escravo era uma responsabilidade de seus senhores, tal como um pai tem responsabilidades em relação ao filho⁶⁸, pois a concepção de sociedade era a de um corpo, ordenado, em que a desigualdade natural de seus membros era base de sua estruturação. Assim, o «humilde» deveria ser mantido em posição subordinada, tutelada, recebendo proteção e solicitude paternalista⁶⁹. Cabe destacar o papel de um agente da cristianização que teve

⁶⁵ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 10824, fl. 6-7v.

⁶⁶ Ordenações Manuelinas e Ordenações Filipinas, Livro V, Título XCIX. [Consultado em 02/12/2015] Disponível em <http://www.iuslusitaniae.fchs.unl.pt>.

⁶⁷ APO, Fasc. 4, p. 142 (3.º Concílio, Ação 2.ª, decreto 30); DHMPPPO, Vol. 10, p. 343 (1.º Concílio, Ação 2.ª, decreto 3); APO, Fasc.4, pp. 93-94 (2.º Concílio, Ação 2.ª, decreto 5).

⁶⁸ Inspiramo-nos em F. Londoño, op. cit., *passim*.

⁶⁹ Pedro CARDIM, «Religião e ordem social. Em torno dos fundamentos católicos do sistema político do Antigo Regime», *Revista de Historia das Ideias*, Coimbra, Vol. 22 (2001), pp. 133-174; A. M. HESPAÑA, *Imbecillitas: as bem-aventuranças da inferioridade nas sociedades de Antigo Regime*, São Paulo, Annablume, 2010.

um importante papel no zelo dispensado aos escravos, cujo título denota esse caráter paternalista, o Pai dos Cristãos⁷⁰.

Tais pressupostos que organizavam a forma de essa sociedade hierarquizada se conceber manifestavam-se em diversos domínios, como, por exemplo, nas concepções sobre o nível de doutrinação que cada grupo social seria «capaz» de receber. Acerca da comunhão, cabia aos priores, curas e confessores a tarefa de determinar se os «ignorantes, escravos e moços» estavam aptos a receber esse sacramento, de acordo com as Constituições do Arcebispado de Goa (Título 6, Constituição 2.^a)⁷¹. No 3.^o Concílio (Ação 4.^a, decreto 10) menciona-se que escravos comungavam «não tendo discricção, capacidade necessária para receber tão alto, e diviníssimo Sacramento», por isso só deveriam comungar se tivessem um escrito do seu confessor que atestasse a capacidade deles⁷², determinação repetida no concílio posterior (Ação 3.^a, decreto 6)⁷³.

O padre Ardizone Spinola criticou o facto de os sacerdotes não administrarem a comunhão aos nativos, pois se encontrassem «algum grosseiro, algum rude, algum bussal dos Rios de Cuama, ou de Monomotapa, ou de Moçambique, ou algum escravo, ou outros de qualquer casta de gente, porque os não instruir? Não vos chamais Pais dos Cristãos?»⁷⁴. Para muitos parecia correto não administrar a comunhão a um «homem rude, um Cafre besta, um Malavar, que parece um bruto, um escravo ignorante, que não sabe benzer, & outros muitos incapazes moços & moças», mas o padre Spinola questionou se apenas «os escravos não comungam? Somente os Cafres, & o Malavares?». Considerava que se havia ignorantes nas coisas da fé, os vigários e curas deveriam instruí-los:

Pois obrigação tem [...] os Párocos, os Reitores, os Priores, os Vigários, & Curas de ensinar a seus fregueses: os pais, & mães a seus filhos: & os amos, & as senhoras a seus escravos, & criados, moços, & moças de sua casa.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ JOSÉ WICKI, S.J., *O Livro do "Pai dos Cristãos"*. Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1969; GLENN AMES, «Religious life in the Colonial Tranches: the Role of the *Pai dos Cristãos* in Seventeenth Century Portuguese India», *Portuguese Studies Review* 16 (2) (2008), pp. 1-23; TEOTÔNIO DE SOUZA, «Manumission of Slaves in Goa during 1682 to 1760 as found in codex 860», in Jean-Pierre Angenot (ed.), *Tadia, The African Diaspora in Asia*, First Conference on Tadia (Panaji, Goa), Bangalore, Jana Prakashana, 2006; HAG, Cod. 860.

⁷¹ DHMPPO, Vol. 10, p. 527 (Constituições do Arcebispado de Goa, 1568).

⁷² APO, Fasc. 4, pp. 159-160.

⁷³ APO, Fasc. 4, p. 196.

⁷⁴ ANTÔNIO ARDIZONE SPINOLA, *Cordel triplicado de amor a Christo Jesu Sacramentado* [...], Lisboa, Antonio Craesbeeck, 1680, p. 252.

⁷⁵ A. SPINOLA, op. cit., p. 341.

Em suma, nas prescrições do padre Spinola é subjacente a perspectiva paternalista, em que se esperava do senhor dos escravos e do cura de almas o equivalente ao papel de um pai em relação aos filhos⁷⁶, no tocante à doutrinação. O sermão poderia ser concebido como um instrumento que buscava atingir a consciência dos agentes responsáveis pela cristianização dos escravos⁷⁷, como os proprietários e os sacerdotes.

Conversão e mobilidades culturais de escravos e forros

Na secção anterior, analisamos as cartas e relatos de missionários sobre a conversão dos escravos, mas tais fontes documentais apresentam limites, como a ausência de uma «identidade» atribuída às populações escravizadas, normalmente descritas abstratamente (como «o escravo», «o cafre»⁷⁸), sem que possamos deslindar elementos sobre as crenças, vivências e identidades de tais grupos. A mesma representação do escravo, destituído de personalidade, encontra-se no sermão do padre Spinola. Nesta parte final do artigo, esperamos refletir sobre as experiências e as transformações identitárias de escravos, a partir de processos inquisitoriais relativos a populações que foram escravizadas e alvo do Santo Ofício de Goa, o que faremos com base em dois estudos de caso: o de Gabriel e o de Gonçalo Toscano.

Cabe mencionar que as populações escravizadas presentes nas conquistas e fortalezas do Estado da Índia pertenciam a diferentes grupos étnicos oriundos da África Oriental (da Abissínia, dos portos que ficam nas proximidades de Moçambique), Índia (Golfo de Bengala, Guzerate, Malabar, Coromandel, arredores de Goa), Ceilão, Malaca e China. A diversidade dessas populações foi analisada por Stephanie Hassell a partir de informações sumárias contidas no *Reportório* dos sentenciados pela Inquisição de

⁷⁶ F. LONDOÑO, op. cit., *passim*.

⁷⁷ C. ZERON, O governo dos escravos nas Constituições, op. cit., p. 330.

⁷⁸ Na documentação da Inquisição de Goa (BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL [BNP], Cód. 201, Lista de penitenciados entre 1685 e 1806), notamos que o termo «cafre» tende a ser utilizado para designar populações de origem africana (nascidas ou trazidas dos Rios de Sena e Cuama, Mombaça ou Moçambique). Por vezes, emprega-se esta expressão para designar africanos acusados de professar a fé muçulmana, ou seja, a expressão não era utilizada a partir de seu sentido original de «infidel»/«não-muçulmano». No tocante ao estatuto social, a maioria dos classificados como «cafre» também foi descrita como «escravo», porém, nem todos os registos revelam qual o estatuto social do «cafre» sentenciado (escravo, forro ou livre).

Goa⁷⁹. Nas *Cartas de alforria* de Goa (de 1682 a 1758), dos 753 escravos, apenas seis eram de origem africana⁸⁰, ou seja, predominavam – naquele contexto – escravos de origem asiática.

Entre as populações escravas presentes no Estado da Índia encontravam-se os africanos abissínios, muitos dos quais foram transportados ainda jovens da África, levados para a Península Arábica, para a Índia, para o Ceilão. Eram descritos na documentação como abexins, derivado do árabe *habash*, usado pelos árabes para designar os povos não brancos que viviam além das fronteiras do sul do Egito, expressão recorrente na Índia para identificar os escravos provenientes da África Oriental – alguns dos quais ocuparam altos cargos militares e políticos. Os abexins poderiam ser cristãos etíopes, além de outros grupos que habitavam as franjas da Etiópia, capturados e expedidos para o litoral para serem vendidos⁸¹. Na Índia, as populações africanas também poderiam ser nomeadas de cafres. Além disso, o termo *sidi* (do árabe *Saiyid*, isto é, mestre) era utilizado para se referir aos escravos africanos, especialmente na costa ocidental do subcontinente indiano⁸².

As embarcações portuguesas transportavam centenas de africanos para as fortalezas lusas do Ceilão, que passaram a falar um crioulo português e aderiram ao catolicismo latino. Possivelmente, principiavam o aprendizado de um falar de inspiração portuguesa dentro das embarcações, já que tais populações tinham diferentes origens (locais distintos da África Oriental), dificultando que uma língua africana fosse usada na comunicação. Os chamados «cafres do Ceilão» foram recrutados para compor os exércitos liderados

⁷⁹ Stephanie HASSELL, «Inquisition records from Goa as sources for the study of slavery in the Eastern domains of the Portuguese Empire», *History in Africa*, 42, 2015, pp. 397-418. Os dados extraídos do Relatório podem ser consultados em: Feitler, B. Uma base de dados dos processos da Inquisição de Goa (1561-1623) [Consultado em 10/11/2015]. Disponível em <http://d284f45nftgze.cloudfront.net/reportorio/Feitler%20Uma%20base%20de%20dados%20site.pdf>; BNP, Cód. 203, *Reportorio geral de tres mil oito centos processos, que sam todos os despachados neste sancto Officio de Goa & mais partes da India, do anno de Mil & quinhentos & secenta & huum, que começou o dito sancto Officio até o anno de Mil & seis centos & e vinte & tres, com a lista dos Inquisidores que tem sido nelle, & dos autos públicos da Fee, que se tem celebrado na dita Cidade de Goa*.

⁸⁰ Hugo C. CARDOSO, «The African slave population of Portuguese India Demographics and impact on Indo-Portuguese» in Umberto Ansaldò, *Pidgins and Creoles in Asia*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2012, p. 101.

⁸¹ Gina ANTUNES, *Os abexins no Decão e no Guzerate no século XVI*, Lisboa (Dissertação, Mestrado em História), Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1997.

⁸² Shihan de Silva JAYASURIYA, «Les cafres de Ceylan: la chaîne portugaise», *Cahiers des Anneaux de la Mémoire*, n.º 3 (2001), pp. 229-253.

por portugueses, holandeses e chefes locais⁸³. No planalto do Decão, na Índia, sultanatos locais recrutaram populações africanas escravizadas para atuação nos exércitos locais, a ponto de ter sido possível a emergência de uma dinastia de escravos militares na Índia⁸⁴, o que denota a diversidade de estatutos que os escravos desfrutaram nos espaços do Índico.

Com base em um processo da Inquisição de Goa sabemos que um abissínio teria sido capturado ainda pequeno em sua terra natal, vendido a um muçulmano na Península Arábica e depois a um árabe muçulmano que o levou para Chaul de Cima (na Índia). Na versão que apresentou ao vigário da vara de Chaul, em 11 de março de 1595, o abissínio afirmou que ele e uma mulher muçulmana (Mixa Cobar) teriam fugido para Chaul, onde os dominicanos lhes ensinaram a doutrina católica. Após o batismo, o abissínio passou a ser chamado Gabriel, mas não conseguiu superar o seu estatuto marcado pela dependência, pois passou a ter novos senhores em Chaul, servindo a uma mulher cristã abissínia. Graças aos entraves que um cristão abissínio impôs ao seu casamento com Mixa Cobar, Gabriel teria fugido para terras controladas por muçulmanos. Nessa versão, Gabriel disse que «não se fizera mouro», mas apenas frequentava mesquitas e rezava as orações dos muçulmanos⁸⁵.

O vigário da vara de Chaul enviou Gabriel à Inquisição de Goa. No relato aos inquisidores, Gabriel disse que era faraz de Mulá Mamede, que vivera no sultanato de Ahmadnagar⁸⁶. Apesar de dizer que havia conquistado a alforria, Gabriel afirmou ter fugido de Ahmadnagar para Chaul, local em que viveu como católico por apenas dois meses. Diferentemente do relato ao vigário da vara, Gabriel afirmou que «se tornou outra vez para a

⁸³ Segundo L. F. Thomaz, o termo *cafre* origina-se do árabe *kâfir*, descrente, infiel, ingrato, não-muçulmano, isto é, usado para gentios ou idólatras. A partir da segunda metade do século XVI, a expressão foi empregada com o sentido de gentio da África Oriental. L. F. THOMAZ, *op. cit.*, p. 283. O termo *cafre* (em cingalês *kapiri*) recebeu conotações diferentes de acordo com o período e com a região. Às vezes, designava populações escravas e aqueles que não professavam a religião muçulmana. No Ceilão, atualmente, a expressão é usada para identificar pessoas de origem africana. S. S. JAYASURIYA, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-253.

⁸⁴ R. EATON, *A social history of the Deccan (1300-1600)*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 33-58.

⁸⁵ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4937, fl. 3-3v.

⁸⁶ Faraz significa coveiro, servente de templos, cuidador de cavalos, de tapetes ou de esteiras, de acordo com: S. DALGADO, *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, Coimbra: Academia das Ciências, 1919-1921, Vol. 1. Em relato seiscentista, faraz é descrito como «a gente mais vil, desprezada, e aborrecida que há em toda a Índia [...] porque comem tudo sem reparo, e asco, ou escrúpulo [...] o mesmo he dizer Farazes de cavalos», que são «homens que os limpam ou varrem as cavalariças». Em Goa, «levão aos ombros, os palanquins, e andores», são cesteiros e fazem esteiras». BNP, Reservados, Cod. 846, fl. 213-213v.

cidade de Abdanaguer [Ahmadnagar] com a intenção de se tornar outra vez e guardar a seita de Mafamede»; aí adotou nome muçulmano («Haliande», Ali Hande)⁸⁷ e vários comportamentos que o fizeram ser reconhecido como professo da religião muçulmana: ia a mesquitas, repetia o *Bismillah*⁸⁸, realizava ritos, gestuais e jejuns peculiares.

No entanto, o retorno ao islão não foi definitivo, pois Gabriel regressou posteriormente às comunidades cristãs de Chaul. Em março de 1595, um soldado português encontrou Gabriel e o entregou ao vigário da vara de Chaul, que ouviu os relatos do abissínio. No mês seguinte, Gabriel foi entregue aos inquisidores de Goa, que declararam que ele deveria abjurar de apartado da fé católica e continuar na condição de escravo, para servir no convento dos dominicanos de Goa. As andanças de Gabriel não terminaram após essa sentença, pois ele fugiu do convento, mas foi denunciado à Inquisição por outros escravos e forros (da casta corumbi, java e guzerate) que serviam aos dominicanos no convento de Goa; estes acusaram Gabriel de demonstrar pouco interesse em aprender a doutrina cristã, além de praticar rituais controversos e de dizer que desejava fugir para terra de muçulmanos, pois considerava que poderia viver um mês como um homem cristão e no outro como mouro⁸⁹.

Gabriel alegou que sua última fuga teria sido por causa das necessidades que passava no convento, das pancadas que recebia dos outros escravos e por causa da expectativa de encontrar «algum abexim que o agasalhasse». Apesar de não podermos negligenciar que as respostas de Gabriel foram dadas em um contexto de pressões, é interessante destacar uma das justificativas da última fuga: a procura de um abexim que o amparasse. Ao longo dos relatos há alusões à convivência de Gabriel com homens e mulheres abexins, como a mulher a quem serviu em Chaul, o abexim cristão que criara entraves ao casamento dele e um dos intérpretes de Gabriel (durante a confissão), que eram abexins. Cabe destacar que ele mesmo havia se identificado como um filho de pais abexins judeus, apesar de os inquisidores não terem explorado esse traço identitário ao longo do

⁸⁷ O caso de Gabriel foi analisado por: G. MARCOCCI, «Tra cristianesimo e Islam: le vite parallele degli schiavi abissini in India (secolo XVI)», *Società e storia*, 138, 2012, pp. 807-822 e S. HASSELL, op. cit., p. 407.

⁸⁸ Trata-se da frase inicial de capítulo do Corão, uma oração entoada no início de cada ato importante. Margarida Santos LOPES, *Dicionário do Islão*, Lisboa, Casa das Letras, 2010, p. 83.

⁸⁹ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4937, fl. 11v. Novamente inquirido pela Inquisição de Goa, foi sentenciado a galés e seu caso remetido ao Conselho Geral do Santo Ofício (fl. 18).

processo, pois apenas estiveram atentos à relação de Gabriel com as comunidades muçulmanas e sua adesão ao islamismo.

Se Gabriel fosse um cristão abexim, conforme as leis do Estado da Índia, não poderia ter sido vendido como um escravo. O Pai dos Cristãos tinha a incumbência de fiscalizar as naus, a fim de impedir que cristãos abexins fossem transportados na condição de escravos de infiéis, retirá-los da posse de seus senhores e catequizá-los⁹⁰. As cartas dos missionários apresentam referências a denúncias de escravos cristãos abexins que eram transportados por terras portuguesas (ação proibida conforme a legislação). Mulheres escravas teriam declarado a própria identidade de abexins e por isso foram confiscadas de seus proprietários muçulmanos e levadas para serem doutrinadas na Casa dos Catecúmenos de Goa⁹¹.

Em Diu – região da Província do Norte, como Chaul – os dominicanos também administravam uma casa de catecúmenos, em que havia vários abexins, possivelmente escravos confiscados nos portos locais. Em torno de 1580, Gabriel, escravo abexim, não foi alforriado após ter se convertido ao catolicismo, mas passou a servir a uma cristã abexim de Chaul, conforme as ordens dos dominicanos locais – em consonância com o alvará de 1559 de D. Sebastião⁹², que preconizava a entrega do escravo de infiel que se batizasse a um senhor cristão, ou seja, sem a obtenção da alforria. A primeira sentença de Gabriel emitida pela Inquisição de Goa incluía servir aos dominicanos no convento de São Tomás de Goa.

Gabriel, filho de judeus da Etiópia, foi capturado e forçado a atravessar os mares em direção à Península Arábica, foi levado para a Índia, local em que realizou deslocamentos voluntários de territórios controlados por muçulmanos para comunidades católicas e vice-versa. Tomamos conhecimento dos aspectos mais superficiais, exteriores desse movimento, conforme as questões que atraíram a atenção dos inquisidores e que eram assumidas por eles como um indício de adesões que se processavam no interior dos inquiridos. Assim, as transformações identitárias de Gabriel tendem a ser percebidas a partir de sinais exteriores (vestimentas, ritos, palavras e gestos), dos deslocamentos tratados como «fugas» (tópica recorrente em processos de escravos suspeitos de retroceder ao islão) e de dualismos entre ser fiel e infiel, entre viver no mundo cristão ou no mundo islâmico.

⁹⁰ J. WICKI, *O livro do Pai dos Cristãos*, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

⁹¹ G. ANTUNES, op. cit., pp. 178-180.

⁹² G. MARCOCCI, op. cit., p. 816.

Apesar dos limites das fontes inquisitoriais para apreender as diversidades culturais, ao analisarmos o processo do homem forro Gonçalo Toscano⁹³, acusado de culpas de islamismo, podemos identificar referências a práticas e crenças religiosas de comunidades muçulmanas específicas. Os relatos de Gonçalo Toscano sugerem a intensa movimentação que caracterizou a vida dele, com vários momentos de adesão ao catolicismo e ao islamismo, o abandono de tais comunidades religiosas e o seu retorno. Em 1597, Gonçalo Toscano declarou aos inquisidores de Goa que nascera no Balagate, no Decão, que fora batizado e vivera em Baçaim servindo a um português até fugir para a Galiana, cidade portuária em que morava a sua mãe – que o convencera a se converter ao islamismo, vivendo como muçulmano durante dois anos, até retornar a Baçaim para viver com seu antigo senhor.

Gonçalo confessou-se a um jesuíta, viveu como católico durante três anos, mas fugiu para territórios controlados por muçulmanos, onde foi recrutado por um exército local e lutou contra os cristãos. No entanto, suspeito de ser espião dos portugueses, foi preso por muçulmanos no sultanato de Ahmadnagar, até conseguir fugir, dissimulando a sua identidade ao se vestir como «iogue» (asceta da Índia), conforme a transcrição da confissão de Gonçalo – o que poderia manter homologias com os trajes de faquir⁹⁴, um asceta sufi. Chegou à comunidade católica de Diu, relatou suas experiências aos franciscanos capuchos e foi preso pelo capitão, por ter lutado contra os cristãos. Conseguiu escapar do cárcere e voltou para terras de muçulmanos, sempre usando «touca e cabaia» e praticando as cerimônias islâmicas. Por fim, ao contar suas experiências a soldados portugueses, foi conduzido a Baçaim e o arcebispo (que segundo Gonçalo estava na Província do Norte e trazia poderes da Inquisição) o encaminhou para o Santo Ofício de Goa⁹⁵.

Tal como no processo de Gabriel, os inquisidores atentaram fundamentalmente para as fugas e para as manifestações exteriores das crenças de Gonçalo Toscano, mas há algumas informações que permitem delinear a provável corrente do islamismo a que ele aderiu e, portanto, reconhecer elementos que compuseram a identidade religiosa de Gonçalo, provável

⁹³ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931.

⁹⁴ ANTT, TSO, Processo 4931, fl. 6. Faquir remonta à expressão *faqr*, despojamento total, os termos *sufi* e *sufismo* derivam possivelmente das roupas de lã (*şüf*) usadas pelos ascetas muçulmanos, designados como pobres (*faqir* ou *darvish*). M. ELIADE e I. COULIANO, *Dicionário das religiões*, São Paulo, Martins Fontes, 2003, p. 205; Shahzad BASHIR, *Sufi bodies. Religion and society in medieval Islam*, New York, Columbia University Press, 2013, pp. 58-64.

⁹⁵ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931, fl. 6-7.

seguidor do sufismo. Sobre sua conversão ao islão, narrou que lavaram a cabeça dele e lhe deram para comer «uns pilouros de banguel⁹⁶], ou anfião», para não sentir dores durante a circuncisão. Partiu em romaria com sua mãe e outros membros de sua família para reverenciar o corpo de Sayid Muhammad Gesu Daraz⁹⁷, um homem santo do islão popular no Decão, mais precisamente, um mestre considerado um *wali allāh* (amigo de Deus), venerado para obter assistência, bênçãos e milagres⁹⁸.

As práticas religiosas de Gonçalo Toscano (por exemplo, a *ziyārat*, visita ao túmulo de um mestre) coadunam-se com as do sufismo praticado naquela região da Índia, que preconizava a construção de uma memória em torno de seus mestres, graças à construção de templos sobre seus túmulos. Os rituais de iniciação e a liturgia ocupam um papel importante nessa corrente mística do islão, o que talvez explique o uso de *cannabis* por Gonçalo Toscano, conforme o ritual supracitado, como uma forma de provocar êxtases espirituais. Além disso, o facto de a mãe de Gonçalo Toscano ocupar um papel central em toda a sua narrativa, na conversão ao islão e na condução espiritual do filho, também se ajusta a uma característica do sufismo, que concebe a relação com a mãe como uma etapa espiritual que antecede o desenvolvimento de uma relação amorosa com o mestre⁹⁹.

Em suma, o indiano forro foi doutrinado na fé cristã em Baçaim (em uma comunidade portuguesa local), deslocou-se várias vezes para terras controladas por muçulmanos ou para comunidades católicas do Decão, integrou possivelmente uma confraria de sufistas, aproximou-se dos franciscanos capuchos de Diu e disse que dirigia suas orações a São Francisco, «seu advogado», talvez por encontrar homologias entre o despojamento dos mestres sufistas e o dos franciscanos. Contudo, alegou aos inquisidores que, quando fazia homenagens e levava oferendas de flores a Sayid Muhammad Gesu Daraz, em seu túmulo, «somente lhe pedia que lhe desse riqueza», em contraste com tal despojamento¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁶ Banguel corresponde ao cânhamo, *cannabis* ou marijuana. Ver: S. DALGADO, op. cit., Vol. 1, verbete: anfião.

⁹⁷ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931, fl.10v; Simon DIGBY, «The sufi Shaikh as a source of authority in medieval India» in Richard Eaton (ed.), *India's Islamic traditions, 711-1750*, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 239-254. Muhammad Gesu Daraz foi líder religioso de destaque, que no final do século XIV difundiu a filosofia dos *Chishti shaikhs* em regiões da Índia.

⁹⁸ Gabriele Mandel KHÂN, *L'Islam : fondements, pratiques, civilisations*, Paris, Hazan, 2007, p. 117.

⁹⁹ S. DIGBY, op. cit., p. 254; S. BAZIR, op. cit., *passim*; M. ELIADE e I. COULIANO, op. cit., pp. 191-209.

¹⁰⁰ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931, fl. 10v.

Em todas as etapas de sua vida adotou trajes e praticou rituais que o identificavam ora como cristão ora como muçulmano. Assim, diante dos desafios e das oportunidades que a vida lhe apresentava, Gonçalo Toscano aderiu a diferentes crenças, que não se limitaram às cristãs ou muçulmanas, como quando não hesitou em aceitar o objeto de caráter mágico que um «feiticeiro gentio», preso com ele em Diu, ofereceu-lhe, com a promessa de que ele conseguiria a liberdade em poucos dias. Após usá-lo durante meses, jogou-o fora «por entender que era engano»¹⁰¹. Logo, adotou uma postura altamente pragmática, ao abandonar um objeto que a experiência lhe demonstrara ter sido ineficaz para conquistar seus objetivos¹⁰². Tornou-se, portanto, uma complexa tarefa rotular as crenças e práticas religiosas de Gonçalo Toscano, em função da intensa mobilidade, da intensa passagem por diferentes grupos religiosos e por diversos territórios situados no Decão, na Índia.

Considerações finais

Abordamos a legislação referente à cristianização dos escravos existentes no Estado da Índia a partir de um esforço que considerasse a dinâmica em torno da construção da norma. A expectativa foi evidenciar como a Coroa, o vice-rei, os agentes da Igreja (bispos e vigários das fortalezas lusas, eclesiásticos reunidos nos concílios provinciais) e os grupos sociais nativos (como os mercadores e proprietários de escravos) exerceram pressões (com propósitos ora coincidentes, ora concorrentes), a fim de instituir as leis que versaram sobre posse, venda, cristianização e alforria de escravos.

Preconizou-se a atuação de diversos agentes para a aplicação das leis. Como a presença portuguesa no Oriente foi sobretudo marítima, a legislação destacou as atribuições de capitães de fortalezas e de chefes de embarcação, por exemplo. No tocante à Inquisição de Goa, uma inquisição das «fraldas do mar»¹⁰³, também esta recorreu a agentes locais, como os comissários (que verificavam se os escravos cristãos eram vendidos a infiéis e hereges), além de bispos, vigários e clérigos regulares que ampliavam

¹⁰¹ ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931, fl. 11.

¹⁰² Os inquisidores de Goa enviaram Gonçalo Toscano para Portugal. ANTT, TSO-IL, Processo 4931; Antônio BAIÃO, *A Inquisição de Goa*, Lisboa, Academia das Ciências, 1945, Vol. 2, doc. LIX, p. 259.

¹⁰³ Expressão de C. AMIEL, C. Goa, in Adriano Prosperi *et al.* (org.), *Dizionario Storico dell'Inquisizione*, Pisa, Scuola Normale Superiore, 2010, Vol. 2, pp. 716-718.

o raio de abrangência desse tribunal¹⁰⁴ e que foram essenciais para que Gabriel e Gonçalo Toscano fossem entregues à Inquisição.

As estruturas montadas para favorecer a cristianização e a ação de tais agentes ocorreram no âmbito de situações históricas concretas, em que a tensão entre as estruturas que esperavam criar constrangimentos para estimular as conversões coexistiram com as experiências de vida de homens e mulheres escravizados que fizeram escolhas (ainda que as possibilidades fossem limitadas), que criaram expectativas de desfrutar de uma vida melhor ao ultrapassar fronteiras, mas cuja decepção (com as novas sociedades, novos senhores e novas seitas) pode ter estimulado o retorno¹⁰⁵. Nesse sentido, as esparsas informações contidas nas confissões de escravos aos inquisidores de Goa foram concebidas como uma forma de analisar pequenas trajetórias de pessoas em movimento, que oscilaram entre o estatuto de homens «livres» e a dependência, transitaram por diferentes territórios e comunidades religiosas, cruzando fronteiras políticas e culturais.

¹⁰⁴ Bruno FEITLER, «A delegação de poderes inquisitoriais: o exemplo de Goa através da documentação da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro», *Tempo*, Vol. 24, 2008, pp. 127-148.

¹⁰⁵ Stephen Greenblatt estimula a análise dessa tensão entre estruturas e agência individual, como uma das possibilidades de enfrentar o estudo das mobilidades culturais. S. GREENBLATT, op. cit., p. 251.

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Authority, poverty, and vanity: Jesuit missionaries and the use of silk in Early Modern East Asia

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Resumo

Este artigo analisa o debate sobre o uso da seda pelos missionários jesuítas no Leste Asiático entre 1551 e 1630. Dá-se destaque à tensão entre o voto de pobreza e o compromisso com uma estratégia missionária de adaptação às culturas indígenas. Recorrendo a fontes de arquivo pouco utilizadas, este estudo demonstra como os missionários adoptaram o uso de seda de modo a alcançarem autoridade no Japão e na China e como os seus superiores insistiram na sua proibição. Numa reflexão mais abrangente, considera-se a imagem do missionário vestido de seda, veiculada em publicações europeias, e a tentativa de controlo do seu significado pela Companhia de Jesus.

Palavras-chave: jesuíta, missionário, seda, China, Japão, estratégia de adaptação

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Abstract

This essay examines the debates surrounding the use of silk by Jesuit missionaries in East Asia between 1551 and 1630. The focus is on the tension between the Jesuits' vow of poverty and their commitment to a missionary strategy of accommodation to indigenous cultures. Relying on little-used archival sources, this discussion demonstrates how missionaries adopted used silk to gain authority in Japan and China, and how their superiors twice insisted on its prohibition. A broader consideration is of the image of the missionary in silk in European publications and how the Society of Jesus attempted to control its meaning.

Keywords: Jesuit, Missionary, Silk, China, Japan, Accommodation Strategy

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**Authority, poverty, and vanity:
Jesuit missionaries and the use of silk in Early Modern East Asia**

Liam Matthew Brockey

Introduction: Images and Audiences

Images have surprising power over the imagination. Entire books of textual descriptions are no match for a single depiction; no amount of words, not even a thousand, can challenge the hold of a picture on the mind. How might that adage apply to the topic of this essay, the image of the Jesuit missionary in China? Owing to a small number of drawings, engravings, and paintings, our mind's eye sees this man cloaked in the flowing robes of a Chinese scholar and wearing a curious rectangular hat. That particular image, thanks to its frequent reproduction, has become an icon. It stands in stark contrast to our mental image of a Jesuit in India, in Brazil, or in Europe, always that of a man dressed in a black robe. The clearest difference between these images is found in the clothes they wear; while the others evoke simplicity, the China Jesuit's clothing is ornate.¹

The engraving reproduced here will suffice to conjure up the image of the China Jesuit. It comes from the frontispiece of the first official history of the China mission, and depicts Matteo Ricci. [Figure 1] This Italian priest (b. 1552), one of the founders of the Jesuit enterprise in the Ming Empire, is a man whose name has become practically synonymous with his mission's history and legacy. This depiction, the first image of Ricci to circulate widely in Europe, was based on a half-length portrait painted in China during his lifetime. That original painting, seen during the early modern period only by those who visited the Professed House of the Society of Jesus in Rome, was far less known than the engraving. Yet the recent spate of publications about Matteo Ricci that coincided with the four hundredth anniversary of his death at Beijing in 1610 has rescued the colorful painting from obscurity. A renewed interest in the China Jesuits has like-

¹ I would like to thank Cristina Pinto Basto, J.S.A. Elisonas, Noël Golvers, Valentina Maddalena, António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, Mónica Leal da Silva, and John Völlmer for their assistance with this article.



1 Wolfgang Kilian, depiction of Matteo Ricci. Detail from the frontispiece of Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* (Augsburg: Christoph. Mangium, 1615).

Image courtesy: Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

wise contributed to fixing it in the imagination not only of scholars but also of a wider reading public.²

On casting an eye on those Chinese robes, many a viewer today sees genius. The fact that a priest from four hundred years ago adopted the clothing of his hosts, along with the language and customs of another culture, is proof of his advanced level of sensitivity. Ricci's image speaks to our own values and desires for intercultural peace. Considered as part of a strategy for communicating with others, his use of Chinese robes was a masterstroke that has gained him deserved renown. Ruminating on the

² See, for example, the cover of R. Po-Chia HSIA, *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552-1610*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2010. Earlier examples are the covers to Jonathan SPENCE, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, New York, Viking, 1984; and Vincent CRONIN, *Wise Man from the West*, London, Harvill Press, 1999, previous editions had different covers. Another version of the same Ricci portrait, more closely based on the figure seen on frontispiece to Athanasius KIRCHER, *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, Johannes Janssonius, 1667), appears on the covers of Mary LAVEN, *Mission to China: Matteo Ricci and the Jesuit Encounter with the East*, London, Faber and Faber, 2011; and Michela FONTANA, *Matteo Ricci: Un Gesuita alla corte dei Ming*, [3rd printing] Milan, Mondadori, 2008.

Italian Jesuit's image, one recent popular biographer confirms his iconic status, declaring: "It is Ricci's adaptability, his receptiveness to foreign mores, his embrace of difference, his determination to enter into conversation with another world, that have won the sixteenth-century missionary a sort of cult status among promoters of global harmony and cultural exchange."³

We have one man to thank for the image of Ricci: Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), a member of the Jesuit mission in China who traveled to Europe in 1613 to seek men, privileges, and money for continuing Ricci's enterprise. Trigault never met Ricci – he arrived at Macau in the same year Ricci died in Beijing – but the Italian Jesuit's reputation in Europe was entrusted to his Flemish confrere. Since the images that continue to be evoked by Ricci's name were originally produced under Trigault's supervision, we can say that he acquitted himself well of the task. Trigault translated and augmented Ricci's writings about China and the Jesuit mission, publishing them as *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* at Augsburg in 1615. That book, as well as a subsequent edition published at Lyon in 1616, included the frontispiece reproduced here, which was based on the painted portrait and a set of robes that Trigault had brought from China. It is likely that Trigault himself modeled the robes for the engraver Wolfgang Kilian (1581-1662), but it is certain that he donned them for Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) during a visit to the Southern Netherlands in January 1617.⁴ During that stopover, Rubens made three sketches of Trigault and a companion in those same robes, models for a Chinese official seen in his painting of the miracles of Francis Xavier.⁵

So we have a series of enduring images of the China Jesuits, but is their meaning fully understood? Are they simple depictions of missionaries ingeniously adapting themselves to Asian ways, or is there something dubious about this masquerade? Despite the appeal of these images to

³ LAVEN, op. cit., p. 20.

⁴ Edmond LAMALLE, "La Propagande de Nicolas Trigault en Faveur des Missions de Chine (1616)", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu*, vol. 9 (1940), pp. 49-120 at p. 62.

⁵ On the portraits of Trigault and Johann Schreck Terrentius (1576-1630), see Anne-Marie LOGAN and Liam Matthew BROCKEY, "Nicolas Trigault, SJ: A Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens", *The Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 38 (2003), pp. 157-160; and Liam Matthew BROCKEY, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2014, p. 304. The great painting by Peter Paul Rubens, *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier* (1617-1618), Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, may best be seen on the Internet at <https://www.google.com/culturalinstitute/u/0/asset-viewer/the-miracles-of-st-francis-xavier/mAG-VIH-g-_RNA?projectId=art-project>. The robes appear in yellow there.

today's viewer, they are evidence of a forgotten scandal. Whereas the modern observer takes it for granted that Ricci's Chinese robes were made of silk, a seventeenth-century viewer would not necessarily have known which fabric was depicted in the engraving he saw. Had he known it was silk, he would have been shocked. Early moderns knew that within the context of contemporary religious life, a Jesuit clad in silk was scandalous. It would be yet another embarrassment to add to the list of controversies lamented by many both inside and outside the order.⁶

The Jesuits of Ricci's time were men who had joined a religious order at the height of the Catholic Reformation in order to renounce the world. When they were accepted into the Society of Jesus, Ricci and Trigault swore vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. As part of the yearly routines that they would have performed at the Jesuit colleges in Europe or Asia, they would have read the *Constitutions* of the Society of Jesus. These were the rules that had been composed by Ignatius Loyola (1491-1556) and his companions in the mid-sixteenth century to shape Jesuit life. Clothing is mentioned at several reprises in this foundational document, although "no specified habit" is mandated for all Jesuits – in contrast to the prescriptions for the cut of cowls for monks, or for the specific colors for friars' habits.⁷ One rule nevertheless gives guidance about how Jesuit clothing should be understood and what fabrics are prohibited:

Clothing ... should have three characteristics: first it should be proper; second, conformed to the usage of region where one is living; and third, not contradictory to the poverty we profess, as would happen through the wearing of silk or expensive cloths. These ought not to be used, in order that in everything humility and proper lowliness may be preserved, *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*.⁸

For the first Jesuits who wrote these rules, and for their successors who confirmed them, outward appearance needed to reflect inward disposition.

⁶ One such scandal was that of the Memorialists, whose agitation threatened to split the order; see, for example, Robert MARYKS, *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus*, Leiden, Brill, 2010, pp. 117-156.

⁷ Ignatius LOYOLA, *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. and trans. George GANSS, St. Louis, Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970, p. 84. A recent, general discussion of the link between Jesuit dress and the order's identity is found in Evonne LEVY, "Jesuit Identity, Identifiable Jesuits? Jesuit dress in theory and in image" in Elisabeth OY-MARRA, Volker REMMERT, and Kristina MÜLLER-BONGARD, eds., *Le Monde est une Peinture: Jesuitische Identität und die Rolle der Bilder*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2011, pp. 127-152.

⁸ LOYOLA, op. cit., p. 258.

Theirs was not the world of cardinals, bishops, and canons with lucrative benefices. The secular clergy, living as they did in the *saeculum*, might cloak themselves in the world's clothing; Jesuits, however, were reminded that there should be "concern for the humility, poverty, and spiritual edification which we ought to keep always in view."⁹ Nothing could be more contrary to those values than silk, the stuff of princes. Yet the images of the China Jesuits are indeed depictions of men wearing rich robes and tall hats, both made of silk, as their writings testify. As such, they were blatant transgressions of the Society's "Institute," its basic rules and spirit, as well as signs of *luxuria*, one of the deadly sins of the medieval tradition.

Surely Matteo Ricci did not intend to flaunt his order's rules without reason. He conceived of the Chinese silk robes as part of his mission strategy in the Ming Empire, and his attitude was rooted in the ambiguity found in the *Constitutions*. Ignatius insisted that the dress for his companions be "proper," and there is no doubt that the silk robe the China Jesuits wore was cut for modesty. Moreover, the second caveat that Jesuit dress be "conformed to the usage of the region where one is living" – a point clarified by a note that "at least, it should not be altogether different" – permitted missionaries to adapt their dress after the fashion of the Ming Empire.¹⁰ So the use of Chinese robes was a way for entering into dialogue with those he considered to be his peers. Much has been said about how the Jesuits, and Ricci in particular, pursued a policy of cultural accommodation in their East Asian missions, and his image demonstrates that policy.¹¹ The early Jesuits in China – as well as those in the Mughal Empire, in Japan, and in Vietnam – hoped that their interactions with Asian nobles, rulers, and officials would occasion spiritual change throughout these societies in the same way that Constantine's conversion had worked among the Romans.¹² By adapting their clothing, they could heed Paul's injunction to be "all things to all men," a sentiment echoed by Ignatius. But there was no avoiding the fact that the *Constitutions* made explicit reference to silk, banning its use.

While useful as mission strategy, the reliance on physical signs of prestige in China was fraught with moral problems for the early modern Jesuits.

⁹ Ibid., p. 259.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 258.

¹¹ For a discussion of accommodation, see BROCKEY, *The Visitor*, pp. 215-220, and 282-324.

¹² They made this parallel in their contemporary writings, see Liam Matthew BROCKEY, "Surpassing Sylvester: Jesuit Missionaries and Asian Rulers in the Early Modern Period" in Jay LEVENSON, ed., *Encompassing the Globe: Portugal and the World in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, 3 vols., Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution/Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 150-167.

There was no shortage of critics within and without the Society of Jesus who thought poorly of the China Jesuits for using silk, even if it was out of pious motivations. The tension between apostolic poverty and mission policy is the crux of this essay. So let us consider the Jesuits' use of silk in East Asia chronologically, examining the issue first within the context of the Japan mission and then in that of the China mission, and concentrating on the moral dimensions of the missionaries' use of silk as understood by the Jesuits themselves. Cataloguing condemnations by the early modern enemies of the Society will not detain us. Instead, we will examine documents written by the missionaries as well as by their superiors, in order to understand how they confronted the moral quandary that silk represented – and how they managed to turn the scandalous image of a silk-clad Jesuit in Asia into a vision of skillfully executed strategy in Europe.

The Murmurs of the Portuguese: Japan in the late 1560s

The story of the Jesuits' use of silk in East Asia started with Francis Xavier (1506-1552), the man who founded the Society's first missions in the region. As is well known, Xavier reached India in 1542, spent the ten years shuttling around Maritime Asia, and died on an island off the China coast. In the course of these travels, Xavier laid the foundations for the different Jesuit endeavors in India, Insular Southeast Asia, Japan, and China. The missionary enterprises that he created nevertheless shared more than a common founder: The institutional links between these three regions would be very important for determining the outcome of the Jesuit debates over silk that occurred after Xavier's death. And the close connection between the Japan mission and its offshoot in China would also influence the evolution of Jesuit attitudes towards that polemical fabric in the century after 1552. Since the question of silk was first raised in Japan, it is important to start any examination of the topic by a consideration of Xavier's pioneering experiments in that country.

It was only toward the end of Francis Xavier's Asian travels that he came to consider clothing as part of his missionary strategy. Prior to the early 1550s, Xavier wore the same simple black robe that he had used during the heady formative years of the Society of Jesus. Such was his charisma and reputation for sanctity that he needed little else to convince the Portuguese traders, soldiers, and prelates – not to mention prospective converts from India and the Moluccas – of his spiritual authority. But things were more difficult for Xavier when he tried to project the same

type of gravitas to the peoples of East Asia. His plain black cotton robe apparently did not translate well over these farther cultural boundaries.

After a series of reverses during his early encounters with Japanese authorities, Xavier made a change in 1551 during his stay in Japan. According to some of the earliest Jesuit chronicles, he switched his clothes before he met Ōtomo Yoshishige (later called Sōrin, 1530-1587), the daimyo of Bungo on Kyushu.¹³ Xavier was reportedly convinced by the Portuguese merchants who accompanied him on this visit to exchange his usual robe for something more befitting his status as a revered churchman. And so he donned resplendent ecclesiastical vestments for his audience with this potentate, in spite of his scorn for such ostentation. The incipient mission benefited from the cordial welcome he received, as well as from the permission that he gained for his companions to reside in Bungo. In the eyes of some of his successors, there was a lesson to be learned from this encounter: Clothing should be part of their mission strategy.¹⁴

It was how Xavier's successors in Japan chose to put this lesson into practice that led to the first controversies among the Jesuits over silk. Their mission grew slowly in the decade after his death, but its rhythm of expansion increased when the missionaries attracted a new recruit to their ranks, Luís de Almeida (c. 1525-1584). This prosperous young merchant and sometime physician joined the Society in the late 1550s as a lay brother, at

¹³ These encounters are discussed in J.S.A. ELISONAS, "Christianity and the Daimyo", in John Whitney HALL and James McCLAIN, eds. *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, pp. 301-372 at pp. 310-318.

¹⁴ In his correspondence, Xavier himself made no mention of changing his clothes. The first history of the Japan mission, written by Luís Fróis, likewise omits this detail about Xavier's encounter with Ōtomo. The story about Xavier's robes appears to have originated in the writings of Alessandro Valignano, the author of the first history of the Jesuits in Asia. Yet as will be described later on, Valignano's comments are restricted to a note that Xavier changed his clothes, a comment which is echoed in Book 16 of Giovanni Pietro Maffei's *Historiarum Indicarum libri XVI* (first edition Florence, 1588). Fernão Mendes Pinto (d. 1583), the sometime Jesuit, merchant, and adventurer, included a far more detailed description in his famous *Peregrinação* (first ed. Lisbon, 1614), a text written in the 1570s. Mendes Pinto's descriptions match those which are found in several of the lives of Xavier, such as the ones by Orazio Torsellino and João de Lucena, both which appeared before the *Peregrinação*. In his 1600 *Vida*, Lucena describes how Xavier was convinced by the Portuguese captain to use a mode of presentation reminiscent of the pomp of the Buddhist clergy. He therefore chose to go as "if in a solemn procession," wearing a surplice, a black chasuble made of *chamalote* (camel hair or wool), and an embroidered green velvet stole. The authoritative modern biography of Xavier makes the claim for Xavier changing his clothes on the basis of Valignano's account. Nevertheless, the history of the Japan mission produced by João Rodrigues in the early seventeenth century which still remains unpublished in the original Portuguese places Xavier's change of clothing at the moment of his return to Yamaguchi from Kyoto. Rodrigues has it that upon his encounter with Ōuchi Yoshitaka,

the moment when a new link was forged between his old trading partners, his new brethren, and some of the lords of Kyushu, who were offered an exchange: Portuguese traders would bring their cargoes, which included highly prized Chinese silk, to a lord's port, if he submitted to baptism. In 1563 one of these local potentates, Ômura Sumitada (1533-1587) of the Sonogi area of Kyushu, accepted the deal and was baptized Bartolomeu. Their success with this member of the provincial gentry encouraged them to cast their nets more widely in the circles of the island's military aristocracy, where other potential converts and patrons might be found. As part of this strategy, the Jesuits sought to blend into their surroundings among the elite as fully as possible.

The *padres* had ready capital to help them with this ascent of the social ladder when the time came. When Almeida joined the Society, he offered his personal fortune – estimated at over three thousand cruzados – to the order.¹⁵ Most likely at his suggestion, the Jesuits invested the lion's share in the silk trade, an exchange that brought them revenue for their upkeep, something that they could not otherwise secure in East Asia. This investment came at the beginning of the boom in this trade across the China

a visit which took place prior to Xavier's meeting with Ôtomo, the missionary pioneer decided to change his threadbare clothes for something more impressive – although precisely what he wore is not indicated. See Xavier to his Companions in Europe, Cochin, 29 January 1552, in *Monumenta Xaveriana*, 2 vols., Madrid, Augustin Avrial, 1899-1912, vol. 1, pp. 691-692; Luís FRÓIS, *História de Japam*, ed. Josef WICKI, 5 vols., Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional, 1976, vol. 1, p. 45; Alessandro VALIGNANO, *Historia del Principio y Progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales (1542-64)*, ed. Josef WICKI, 2 vols., Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944, vol. 2, p. 176; Giovanni Pietro MAFFEI, *Le Istorie delle Indie Orientale*, Florence, Filippo Giunti, 1589, pp. 604-605; Fernão Mendes PINTO, *Peregrinaçam*, Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1614, chapter 209, fol. 275 or Fernão Mendes PINTO, *The Travels of Mendes Pinto*, ed. and trans. Rebecca CATZ, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1989, pp. 473-474 (although Catz translates *chamalote* as camlet, which would be a fine fabric); Orazio TORSELLINO, *De Vita Francisci Xaverii*, Rome, Aloysii Zannetti, 1596, p. 171; João de LUCENA, *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco Xavier e do que fizeram na Índia os mais Religiosos da Companhia de Iesu*, Lisbon, Pedro Crasbeeck, 1600, pp. 689-693, esp. p. 691; Georg SCHURHAMMER, *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times*, trans. M. Joseph COSTELLOE, 4 vols., Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973-1982, vol. 4, p. 216; and Joan Rodořigesu (João RODRIGUES), *Nihon kyōkaishi* (Ecclesiastical History of Japan), ed. Ikegami Mineo et al., *Dai Kōkai Jidai Sōsho IX-X*, 2 vols., Tokyo, Iwanami, 1970, vol. 2, pp. 447-448; or BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA, *Jesuitas na Ásia* collection, 49-IV-53: fols. 226v-227r, João Rodrigues, *História da Igreja do Japão*, Macau, 1634.

¹⁵ Fróis says "a little more or less than three thousand cruzados," while Valignano states that it was "like four thousand ducats," a considerable sum in either case. See FRÓIS, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 59; and VALIGNANO, "Apologia en la qual se responde a diversas calumnias que se escrivieron contra los PP. de la Compañía de Japón y de la China; Chapter 16", Macau, 9 October 1598, cited in Josef Franz SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze für Japan*, 2 vols., Rome: Edizione di Storia e Letteratura, 1958, vol. 2, pp. 455-460 at p. 455.

Sea, and brought significant returns to the expanding mission. According to a later report, it was in the mid-1560s that the Jesuits began to acquire better lodgings and clothing.¹⁶ Contemporary sources are unclear about how the missionaries came into possession of the latter – it is possible that they obtained at least part of their silk robes as gifts from their patrons; such garments were often given as presents in Japanese aristocratic circles. They do state plainly, however, that the use of silk robes was intended to make them more acceptable to prospective converts, that is, to the likes of Ōtomo Yoshishige.

How successful was this gamble in appearances? It is hard to say, since the numbers of converts in Japan did not increase dramatically in the late 1560s. But it was undeniable that the path for future expansion opened with the tightening of the alliances between the regional potentates, the Portuguese traders, and the Jesuits.¹⁷ News of this symbiosis made its way to cities of Portuguese India, where the heart of the Society's enterprises in Asia lay, and onward to Europe. While word of elite conversions was greeted with joy, the rumors of missionaries behaving or dressing like silk traders were not. The debates over Jesuit participation in the silk trade – another moral dilemma for the Society of Jesus, since religious were generally forbidden to engage in commerce – are matters outside of the scope of the present essay, although they often involved the link between dealing in silk and wearing it.¹⁸ To the Jesuit superiors in India, whose writ at that time extended to the mission in Japan, it seemed that their confreres in East Asia had forgotten their vows of poverty.

In 1569, the Society's provincial officer in India sent a trusted priest to Japan to root out the abuses related to silk. Francisco Cabral (1528-1609), a former college rector and novice master who was one of the senior Jesuits in India, was sent to Kyushu to remind his brethren in Japan of their duty to God and to their order. He was further entrusted with the chore of exchanging all of the silk from the mission's residences for sim-

¹⁶ Francisco Cabral to Francisco de Borja, Nagasaki, 5 September 1571, cited *ibid.*, p. 465.

¹⁷ ELISON, "Christianity and the Daimyo", pp. 321-326; and VALIGNANO, *Historia del Principio y Progreso*, vol. 2, p. 444.

¹⁸ Discussion the moral and financial issues regarding Jesuit participation in trade in East Asia can be found in George ELISON, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, [3rd printing, 1991] Cambridge, Mass., Council on East Asian Studies and Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 101-106; J.F. MORAN, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan*, London, Routledge, 1993, pp. 115-128; C.R. BOXER, *The Christian Century in Japan, 1549-1640*, [2nd edition] London: Carcanet, 1993, pp. 104-121; and BROCKEY, *The Visitor*, pp. 326-333.

pler fabrics. Since the Japan missionaries saw their clothing as an integral part of their strategy, it is no surprise that Cabral met with resistance in Japan. His long rivalry with the strongest early proponent of cultural accommodation, Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), about whom more will be said below, meant that Cabral has not be remembered kindly by historians, either.¹⁹

In 1571, two years after his arrival in Japan, Francisco Cabral wrote a pair of letters to Europe to summarize his progress. One letter was addressed to the Superior General of the Society of Jesus, Francisco de Borja (1510-1572); the other to the Visitor (inspector) of the Province of Portugal, Diego Mirón (1516-1590).²⁰ In the second letter, Cabral begins by mentioning that he had read a letter intended for a deceased colleague in which Mirón wrote that the Superior General knew “that the *padres* here went about dressed in silk but did not know the reason.” As Cabral understood it, Borja had declared that “it was against the humility and poverty that the Society professed, and against the way that Christ Our Lord taught.”²¹ In both letters Cabral discusses the moral issues involved in the missionaries’ use of silk in Japan and describes his personal efforts to come to grips with the excesses perceived by him. But there is a crucial difference of tone in the two letters: To the Superior General, Cabral wrote in broad terms about how silk came to be used and why it was not necessary for the Jesuits’ mission strategy; to the Visitor, he wrote about the specific men who flaunted the order’s rules and named those who resisted his reforms. Read together, the two letters reveal the dimensions of the scandal over silk that was seen to be brewing in Japan.

If the use of silk was a part of the Jesuits’ mission strategy, its prohibition demanded a consideration of the reasons why it had been employed in the first place. Cabral’s starting point was the priests’ desire to fit into the Japanese religious context. He therefore presented General Borja with a brief panorama of religious life in that country, a description that was at the

¹⁹ The primary reason for this legacy was Cabral’s reluctance to integrate Japanese members into the Society of Jesus, a policy that Valignano favored. See, for example, BOXER, op. cit., pp. 73, 85-87, and 211; SCHÜTTE, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 239-284 or J.F. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. COYNE, 2 vols., St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980-1985, vol. 1, pp. 187-224; and ELISON, op. cit., pp. 15-21, and 54-56.

²⁰ Francisco Cabral to Francisco de Borja, Nagasaki, 5 September 1571, in SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, pp. 461-468; and ARCHIVUM ROMANUM SOCIETATIS IESU [=ARSI], *Japonica-Sinica* Collection [=Jap-Sin] 7-1, fols. 23r-24v., Francisco Cabral to Diego Mirón, Nagasaki, 6 September 1571.

²¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 23r.

same time a gloss on the effectiveness of the mission policies employed over the previous two decades. Among the principal themes addressed by Cabral was whether his brethren should attempt to mimic the ways of the indigenous clergy in order to achieve a social standing parallel to theirs. In Japan, by contrast to what will be said below about Jesuit estimations of the repute of the indigenous clergy in China, the “bonzes” enjoyed great respect from secular lords. Cabral pondered whether outward appearances determined prestige among these Buddhist clerics, and he was certain that they did not. He declared that their “ordinary dress is silk,” but that there were “some among them whose orders prohibit them from wearing silk, so they wear nothing but black or white cotton or linen cloth.” Most importantly, Cabral claimed, “it is not for this reason that they are revered any less than those who go about loaded with silk, indeed, they are held in even greater esteem.”²²

Accordingly, in Cabral’s understanding there was no correlation between social prestige and silk robes in Japan. As a result, the notions of apostolic poverty that the Jesuits brought with them from Europe – concepts that were codified in the Society’s rules – could exist in Japan without prejudice to their mission. This position was in direct contrast to that of his subordinates, who saw their silks as the necessary means for communicating their religious authority to the Japanese. Cabral’s retelling of the mission’s early years thus displayed the priests of his day in a poor light. In both letters to Europe, he sketched a history of the mission that underscored the conditions in which Xavier’s first successors lived in Japan – a manner reflecting “the accustomed poverty and humility of the *Companhia*.”²³ As a result of their observance of their vows, Cabral asserted, “Our Lord gave them many blessings, and through it many souls were converted.”²⁴

Seeking then to explain how silk came to be used by other Jesuits in Japan, Cabral pointed the finger at Luís de Almeida’s fortune. To the Superior General, he asserted that once the donated funds arrived,

the business dealings began, both here in Japan and in China; and as the trade grew, so grew the laxity in the residences. About 7 or 8 years ago, silk began to be introduced, both in beds as well as in gowns; and in this way everything else had to fall into line, such as an abundance of food, a

²² SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, p. 463.

²³ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 7-I: fol. 23r.

²⁴ SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, p. 465.

number of servants, little work and prayer, etc. Little by little things grew to the point where, in Japan, a priest was more like a lord than a priest of the Society, from whence came the murmurs of the Portuguese who came here, as much about this as about their excessive loose behavior in dealings and trade.²⁵

Cabral added more details in his letter to Mirón. Not just silk, but “colorful gowns,” and “even some of their pillows and bolsters were made of silk, and I saw that one priest’s mattress was made of damask.” But what really started the murmurs of the Portuguese, Cabral claimed, was when they saw Balthasar da Costa (b. c.1538-1580) visit their carrack with a crowd of servants and dressed in “purple silk.” *Fausto e vaidade*, ostentation and vanity, with “little edification,” was what these merchants saw and what they made known to others outside Japan.²⁶

The remedies that Cabral imposed on his brethren were twofold: The first was to reduce their involvement in the silk trade in so much as possible – “to moderate it in such a way that it only produced what we need to support ourselves well,” in his words – and the second was to prohibit all use of silk.²⁷ Invoking the vow of obedience, he insisted that the missionaries surrender any silk they had in exchange for cotton cloth, and reprimanded those who failed to do so. Despite the vaunted spirit of union among the early Jesuits, Cabral faced strong resistance: “I do not know how to speak to Your Paternity of the labors and temptations that I endured in this task,” he wrote to General Borja. Only two of the eight priests (not to mention the four lay brothers) thought it a good idea.²⁸ “The rest of them were against it,” Cabral asserted,

they told me that if I took away the silks it would slam the door to the conversion of these lands, since the Japanese see nothing beyond external appearances, and if we did not wear silk and just went about in black, not only would not any lord, but not even the Christians, receive us.²⁹

This comment confirms that the Jesuits saw their robes as an integral part of their proselytizing strategy. But Cabral did not agree. He explained to his superiors how he had countered by exposing the foundation of the

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 7-I: fol. 23r.

²⁷ Ibid., fol. 23v.

²⁸ SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, pp. 465-466. In his letter to Mirón, he says that only one priest, Cosme de Torres, agreed with him. See ARSI *Jap-Sin* 7-I: fol. 23v.

²⁹ SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, p. 466.

missionaries' resistance; it was rooted in *amor próprio*, self-regard. He insisted that they trust in the obedience they had sworn, confiding that "God, who bears the hearts of men in His hands, would change them and make it so that with the gowns that we were commanded to wear we would produce more fruit than with all of the silks and display that we had used until then."³⁰ In his letter to the General, Cabral wrote that he also played the trump card of the example of Christ and the Apostles. Jesus's commands had been straightforward, Cabral argued to his subordinates, and there was the proof of "the thousands of Christians that the Apostles and other saints had not made with silk, but threadbare and in the most extreme poverty." His opponents riposted that God had not yet given them the same spiritual arms that He had given to Christ's first disciples, saying that "the Apostles worked many miracles and that was why they converted people, etc." Lacking such *force majeure*, the Jesuits had to work within the social and cultural constraints of Japanese society – or at least those which they considered most congenial to their efforts.³¹

Dismissing these arguments, Cabral demanded the missionaries' silks. "I ordered gowns of black cotton to be made, of the kind that we normally use," he reported to the Superior General, "and gathered from them all of the silk gowns that I could find."³² Still chafing at this imposition, the missionaries turned his search into a game of cat and mouse. Cabral mentioned to Mirón that he knew how some kept their silks secretly, like Baltasar da Costa, and told of how he discovered Melchior Figueiredo (1528-1597) with "some silk pillows" as well as a "robe like they use here made of green Chinese damask in which he slept at night." More shocking for Cabral was to find Organtino Gneccchi-Soldi (1530-1609), the priest who had brought him strict orders about missionary dress from India, willing to exchange his black robe for "a gown of colored silk" while on his way to Kyoto. There, this missionary joined his companion Luís Fróis (1532-1597) in "leaving aside the other gowns," a move that prompted Cabral to issue a sharply worded rebuke, one which produced the desired effect.³³

What resulted from this change in strategy with regard to silk? It does not appear that it was either as beneficial or as catastrophic as the two sides predicted – historians have identified other factors responsible for

³⁰ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 7-I: fol. 23v.

³¹ SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, p. 466.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 7-I: fol. 23v.



2 Jesuits in Japan, depicted in *Arrival of a Portuguese ship* (detail), one of a pair of so-called Nanban screens, 1620-1640. Japan. Ink, colors, and gold on paper.

Courtesy of Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection, B60D78+. Photograph © Asian Art Museum of San Francisco.

the boom and bust of the Japan mission. But Cabral was convinced that the change he introduced had been the crucial factor. Already in his letter to Mirón, he asserted that the daimyo of Bungo was relieved with their change of habit, thereby proving the wisdom of his actions. In Cabral's words, Ōtomo remarked that the Jesuits now "appeared to be religious where before we seemed to be merchants." Furthermore, he spoke to Cabral while kneeling and with both hands touching the floor, "which is the greatest courtesy done here." So the use of cotton meant no loss of respect by Japanese lords, Cabral asserted. [Figure 2] As proof, he declared in 1571 that more converts had been made since he removed "the deceit and falsity of believing that silks made Christians," a total of "five thousand souls among whose numbers are many lords."³⁴

Authority and results would not suffer without silk, Cabral wagered, and in subsequent years he further sought to prove this contention at his own risk. Writing the following year to an unnamed correspondent, he

³⁴ Ibid.

described a round trip from Kyushu to Kyoto in which he traveled through the heart of war-torn Japan. Fear counseled Cabral to “change his clothes and to travel unknown in silk robes,” but he claimed to trust more “in God and in obedience” and so journeyed with his customary black cassock and rosary. Not only did he travel safely in both directions, Cabral claimed, but the supreme warlords “and all the other lords of those parts gave me such honors and favors, dressed poorly as I was.”³⁵ Among these figures was Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), the military hegemon who began the process of unifying Japan after a century of political fragmentation and civil war. In the company of Luís Fróis, Cabral was received at Gifu Castle in April 1572, where Nobunaga reportedly served him a meal with his own hands. When pondering what gift to offer the priests, Fróis recorded, the hegemon said “I wanted to give the *padres* some silk gowns, but since they dress in black cloth, it does not seem fitting.” More fitting and more pleasing to Cabral – yet still in keeping with Japanese seigneurial munificence – were the eighty reams of paper that they received instead.³⁶

As time wore on and the missionaries experienced greater success in numbers of converts from both elite and plebeian milieus, Francisco Cabral grew further convinced of the virtue of his policy with regard to silk. Writing to Rome in 1593, seven years after his return to India, he argued that the Jesuits’ return to poverty and humility had been the best strategy. Seeking a parallel to the events that had transpired in Japan, he found the story of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius (r. 610-641) at the gates of Jerusalem in 630, a tale known to readers of Jacobus de Voragine’s *Legenda Aurea*: Attempting to return the True Cross to its place of origin with royal pomp, the emperor found the city’s gates miraculously filled with bricks and mortar.³⁷ Only after Heraclius removed his crown and cloak, Cabral paraphrased, “when he was unshod and dressed in lowly and humble robes, conforming himself to the humility of Christ, do the stones again move and open a clear passage for him to enter.” To make

³⁵ Francisco Cabral to “hum homem secular,” Kuchinotsu, 29 September 1572, in *Cartas que os Padres e Irmãos da Companhia de Jesus escreverão dos Reynos de Japão & China*, 2 vols., [first ed. Évora, Manuel de Lyra, 1598], fac-simile Maia, Castroliva, 1997, vol. 1, p. 338r.

³⁶ Fróis, op. cit., vol. 2: pp. 359-364, esp. p. 362. Japanese sources concur that in the 1570s Nobunaga gave kimonos and other robes as gifts, as well as other luxury goods including rolls of textiles, works of art, and gold and silver pieces. See Ota GYUICHI, *The Chronicle of Lord Nobunaga*, trans. J.S.A. ELISONAS and J.P. LAMERS, Leiden, Brill, 2011, pp. 173, 228, 252, and 291.

³⁷ Jacobus de VORAGINE, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. William Granger RYAN, 2 vols., Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1993, vol. 2, pp. 169-170.

the comparison clearer, Cabral recalled that upon his arrival in Japan there were “no more than 2000 Christians, and no noblemen among their number except Dom Bartolomeu” (and a handful of others). But when Cabral stripped his subordinates of their silk, God saw fit to assist them, “in such a way that His law became respected and the priests, with black cotton cassocks, were more honored and esteemed by the kings and lords of Japan than they were before, when they had silk and other flourishes.”³⁸ And so, by the mid-1580s, the mission church claimed many tens of thousands more members – even if the great expansion of conversions owed more to the aggressive tactics of the newly Christian lords in eradicating Buddhism and Shinto from their lands than to any change in missionary clothing.³⁹

In the Beginning: Valignano, Ricci, and the Mandarins

By the mid-1570s, it appeared as though the debate over Jesuits wearing silk in East Asia was finished. The missionaries in Japan had relinquished their silk and their enterprise was flourishing. Yet as the decade drew to a close, a towering figure arrived to oversee the mission and to impose his strategic vision on the Jesuits in East Asia. This man was Alessandro Valignano, the personal representative of the Superior General, who was appointed as Visitor (inspector) of the Jesuits’ missions in Asia in 1573. Before arriving in Japan in 1579, Valignano had spent four years in Western India and some months on the China coast in Macau. If there is one name associated with the famed Jesuit concept of cultural accommodation in Japan, it is that of Alessandro Valignano. Through his compendia of rules and orders, he structured the Japan mission, as well as its offshoot in China, in the unique way that has become renowned in scholarship on early modernity.⁴⁰ It is therefore important to focus on Valignano’s policies with regard to silk, since they led to the paradox that we see in the engraving of Matteo Ricci.

Visitor Valignano’s famous contribution to the Jesuits’ mission strategy in East Asia became evident soon after his arrival in Kyushu. Among his first initiatives was the calling of a series of consultations in the various mission

³⁸ Francisco Cabral to Claudio Aquaviva, Cochin, 15 December 1593, in SCHÜTTE, *Valignanos Missionsgrundsätze*, vol. 2, pp. 469-476 at p. 472.

³⁹ ELISONAS, “Christianity and the Daimyo”, pp. 328-335.

⁴⁰ A sketch of Valignano’s character and writings is M. Antoni J. ÜÇERLER, “Alessandro Valignano: man, missionary, and writer”, *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 17, no. 3 (2003), pp. 337-366. A discussion of his policies in Japan is in SCHÜTTE, *Valignano’s Mission Principles*, trans. COYNE vol. 1, pp. 248-382; and vol. 2, pp. 3-90.

regions in Japan. Issues of strategy ranging from clothing to behavior were therefore discussed between October 1580 and December 1581, including the question of silk, but there was general agreement among the mission's men for maintaining the ban. In 1583, Valignano drew up rules which confirmed this decision, recognizing that the Jesuits' silks had been replaced with "the same cloth that our men use in India."⁴¹ Valignano's decisions were confirmed by Superior General Claudio Aquaviva (1543-1615), who responded in 1585 that the Jesuits in Japan should be ever vigilant about avoiding "silk and all superfluities."⁴²

It is therefore surprising that Valignano had a completely different attitude with regard to the use of silk by the Jesuits in China. Unlike in Japan, where the die was cast before he arrived, Valignano was the driving force behind the creation of the China mission. He was the man who selected the first priests for language study and the primary source of encouragement for Ricci and his first companions in Guangdong Province. There is no doubt that Valignano knew how complicated it would be for him to convince his superiors in Rome to open an exception to the rules on silk for the incipient China mission. But for him, the only way to put this new endeavor on a firm foundation was through silk.

Why was Visitor Valignano willing to ignore for China what he had confirmed for Japan? To answer this question, it is necessary to revisit his understanding of the policy of cultural accommodation in Japan. Modern scholars have long posited that there was something gentle in Valignano's insistence on the *modo soave* in Japan; and, in contrast to the violence of some missionary encounters elsewhere, there certainly was. Yet it is a mistake to equate its suavity with meekness or self-effacement: Valignano's policy was political. Its aim was authority; that is, spiritual and personal authority of the sort that the physically imposing and noble-born Valignano enjoyed among other Europeans. Following his plans, the Jesuits would gain authority in East Asian eyes without having to rely on others to win it for them by force of arms. Accommodation to the customs of Japan was therefore a means to permit the Jesuits to be seen by their Japanese interlocutors as the authority figures that they considered themselves to

⁴¹ Alessandro VALIGNANO, *Sumario de las Cosas de Japon (1583); Adiciones del Sumario de Japon (1592)*, ed. José Luis ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, 2 vols., Tokyo, Sophia University, 1954-, vol. 1, pp. 161*-163* (on the consultations), pp. 231-233 (Valignano's rule), and p. 247 (consultation results and Valignano's comments on them).

⁴² Claudio Aquaviva to Alessandro Valignano, Rome, 24 December 1585, in Alessandro VALIGNANO, *Il Ceremoniale per i Missionari del Giappone*, ed. and trans. Joseph SCHÜTTE, Rome, Storia e Letteratura, 1946, pp. 315-324 at p. 317.

be. Valignano's orders for the Jesuits to dress in Japanese style (without silk, of course), to speak Japanese, and to behave according to Japanese norms were parts of a strategy to yield in what was indifferent in order to preserve what was essential – Jesuit authority. Once this crucial element was obtained, and the Jesuits ceased to be dismissed out of hand as foreigners, more and more Japanese lords would see the missionaries as worthy spiritual guides and the pace of conversions would accelerate.⁴³

There was also another way to secure the authority that Valignano sought for the Jesuits. In his understanding, one method had the greatest potential for success: The Jesuits could present themselves directly to the rulers of Asian lands, preferably as ambassadors from Lisbon, Goa, or Rome. In Japan, instead of concentrating their energies on low-level figures such as Ōmura, he would have them appeal to the highest levels of the Japanese elite. In this way they could legitimately show their authority in the courts of the great, since the language of diplomacy was universal. Although such ventures might come at considerable expense to the Society of Jesus, their cost would be justified by the image of authority that they would project, a show of status that would cascade down the social ladder from the top.⁴⁴ To this end, Valignano took advantage of the good rapport between Luís Fróis and Oda Nobunaga to arrange for his own visit to the military hegemon in 1581.⁴⁵ Valignano would repeat this attempt at diplomacy a decade later when he went to call upon Nobunaga's successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537-1598), this time as the emissary of the Viceroy of Portuguese India.⁴⁶ And, beginning in 1588, he appealed to the Superior General in Rome to coordinate a papal embassy to the Wanli Emperor (r.1573-1620) in Beijing, a proposal directly linked to the permission he granted for the China Jesuits to use silk.⁴⁷

While Valignano waited for approval for his ambassadorial plans, he made changes to Jesuit usage with the aim of mitigating excessive adher-

⁴³ George Elison indicates this aspect in his overview of Valignano's consultations and policies in Japan. See ELISON, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-84 at p. 57.

⁴⁴ Valignano knew that embassies would demonstrate authority in Europe, too, and so he mounted an "embassy from the Kings of Japan" (in the form of four Japanese boys purporting to be princes) to their counterparts in Europe in the early 1580s. See J.S.A. ELISONAS, "Journey to the West", *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, vol. 34, no. 1 (2007), pp. 27-66.

⁴⁵ MORAN, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴⁶ J.S.A. ELISONAS, "The Evangelic Furnace", in W.T. de Bary et al., eds., *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, 2 vols. [2nd edition], New York, Columbia University Press, 2001-2002, vol. 2, pp. 143-184 at pp. 168-171.

⁴⁷ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fols. 1r-8v, Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Aquaviva, Macau, 10 November 1588.

ence to European notions of apostolic poverty. Authority, as Valignano understood it, involved display; and, in Japan, display involved decorum – if it could not involve silk. Since his hands were tied on that score, he took a two-pronged approach to the issue of missionary dress: He mandated cleanliness, and he wrote a history of the missions which highlighted the role of appropriate dress at important points. The notion of apostolic poverty, so essential to Jesuit identity, could indeed be preserved in Japan, so long as it did not slide into dishonor in Japanese eyes. Valignano’s 1583 rules therefore included a chapter on “acquiring and conserving authority when dealing with the Japanese” which included references to the importance of clean clothing. It was crucial, he insisted, that the Jesuits not be seen outside their residences “threadbare and badly dressed as if they were poor, both because of the danger they can incur and because in this way they destroy and knock down the reputation of the religion among the Japanese.”⁴⁸

Valignano also shaped the Jesuits’ memory of past mission strategies. His pioneering chronicle of the Society of Jesus in the *Indias Orientales* from 1542 until 1564, written between the late 1570s and the early 1580s, set down a version of the story of Xavier’s encounter with Ōtomo, the “King of Bungo.” In Valignano’s retelling, Xavier exchanged his customary black robe for something more appropriate for projecting authority. Although Valignano does not mention silk or vestments, he does declare that in 1551 Xavier “had found by experience that going about badly dressed and threadbare and treating himself with such disdain not only did not help but also impeded that which he intended to do in Japan for the glory of God.” And so, in order to impress Ōtomo, Xavier “determined to dress and behave in another manner from that time forward.”⁴⁹ Valignano further inserted this version of his understanding of Xavier’s encounter in Bungo into his general rules for Jesuit life in Japan. His 1583 *Sumario de las Cosas de Japón* declares the high degree of cleanliness that the Japanese expected and asserts:

And for this, in the beginning, our men dressed in silk in order to gain some entry among the Japanese, but afterwards they left that completely behind and now dress in cassock and with a *dōbuku* as a cloak, ... all black, without any silk, although it is necessary that all these things be clean and well cared for.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ VALIGNANO, *Il Ceremoniale*, pp. 155-156.

⁴⁹ VALIGNANO, *Historia del Principio y Progreso*, p. 176.

⁵⁰ VALIGNANO, *Sumario*, pp. 231-232.

When Valignano wrote these words, the China mission that he had created in 1579 was still in its infancy. In 1582, Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607) and Matteo Ricci had secured permission to remain in Canton beyond the end of that city's biennial trade fairs, but the results of their efforts were hardly a success story. While the men that he had selected for the task had indeed gotten farther inside the Ming Empire than any previous missionaries, the terms of their stay were uncertain. To make matters worse, they had managed to make precious few converts. As the first decade of the China enterprise came to a close, it appeared that little would be gained without a radical change in strategy. Not only were the Jesuits faced with challenges inside China, but there were other problems for them amassing on Chinese shores – friars from Manila who also wanted to spread Christianity in the Ming Empire. These Franciscans, Dominicans, or Augustinians were sure to employ their own strategies, methods potentially hazardous to the Jesuits' efforts to win converts or to curry favor with Chinese officials. In short, the China Jesuits needed a new beginning, one akin to that which enabled their confreres' success in Japan.⁵¹

In 1588, Valignano wrote from Macau to General Aquaviva to propose solutions to these problems, as well as to urge a reconsideration of the ban on silk. The Visitor's solutions stemmed from a central insight. In his understanding, the Jesuits had to gain authority in the eyes of the individuals who governed the Ming Empire, that is, the emperor, or at least his officials and the literati who aspired to join the ranks of officials. Valignano's report presents an overview of the nature of authority in China. He insists that the men who held power, the mandarins and literati, were immediately recognizable due to their *insignias y vestidos*, garments made of silk.⁵² The main problem that this fact presented for the Jesuits was that the missionaries had chosen to wear robes associated with Chinese clergy rather than with Chinese officialdom. In Valignano's estimation, the Jesuits had chosen poorly: Such robes were "very low and vile" in Chinese eyes, he argued, and so the Jesuits bore with them the social stigma associated

⁵¹ On the early years of the Jesuit mission to China, see Liam Matthew BROCKEY, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579-1724*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 2007, pp. 25-41.

⁵² Valignano had already touched upon this theme in his history of the Jesuits in Asia, in the section where he recounts the death of Francis Xavier on Shangchuan Island. In a section of the text about the Chinese officials that he wrote nearly a decade before the 1588 letter, he claimed that the "mandarins are like gods in China, because they are so feared and esteemed by all the rest of the people that, in truth, nothing is lacking for them to be adored." See VALIGNANO, *Historia del Principio y Progreso*, p. 235.

with the Buddhist clergy. He complained that the Jesuits who were then at Zhaoqing in Guangdong Province could not address themselves to any mandarins except “when upon their knees,” and so “until now there has been almost no kind of conversation or familiar dealings.” In this submissive pose, the Jesuits did not have “any authority nor any way of being able to speak.” In other words, no officials would condescend to deal with the Jesuits as equals, dressed as they were.⁵³

What was to be done? Apostolic poverty was not the answer, Valignano argued. In an echo of the points raised against Cabral in Japan, he dismissed the example of the Apostles themselves and St. Paul, saying that they relied on “supernatural means.” In China, Valignano declared, little could be done *sin tener ningun don de milagros*, without the gift of miracles.⁵⁴ Human effort, however, could perhaps work if the Jesuits played according to what he imagined to be Chinese rules. Valignano proposed two efforts that required Rome’s assistance, and a further one to be undertaken in China. From Rome, he needed help to ensure that the friars did not return to the Ming Empire to check the meager advances that the Jesuits had made.⁵⁵ Valignano also had great hopes for a papal embassy to the “King of China,” an effort that he was certain would gain the necessary *autoridad* for the Jesuits to converse with the mandarins. So important was this matter of the embassy that Valignano sent Michele Ruggieri, the oldest and longest serving member of the China mission, to Europe to discuss it.⁵⁶ Ruggieri bore with him templates for the diplomatic correspondence from pope to emperor, as well as instructions for the type of

⁵³ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fols. 1r-8v at 1v, 2r, and 7r, Alessandro Valignano to Claudio Aquaviva, Macau, 10 November 1588.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, fols. 2v-3r. Valignano cites 1 Corinthians 4:13, “We are made as the refuse of the world, the offscouring of all even until now,” to contrast the outcomes of Paul’s work with that of the Jesuits in China. Unlike the missionaries, the Apostles “performed great miracles, and had the gift of tongues and sanctity which was well known, with which things they had greater authority than that which can be wished for or attained now.”

⁵⁵ The Jesuits had already gained a regime of exclusivity in Japan in 1585, but the friars were seen as a menace to the China mission, too. On the papal bulls about Japan, see Donald LACH and Edwin VAN KLEY, *Asia in the Making of Europe*. 3 vols. in 9 bks., Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1965-1993, vol. 1, book 2, pp. 705-706 and 718-719.

⁵⁶ On Ruggieri’s mission to Europe in 1589, which may have been motivated by Valignano’s animus against Ruggieri among other concerns, see António Vasconcelos de SALDANHA, “A Man for Two Seasons: After China – Michele Ruggieri in Europe”, in YAO Jingming 姚京明 and HAO Yufan 郝雨凡 eds., *Luo Mingjian ‘Zhongguo dituji’ xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 羅明堅《中國地圖集》學術研討會論文集 [Proceedings of the Symposium on Michele Ruggieri’s Chinese Atlas], (Macau: Aomen tebie xingzhengqu zhengfu wenhua ju, 2014), pp. 62-77. In the November 1588 letter being discussed here, Valignano dismisses any notion of the viability of the conquest of China by a colonial army from the Philippines,

impressive document that was to be carried by the hoped-for ambassadors, “written on vellum with golden letters and with some very well drawn paintings around the border..., not with a lead seal like His Holiness usually employs but with a seal of gold and the cords of gold and silver.”⁵⁷

The complementary step that Valignano advised for securing Jesuits authority in China was to have them change their mode of dress. Towards the end of his missive to Claudio Aquaviva about the embassy, he asks for guidance about what to do in the event that the ambassadors are accorded *insignias y vestidos* from the emperor. In Valignano’s understanding, the emperor was the one who distributed such privileges to his subjects, and it would not be strange if he decided to give them to the Chinese-speaking Jesuits who would surely be entrusted with the envisioned papal embassy. If they received this clothing, the Jesuits would be taken for “virtuous and lettered men,” and as a result, owing to their new insignia, they would “be able to deal with the Mandarins with authority and familiarity, and be greatly venerated by the people.” The Superior General need not fear, Valignano counseled, that the Jesuits would always use those garments and emblems, for they would only use them when they go “to visit the Mandarins and want to be treated according to that degree of dignity.” Once the Jesuits secured entry into Mandarin circles, he added, “perchance they might never have to wear them again, because it is sufficient to know that they have those emblems for them to be honored by all.”⁵⁸

Here Valignano reveals his secret to General Aquaviva. He asserts that the use of these *insignias y vestidos* “might appear as something very inconvenient in Europe, and about which the friars here will never cease to murmur.” After his belabored discussion about embassies and strategies for gaining authority, Valignano declares the reason for potential scandal: If the China Jesuits “are to have any form of religious authority, it seems necessary for them now to dress in some piece of Chinese silk.”⁵⁹ So sensitive

a figment that was raised by some of Philip II’s councilors, including some Jesuits. See ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fol. 3r.

⁵⁷ Ibid., fol. 5r. Valignano makes reference to the documents that were given to the members of the Japanese embassy in Rome, intending them to be similar. One imagines a letter like the document sent by the Portuguese Viceroy Duarte de Menezes to Toyotomi Hideyoshi in April 1588, now considered a Japanese national treasure. A reproduction of the Viceroy’s letter is in *Kyōto-fu bunkazai zuroku* [A pictorial record of the cultural treasures of Kyoto Prefecture], ed. Kyōto-fu Kyōiku Inkai, [Kyoto Prefecture Committee on Education], 2 vols., Kyoto, Benridō, 1968, vol. 1, *Shoseki* [Calligraphy], number 192.

⁵⁸ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fol. 7r.

⁵⁹ Ibid., fol. 7v.

was the question of silk being used by the Jesuits that Valignano had to bury its mention under a mountain of other considerations. Recall that Valignano had already heard and confirmed prohibitions against Jesuits wearing silk several times by 1588; he was well aware of the problems that silk robes would cause, regardless of how well they served other Jesuit aims. His reluctance to float the issue was not rooted in fear of what might happen if his policy for China reached Japan; there were individuals closer at hand who could cause him problems over this issue. Already in 1584, Alonso Sánchez (1547-1593), a Jesuit who visited Southern China from the Philippines, wrote to Aquaviva to denounce the lax observance of the prohibition against silk among his fellow Jesuits at Macau. Sánchez's complaints amounted to a censure of Valignano's role as guardian of the Society's principles. Among other breaches of the rules, he pointed to the use of silk buttons, buttonholes, and embroidery on Jesuit cassocks.⁶⁰ So much greater would the scandal of such outsiders be if they learned the priests in China intended to go about in full silk robes.⁶¹

Valignano admitted to Aquaviva in 1588 that he had already instructed his subordinates in China to exchange their Buddhist clerical robes for something different. Historians have traditionally dated this move to 1595, when Matteo Ricci declared in a well-known letter to the Superior General that he had made the switch to robes in the style and cloth of the Chinese literati.⁶² But Valignano had permitted the China Jesuits to start this transformation eight years earlier, albeit making the change in slow steps. He reported that at Zhaoqing, where the missionaries had a residence, they had begun to use a form of literati dress. In order for them not to dress "in the common style of the people, nor in the style of the bonzes, they

⁶⁰ Alonso Sánchez to Claudio Aquaviva, Macau, 22 June 1584, in J. L. ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, "Censura del Visitador Padre Alessandro Valignano, S.J. por el Visitante Padre Alonso Sánchez, S.J. (1584)", *Sapientia: The Eichi University Review*, vol. 13 (1979), pp. 147-165 at p. 152.

⁶¹ As early as 1598, before Matteo Ricci had arrived at Beijing, Valignano had to defend the China Jesuits' use of Chinese clothing against critical friars. In response to publicly-aired denunciations about Jesuit practices in Japan and China, he wrote an *Apologia* in which he countered the assertion made by Fray Martin Ignacio de Loyola (c. 1550-1606) that the Jesuits went about "dressed in Chinese clothes." This friar visited China in 1587, and so did not see the results of Valignano's plans. See Alejandro [sic] VALIGNANO, *Apologia de la Compañía de Jesus de Japon y China (1598)*, ed. José Luis ALVAREZ-TALADRIZ, Osaka: Eikodo, 1998, pp. 85-89.

⁶² See, for example, HSIA, *op. cit.*, p. 138; LAVEN, *op. cit.*, p. 20; and FONTANA, *op. cit.*, p. 110. The original letter, Matteo Ricci to Claudio Aquaviva, Nanchang, 4 November 1595, in Matteo RICCI, *Lettere (1580-1609)*, ed. Piero CORRADINI, Macerata, Quodlibet, 2001, pp. 297-321 at pp. 308-309.

made a new composition that some literati are accustomed to using and which fits with our religious habit.” Valignano notes that this new style was a kind of floor-length robe with very long sleeves “in the style that the sleeves made in Venice take,” along with a four-cornered hat. “This is the habit with which our men go about in Xauquin,” he declared, made of a “black cloth.”⁶³

Visitor Valignano nevertheless saw this shift as a half measure. He informed the Superior General that only the low-level attendants of the mandarins wore garments made of such fabric. Valignano was candid in his assessment: “All cloth in China is like linen cloth among us, although here it is cotton cloth; it is very lowly whatever color it may be, and may even be inconvenient for our men.” As a result, he argued, the Jesuits needed silk. Thankfully, Valignano asserted, pieces of silk were easy to find in China “in the color black, or very dark purple that we in Rome call dark *Pavonaço* which is almost black, and so say the priests who know the customs of China.”⁶⁴ Moreover, the investment in silk robes would be minimal: Not only were pieces of silk inexpensive, “a robe like this can be made for less than two cruzados.” Yet considering the ban on silk and the General’s insistence, he declared that he would “make no change” until he received orders from Rome.⁶⁵

Rome’s response was slow in coming, if it came at all. The incipient China mission was not the most pressing concern that the Jesuits in Asia confronted in the late 1580s – the concerns of a few priests deep inside the Ming Empire were greatly outweighed by the dramatic turn of events in Japan that followed Hideyoshi’s invasion of Kyushu in 1586-87. The prohibition of Christianity in Japan that was proclaimed in 1587, for example, was of far greater importance. And so it was that Valignano’s request for a papal embassy to the “King of China” was ignored. Valignano’s personal embassy to Hideyoshi in 1591, moreover, certainly did not win support for his ideas in Rome. Indeed, in 1595 Superior General Aquaviva felt compelled to send a rebuke, urging Valignano to *moderatione* in his dealings, especially those which came at great expense. Spreading the gospel, Aquaviva reminded him, required reliance on “humility and poverty.” Accordingly, Valignano was told to refrain from embassies or from taking the “name of ambassador”; there were other ways of “assisting in the mat-

⁶³ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fol. 7v.

⁶⁴ The Italian is *pavonazzo*, a dark purple color for textiles.

⁶⁵ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 11-I: fol. 7v.

ters of our holy faith.”⁶⁶ This was a sentiment shared by Francisco Cabral, the former Japan superior who at that time was in India, whence he had written to Rome to criticize Valignano’s policies at length.⁶⁷

The tone of this 1595 letter from Aquaviva suggests that the Superior General of the Society was not very likely to have sanctioned Valignano’s idea of silk robes for the China Jesuits. No other letters that have been identified for this study mention specific permission from Rome, although such evidence may yet be discovered. Sources produced at the time when Matteo Ricci decided to don his silk robes nevertheless do mention orders from Valignano, making it quite likely that the Visitor acted on his own initiative in this matter.

Ricci’s first surviving admission that he used silk robes instead of the improvised cotton habit came in the summer of 1595.⁶⁸ The sequence of events preceding Ricci’s move suggests that he spoke with Valignano about this plan at Macau in late December 1592 or early January 1593.⁶⁹ Five years after Valignano’s 1588 report, it was more than evident that the China Jesuits needed a change of strategy. They had left their first residence at Zhaoqing for Shaozhou, to the north of Canton, where they had made few converts, lost men to disease, and had been the target of physical violence.⁷⁰ Agreeing that something had to be done, Valignano wrote new orders before he left Macau for India in the autumn of 1594 – probably sometime in the summer of that year, since that was when the permission to use different robes made it to Ricci inside China by the hand of his new companion, Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640). Valignano’s written permission was nevertheless evasive on one key point: He instructed the superior of the China mission (at the time, the rector of the College of Macau) to permit the missionaries to grow their hair and beards long, and to “use some type of overcoat specifically for visits made of *loo* or something else appropriate for this, according to the clothing customs of the Chinese, which they will only use when they go to visit the mandarins

⁶⁶ Claudio Aquaviva to Alessandro Valignano, Rome, 16 January 1595, in Joseph WICKI, ed., *Documenta Indica*, 18 vols., Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1944-1988, vol. 17, p. 39-41 at p. 40.

⁶⁷ Francisco Cabral to João Alvares, Goa, 10 December 1596, in WICKI, op. cit., vol. 18, pp. 603-626.

⁶⁸ Matteo Ricci to Duarte de Sande in Macau, Nanchang, 29 August 1595, in RICCI, *Lettere*, pp. 197-267 at p. 217-218.

⁶⁹ Ricci to Aquaviva, Macau, 17 January 1593, *ibid.*, pp. 179-180.

⁷⁰ A recent recounting of the attacks against the missionaries is in HSIA, op. cit., pp. 125 and 130-133.

or other important persons.”⁷¹ Remembering these instructions in a letter to Rome five years later, Cattaneo dispensed with the Chinese term for silk gauze, *luo*, calling them instead “courtesy gowns, *scilicet* made of silk, at the time for courtesies and mainly with the mandarins.”⁷²

Historians have celebrated Ricci’s sartorial change, regardless of the moral issues involved, because it produced the results that the missionary desired.⁷³ Matteo Ricci decided to press northward into Jiangxi Province, hoping to eventually reach the imperial capital, precisely in the months after Lazzaro Cattaneo’s arrival at Shaozhou. When Ricci wrote to his immediate superior, Duarte de Sande (1547-1599), from Nanchang in the late summer of 1595, he had already changed into his new silk robes. Like Valignano writing to the Superior General, Ricci couched his admission about using silk in the best possible terms, insisting on the success that the change had made. If familiarity with the Chinese elite was what Ricci sought, it was what he got. With his new robe, he gained entry to the presence of several officials to whom he could speak without kneeling. Describing a visit that he made in his new costume to an official from whom he hoped to secure permission to go to the imperial capital, Ricci observed with satisfaction that “this change was without a doubt a very wise thing, because we are now treated by all very differently than we were at first.”⁷⁴

Ricci describes his new robes at some length in this Portuguese letter to Sande. He mentions that he had changed his look “in accordance with the permission that Father Visitor had left for us” – growing his hair and beard, and using the robe “which is made of a dark purple piece and underneath and around the edges of the cloak has a trim made of a blue piece larger than half a palm wide.” *Peça*, here translated as piece, implies

⁷¹ Alessandro Valignano, Instructions for the China Mission, Macau, [1594], cited in Matteo RICCI, *Storia dell’Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, ed. Pasquale d’ELIA, 3 vols., Rome, Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949, vol. 1, p. 336, note 1; and in ARSI *Jap-Sin* 14: fols. 230ar-230dv at fol. 230cr.

⁷² Lazzaro Cattaneo to Claudio Aquaviva, Macau, 12 October 1599, cited partially in RICCI, *Storia dell’Introduzione*, vol. 1, p. 336; and in ARSI *Jap-Sin* 13-II, fols. 319r-320v.

⁷³ No comment on the controversy over these robes is found in other analyses of this particular episode. Cf. Willard PETERSON, “What to Wear?: Observation and participation by Jesuit Missionaries in late Ming society”, in Stuart 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. 403-421 at pp. 414-415 and 420; or George DUNNE, *Generation of Giants: The Story of the Jesuits in China in the last Decades of the Ming Dynasty*, Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame Press, 1962, p. 33.

⁷⁴ RICCI, *Lettere*, pp. 217-218.

silk, although Ricci does not use the term. Yet he repeats Valignano's words from 1588, insisting that "the proper habit that the literati use in China is very similar to what the Venetians use in Venice."⁷⁵ In Ricci's autumn 1595 letter to General Aquaviva, he was frank in his native Italian, confident that he had acted with the blessing of his superiors. Ricci claimed that he had his *veste di seta per le visite solenni* made in Shaozhou before leaving on his way north. Instead of saying *peça*, he says *seta*, silk, several times; he declares that his new outfit is made of *seta paonazza*, purple silk, with trim made of *seta turchina molto chiara*, very light blue silk. Ricci also mentions his silk shoes and his hat, noting that Lazzaro Cattaneo had ordered the same type of garments to be made.⁷⁶

It is uncertain what Rome's immediate response was to the news that arrived from China in Matteo Ricci's 1595 letter. Only one letter from Ricci has been identified for the period from December 1597 until September 1602, and it does not mention silk.⁷⁷ It is nevertheless likely that Aquaviva did not approve of the permission that Valignano gave to Ricci. Since a specific rebuke has not been identified for this study, it is necessary to look elsewhere for evidence of Rome's displeasure. One example can be seen in the letter that Cattaneo wrote to Aquaviva in 1599, in which he attempted to exculpate Ricci (not least by saying Ricci was at that moment "so far, *scilicet* in Nanjing, more than three hundred leagues from here in Macau, that he will not be able to write to Your Paternity as is fitting"). Cattaneo asserts – improbably so, since he only arrived in Macau a few months before he joined Ricci in 1594 – that it was he who had taken stock of the panorama of religious life in China and the low standing of the Buddhist clergy. Convinced of the need for a change in mission strategy (and while still in Macau, before he entered the Ming Empire), Cattaneo claimed that he begged Valignano for permission to grow his hair and beard, as well as to wear a silk robe like the ones used by the literati. "And the *Padre* conceded it," Cattaneo noted, claiming further that "it seemed thus necessary to *Padre* Matteo Ricci, who wished for nothing else but did not want to be the first one to ask for it."⁷⁸

It is difficult to understand why Lazzaro Cattaneo would take the blame for a policy that was almost a decade in the making. It seems logical

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 217.

⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 297-321 at pp. 308-309.

⁷⁷ Matteo Ricci to Girolamo Costa, Nanjing, 14 August 1599, *ibid.*, pp. 359-366.

⁷⁸ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 13-II: fol. 319r.

that he decided to defend Ricci's actions and Valignano's policy because it produced the desired results – and because he was aware that to censure Ricci, who had not yet settled in Beijing, would be disastrous for the China mission. Moreover, later sources suggest that Valignano had sought council from the (former Jesuit) Bishop of Japan, Luís Cerqueira (1552-1614), about his subordinates' silk robes.⁷⁹

But a bishop's blessing and the evident success of this mission strategy did not end the scandal, it merely forced the missionaries to be very circumspect about their use of silk robes – or at least very cautious about mentioning it explicitly in their letters or publications. Valignano himself added comments about Jesuit dress in China in his 1598 *Apologia* for the Japan and China missions. Although he eschewed the term silk, he took refuge in a reading of the Society's rules. He insisted that the robes were “so honest and serious and not inconvenient for priests and religious like we are, because by our *Constitutions* we have no specific habit except what is commonly used among the native clergy who are considered virtuous in that land.” Since the literati – and not the *bonzes* – were considered virtuous in China, the Jesuits' choice reflected “prudence and reason” which could be employed “according to our Institute.”⁸⁰ Ricci himself opted to drown out the potential for scandal with news of success after success. His later letters to his correspondents in Rome therefore focused on his acceptance in mandarin circles.⁸¹

Valignano's permission and Ricci's new clothes confronted the Jesuits outside China with a dilemma. Ricci's successes made them want to celebrate, but they could not declare publicly that he and his confreres were openly ignoring their order's rules. So they chose to avoid the term silk. Just before his death in 1610, Ricci himself wrote a draft version of the history of the mission, in which he gave a description of his 1595 change of clothes. Writing in Italian, he uses the term *seta* only once.⁸² But apparently this was one time too many. When Nicolas Trigault translated Ricci's draft into Latin and published the text as *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* in 1615, he used the ambiguous term *byssus* instead of *sericum* to describe the

⁷⁹ Daniello BARTOLI, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia de Giesu, La Cina, Terza Parte dell'Asia*, Rome, Stamperia del Varese, 1663, p. 265.

⁸⁰ VALIGNANO, *Apologia*, pp. 88-89.

⁸¹ See, for example, Matteo Ricci to Ludovico Maselli, Beijing, [May?] 1605, in RICCI, *Lettere*, pp. 371-380.

⁸² RICCI, *Storia dell'Introduzione*, vol. 1, p. 337.

fabric of Ricci's robe.⁸³ *Byssus* signifies fine cloth, in ancient times typically of linen but also of cotton, or the precious "sea silk" found in the Mediterranean.⁸⁴ What it does not mean is silk from silkworms, not plainly, at least. The choice of this term may have been Trigault's rendering of *luo*, gauze, which although finer than other silks, but is nevertheless still silk. And so the early modern reader, confronted with an image of Matteo Ricci in a long, exotic robe, did not know that he was seeing a Jesuit in a silk robe. Nowhere in the textual description was there any mention of such a thing, despite the fact that the robes that Trigault showed to the artists Kilian and Rubens – not to mention any others who saw them on his European tour – were the same silk robes that Ricci and his confreres used in China. And so an image was created in Europe that was different from the one known to Jesuit superiors in Europe and Asia, not to speak of missionaries themselves in the Ming Empire.

Temptations to Vanity: Jesuit Silk after Ricci

The Jesuits' use of silk robes in China was originally conceived of as a means to an end. Valignano's permission had stipulated that silk should be used only for visits to Chinese officials, not as everyday clothing. His plan was for the silk to facilitate the Jesuits' acquisition of authority among the indigenous elite, whereupon the silk could be set aside. But who was to decide when they had reached that goal? The moment had not arrived by the time of Valignano's death in 1606, or Ricci's death in 1610, or even Aquaviva's death in 1615. And so the original permission for the use of silk robes continued in effect for the China mission, even though it was a tightly kept secret outside of the Ming Empire.

Yet even with Valignano's permission, the question of silk was not settled for the China mission. It would be revisited at several reprises until the early 1630s. The first of these presented itself shortly after Ricci's death, when his successor as mission superior sent a procurator to Europe to seek men, money, and independence from the Japan mission for the China enterprise. In a detailed report for his superiors outside the Ming Empire, Niccolò Longobardo (1565-1654) made clear his concern about the temptations created by even the occasional use of silk. In deference

⁸³ Matteo RICCI and Nicolas TRIGAULT, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, Augsburg: Christoph. Mangium, 1615, p. 283.

⁸⁴ Charlton LEWIS and Charles SHORT, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1891, s.v. *byssus*.

to Valignano's permission and Ricci's legacy, Longobardo did not order his men to relinquish their courtesy robes. Rather, he sought to circumscribe any other use of silk. For example, "with the consent of all of the priests of this mission," he barred the use of a silk skullcap worn under the missionaries' hats when receiving visitors or making social calls. Longobardo also insisted that the Jesuits wear robes made of hemp in the summertime so as to "excuse the use of silk." *Nono*, from the Japanese *nuno*, was "a most respectable dress in China," he wrote, "and it is worn by all of the mandarins and the more noble people, in whose imitation we guide the rest of the clothing and style that we use in this kingdom."⁸⁵ Longobardo's impulse stemmed from the ambiguity about Jesuit dress found in the *Constitutions*, but he reached a conclusion different from Valignano's judgment of two decades before. Another example of this divergence is seen in Longobardo's request that all use of silk be denied to Chinese or Luso-Asian recruits to the mission. Although Valignano had permitted the Jesuits' indigenous recruits to wear light robes during their probation period, Longobardo remarked that "we have seen through experience that under the cloak of light silk, heavy silk enters."⁸⁶

In spite of his stated intention to reduce the use of silk, Niccolò Longobardo decided in 1613 to send Nicolas Trigault to Europe with a set of silk robes. Yet while Trigault was away, a series of events transpired in East Asia that shifted attention to the China mission. The crisis of the Japan mission, which began with the expulsion of all Catholic priests in 1614 by order of the Tokugawa shogun and culminated in the brutal persecution of all Christians in Japan, had dramatic repercussions for the China Jesuits. Their disobedience of the Superior General's prohibitions against silk had passed largely unremarked until a wave of missionary exiles reached Macau. Calamity across the sea meant that the excesses of a few Jesuits deep inside the Ming Empire continued to be ignored, until the beleaguered missionaries at Macau learned, upon Trigault's return to East Asia in 1619, that Rome had granted the China Jesuits semi-independent status. They would have a Vice-Province and enjoy their own leadership apart from that of the Province of Japan.

Galled by what was considered a traitorous coup, the Jesuit exiles from Japan began to examine the mission strategies pursued in China. The

⁸⁵ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 113: fols. 265r-272r at fol. 269v-270r., Niccolò Longobardo to Francesco Pasio, Nanchang, 15 October 1612.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 270r/v.

result was bitter discord between the two groups: those inside the Ming Empire who argued that they knew best how to conduct their affairs within the Chinese context, and those at Macau, who defended the policies of the Province of Japan, of which the China mission was a part. Of course, one of the strategies that drew most attention was the use of silk robes, something that the Japan Jesuits had abandoned half a century before during Francisco Cabral's tenure. And if their fellow Jesuits were willing to offer pointed rebukes on this score, one can imagine how the missionaries' competitors among the mendicant friars made hay of the rumors that circulated in Macau. But the issue would only be resolved a decade later, when the first outside inspector entered the China mission field.⁸⁷

The man appointed to this task was André Palmeiro (1569-1635), a theology professor from Portugal who was sent to Goa in 1617 and onward to Macau in 1626. He held the same position of visitor that Valignano had held two decades previously, and thus enjoyed the same writ as his illustrious predecessor. Palmeiro's charge was to consider how closely the missionary methods employed by the Jesuits in Asia adhered to the Society's norms, that is, the way that the order's common rules were lived in Europe. While Palmeiro was aware that the Jesuits needed to adapt themselves to the cultural contexts in which they worked, he did not feel that such changes should come at the price of violating the rules of the order. After residing in Macau for nearly three years, in December 1628 Palmeiro found an opportunity to enter the Ming Empire. For the following ten months he traveled north to Beijing and returned south through the Jiangnan region back to Macau. Unlike the priests who intended to stay in China until their death, Palmeiro's meant to inspect as many mission stations as possible and return swiftly.⁸⁸

In the opinion of Jesuit superiors from Macau to Goa to Rome, at that moment the China mission cried out for an inspection. To be sure, the question of silk was only one of the issues that Palmeiro investigated while in China, but it was an important one. The notion of apostolic poverty had a particular significance for the Visitor; his formative years had been spent in Europe where Jesuits only wore simple black robes, and his previous assignment had been in India, where climate and custom kept the Society's missionaries from the use of silk. While Palmeiro recognized that Mat-

⁸⁷ This period of the China mission is discussed in detail in BROCKEY, *Journey to the East*, pp. 63-83.

⁸⁸ On Palmeiro's trip through China, see BROCKEY, *The Visitor*, pp. 213-277.

teo Ricci had used his courtesy robes to good effect in the 1590s, he was not sure that it was still necessary for the Jesuits to go about dressed in that manner. The China mission had matured, he felt, and so the missionaries could dispense with their silk – the day had come when the Jesuits would be recognizable and would not have to disguise themselves in order to be understood in the Chinese cultural context.

If the Jesuits in China still relied on silk robes after half a century, Palmeiro thought, they could be rightly accused of flouting their vows of poverty, or, worse, of flaunting their vanity. Rumors heard at Macau fueled the speculation that some Jesuits were known to wear silks unnecessarily, reminding some of the robes, bedclothes, and pillows that had led to Cabral's inspection of the Japan mission in 1569. The question of necessity was important: Some of the China Jesuits lived in cities such as Beijing or Hangzhou, where they had nearly daily dealings with officials. If so, they might need to wear their courtesy robes constantly as opposed to wearing them on the rare occasions of formal visits. Perhaps the most damning rumor that reached Macau suggested that those men had multiple silk robes and that in effect, given their continual use, these constituted their habit. Palmeiro wrote to Rome on the eve of his trip into the Ming Empire about how he was intent on discovering if this was true, and if there were indeed men who had "three or four robes of this kind."⁸⁹

André Palmeiro traveled into the heart of the Ming Empire to discover what he could of his subordinates' attire. During his trip, he conversed with senior and junior missionaries on the topic and collected his thoughts as he returned to the Portuguese colony. At Macau in late 1629, he wrote a detailed report about the use of silk by the China Jesuits. In addition to this account, he also drew up a compendium of rules regarding missionary policy that he circulated to all Jesuit residences. Although he could not speak Chinese and did not possess the wealth of knowledge about indigenous customs that his men did, Palmeiro devoted much time during his trip to learning about how clothing correlated with social status in the Ming Empire. Recall that this was the consideration made by Francisco Cabral about Japan and used by Alessandro Valignano as the cornerstone of his argument for the use of silk by the Jesuits in China. Palmeiro's letter

⁸⁹ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fols. 109r-111v at fol. 109r., André Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, 20 December 1629 (Letter 1).

thus stands as one of the longest discussions of Chinese clothing produced by a European in the early modern period.⁹⁰

Palmeiro laid out the issue for the Superior General in several stages. The first topic that he discussed was about the type of habit that the Jesuits should wear in China. Here was a basic question, but an essential one: All religious orders had prescribed forms of dress, and the Jesuits' robes were different from those worn by Dominicans, Franciscans, or Augustinians; a habit, as much as a rule, was an identifying mark of a religious order. So the question was whether uniformity should be applied in the Chinese mission field. Palmeiro's point of departure was that the missionaries had no standard form of dress, something that left the Jesuits exposed to the perils of individual judgment. But Palmeiro realized one thing in 1629: "There is no doubt that the time has not come ... for all of our men in China to wear a particular habit or an identifiable mark on their external attire by which we will all be known as a specific family or congregation." That is to say, unlike in Europe, where, at least from a distance, the habit made the monk, in China, the Jesuits wore a variety of dress that made them appear as independent members of a learned society. For Palmeiro, too much uniformity would attract unwanted attention and potentially give rise to suspicions. "All must be one, but not known as one," he continued, "nor should we declare this fact to the simple folks, but those who are more intelligent understand it perfectly without us having to explain it."⁹¹

Despite the variety of colors they used instead of Jesuit black, Palmeiro claimed that there had long been doubts about the kind of fabric to use. "Until my arrival, all of them had silk *champaos*," he noted, referring to the outer robe as a *changpao*, long gown, but there had been debates about "the convenience or necessity of wearing them." To make matters clearer for Rome, he explained that there were different types of these floor-length robes. He explained the nature of the "courtesy *changpao*" by means of analogy to liturgical vestments: "It is an exterior dress called a courtesy dress, because it only serves that purpose (...) Imagine it like a dalmatic or a cope, which has its proper use in one place and for a particular ministry and is useless for others." The missionaries had to have such robes, Palmeiro confessed, because they were obligatory in social intercourse. But the substantial investment made in purchasing them was compensated by

⁹⁰ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fols. 114r-115v., André Palmeiro to Muzio Vitelleschi, Macau, 20 December 1629, (Letter 3).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 114r.

the fact that they were rarely used. A missionary would be obliged to wear a courtesy *changpao* when receiving or being received, but would remove it after the moment of encounter, meaning that these robes were used “few hours over the long years of one’s life; in sum, they were only for being seen, not for being worn.” Similar to the courtesy gown were other robes used for funerals or in times of mourning, made of white silk, items that were also indispensable.⁹²

The focal point in Palmeiro’s discussion was whether the missionaries should use silk as their daily attire, as some had apparently become accustomed to doing. For those who favored an everyday *changpao*, the robes conveyed an image of learned authority, precisely as Valignano and Ricci had intended. According to Palmeiro, however, “the reasons that were given for wearing them at the beginning, when we first entered the kingdom, were still being defended in order to not give them up.” In other words, the Jesuits had won the battle for authority by the late 1620s. Palmeiro claimed that the senior missionaries and their mandarin friends thought that there was no need for them, and he had seen with his own eyes that there were important literati who wore modest fabrics. “If it is good enough for them and, what is more, since we profess poverty,” he wrote, “why should we have to wear a type of dress that proclaims riches?” Worse still, the use of silk robes seemed to have a corrosive effect on the missionaries’ morals. Palmeiro asserted that those who defended the practice based their arguments not on grounds of authority but on “vanity and self comfort,” since several had “more than double” the typical number of gowns. In the most flagrant case of this unseemly vanity, the Visitor noted that upon Nicolas Trigault’s death by suicide at Hangzhou in November 1628, “five robes of various different silks were found.”⁹³

The only way that Palmeiro saw to eliminate these problems was to ban the use of silk except on rare occasions. “Looking over the matter slowly, *in domino*,” he wrote to Rome using a formulation reserved for grave matters, “it appeared to me that I should order that the use of silk should not be allowed in ordinary *champaos*.” Not only would this move dismiss temptation, prohibiting silk would also serve to “shut the mouths of the friars and other adversaries who get tripped up over it.”⁹⁴ Palmeiro’s

⁹² Ibid., fol. 114r/v.

⁹³ Ibid., fol. 114v. On Trigault’s suicide, see Liam BROCKEY, “The Death and Disappearance of Nicolas Trigault, S.J.,” *The Journal of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol. 38 (2003), pp. 161-167.

⁹⁴ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fol. 114v.

rules left little room for debate: “Since today we are known as men who have no regard for external ostentation (...) such pomp and display can be dispensed with, and consequently the use of all types of silk, whether in shoes or robes, should be abandoned.” He charged the mission superior with gathering all such robes from his men (and prohibited him from conceding dispensations), permitting their use only on the infrequent occasions when Jesuits were sent to new provinces.⁹⁵ Palmeiro further stipulated the types of cloth to be used for robes, indicating heavier or lighter fabrics for the different seasons, as well as their brown or black color.⁹⁶ In his letter to Rome, Palmeiro laid to rest the lingering doubts that these prohibitions would somehow affect the Jesuits’ standing in China. He pointed to the Japan mission, where the use of silk had been banned “and it was not for that reason that our men sacrificed their due respect and courtesy.” The matter was therefore clear: “Adequate dress, composure, modesty, and mature customs, add the respect that is due and summon as much authority as is not only useful, but indeed all that is necessary, for the conversion of the world.”⁹⁷

And so in the early 1630s, yet another prohibition against Jesuits using silk was issued in East Asia. And as in Cabral’s time in Japan, there was much fretting among the missionaries about the consequences of this decision. But in China, as in Japan, the shift to simpler dress did not cause calamity. It was clear that by Palmeiro’s time, the Jesuits were already secure in terms of social standing within the Ming Empire and that the use of hemp or cotton would not damage their reputation. This notion was put to the test as soon as 1632, when one Jesuit took plain robes all the way to the imperial court. When João Rodrigues (c.1561-1633), the famed veteran of the Japan mission and interpreter to Hideyoshi, accompanied a detachment of Portuguese soldiers from Macau into China in 1630, he went in the Jesuits’ customary black cotton garb.⁹⁸ Forced by a mutiny at

⁹⁵ He begrudgingly granted a further permission for the use of a *changpao* “as light as wind” when the summer heat reached its peak. Here Palmeiro acted against his better judgment, since he thought the use of such robes “would open the door for some to use on many more occasions what is only permitted on one.” *Ibid.*, fol. 115r.

⁹⁶ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 100: fols. 20r-39v at fols. 21v-22r., André Palmeiro, “Ordens que o P.e Andre Palmeiro V.tor de Japão e China deixou a Vicep.a da China vizitandoa no anno de 1629 aos 15 de Agosto”, Macau, 15 January 1631.

⁹⁷ ARSI *Jap-Sin* 161-II: fol. 115r. Further considerations on Palmeiro’s decisions are found in BROCKEY, *The Visitor*, pp. 302-306.

⁹⁸ A somewhat dated discussion of Rodrigues can be found in Michael COOPER, *Rodrigues the Interpreter: An Early Jesuit in Japan and China*, New York and Tokyo, Weatherhill, 1974.

a Ming garrison in Shandong Province to flee to Beijing with the remnants of his military embassy in 1632, Rodrigues went directly to the Ministry of War where he offered his excuses to the highest ranks of court officialdom. There, Rodrigues declared himself to be a Jesuit like his illustrious confrere, with his humble dress on display for all to see. Not only did the Portuguese soldiers receive a commendation from the Ming officials, but Rodrigues himself was showered with praise for his valor and loyalty to the emperor. Authority and prestige were duly conferred, with not a thread of silk on the Jesuit emissary's body.⁹⁹

Black Cloth in Whitewash: Unraveling Jesuit Silk

The question of Jesuit silk, twice settled in East Asia, was still not settled in Europe after André Palmeiro issued his final rules. After all, the vision of the Jesuit in Chinese robes was a compelling one in early modern eyes. As the seventeenth century wore on, renewed attempts to drum up support for the China mission demanded further publicity endeavors in Europe, and the temptation to employ the exotic image was strong. But the Society's publicists were still faced with the same problem of how to promote the image of a Jesuit in silk robes without mentioning the fact that the image was of a Jesuit in silk robes. For several decades, they tried to divorce the image from the text until the other scandals concerning the China Jesuits grew too numerous to sustain the deception.

The first such individual to attempt this feat was Álvaro Semedo (1585-1658), who traveled to Europe from China in the late 1630s as mission procurator. Like his predecessor Trigault, Semedo sought men, money, and recognition for the China Jesuits. He, too, published a widely read description of the Ming Empire and history of the China mission. Indeed, his book was so popular that the first edition, published in Castilian at Madrid in 1642, was translated into Italian with substantial changes and printed at Rome in the following year.¹⁰⁰ Other translations followed in French (Paris, 1645) and English (London, 1655), making this text the most important European publication about the China mission since the Ricci-Trigault text from 1615.

⁹⁹ BROCKEY, *The Visitor*, pp. 323-325.

¹⁰⁰ ÁLVARO SEMEDO, *Imperio de la China i Cultura Evangelica en el, por los Religios de la Compañia de IESVS*, trans. Manuel de FARIA E SOUSA, Madrid, Juan Sánchez, 1642; and Álvaro SEMEDO, *Relazione della Grande Monarchia della Cina*, Rome, Herman Scheus, 1643.



3 After Massimo Stanzione (c. 1586-c.1656), depiction of Álvaro Semedo. Engraving included in Álvaro Semedo, *Relatione della Grande Monarchia della Cina* (Rome: Herman Scheus, 1643). Image courtesy: Jesuitica Collection, John J. Burns Library, Boston College.

The initial Castilian edition of Semedo's text revisited the early history of the mission, dwelling on Ricci's decision to exchange his Buddhist robes for literati ones in 1595. Semedo asserts that Ricci chose to use *una vestidura de una delgada tela*, a dress of a fine fabric, when he went calling on the powerful.¹⁰¹ His scrupulous avoidance of the term "silk" also appears in the Italian version, where Semedo simply refers to *veste di cortesia* & *habito di Letterato*.¹⁰² These "courtesy robes and literati habit" were the same ones in which Semedo, like Ricci, was depicted in an engraving that accompanied the 1643 Italian edition, and which is reproduced here. [Figure 3] And so the image of the China Jesuit in exotic robes was again spread across Europe, cleansed of any explicit mention of what fabric they might be made of.

This simultaneous erasure of textual mention of the Jesuits' use of silk in East Asia and publication of images of Jesuits in Chinese robes continued through the middle of the seventeenth century. On the one hand,

¹⁰¹ SEMEDO, *Imperio*, p. 242.

¹⁰² SEMEDO, *Relatione*, p. 220.



4 Johannes Blaeu (1596-1673), detail of a map of the Jiangnan Region showing a Jesuit in Chinese robes. Engraving in Martino Martini, *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam: 1655). Image courtesy: Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, call number G2305. M3 1655.

images of Jesuits such as Ricci, Semedo, and Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1592-1666) appeared in books that circulated widely in learned and ecclesiastical circles. Martino Martini's *Novus Atlas Sinensis* (Amsterdam, 1655) included the image seen here in the corner of a map of the Jiangnan Region of the Ming Empire, while Athanasius Kircher's *China Illustrata* (Amsterdam, 1667) contained folio-size representations of China Jesuits. [Figure 4] Both men were Jesuits themselves: Martini (1614-1661) was a procurator for the mission, and Kircher (1602-1680) a polymath who was one of the most prolific Jesuit authors of the day.

On the other hand, the story of the Jesuits was rewritten to make Trigault's original deception stick. His use of the term *byssus* was updated by Semedo's *delgada tela*. In the descriptive portion of Martini's Latin-language atlas, the author revisits this choice. Martini includes discussion of the great quantities of *byssus* that are produced in Zhejiang Province, clearly distinguishing that material from *sericum*, the more recognizable silk which grew elsewhere.¹⁰³ So of course the China Jesuits would have

¹⁰³ Martino MARTINI, *Novus Atlas Sinensis*, Amsterdam, Johannes Blaeu, 1655, p. 4.

been able to procure robes made of that other fabric and to steer clear of the polemical one.

This effort at effacement was pursued further by Daniello Bartoli (1608-1685), the author of a massive multi-volume history of the Society of Jesus that greatly shaped the master narrative of the Asian missions. Like Trigault, Bartoli exercised a firm editorial hand on his sources. His volume on Japan (Rome, 1660), expanded the previous century's account of Francis Xavier before the "King of Bungo" with further references to the disgust that Xavier felt at having to dress in silk ecclesiastical vestments (not Asian robes made of silk).¹⁰⁴ And in Bartoli's discussion of Ricci, in which the China Jesuits' letter to Superior General Claudio Aquaviva is cited, the numerous references to *seta* from the original are omitted. In describing the *habito proprio de'Letterati*, Bartoli's Ricci speaks of colors (*paonazza, turchin chiaro*) but not of fabrics. The only mention of silk comes in a reference to Ricci's shoes – *i calzari sono di seta* – one of the items that André Palmeiro had banned after his inspection. Bartoli adds a final note to his readers who might have raised qualms about Ricci's robes: He cites the pronouncement of the Bishop of Japan, Luís Cerqueira, who saw the garments and declared them "in no ways inconvenient" for either priests or religious.¹⁰⁵

Daniello Bartoli's history of the China mission appeared in the early 1660s, just before the storm of the Chinese Rites Controversy exploded in Europe. It was in the context of that debate, one which roiled Catholic theological circles for decades and eventually contributed to the collapse of the China mission, that the image of a Jesuit in silk finally became the image of a Jesuit in silk. Intent on exposing the China Jesuits, the Dominican Fray Domingo Fernández Navarrete (1610-1689) published citations from missionaries in which they spoke of wearing silk robes.¹⁰⁶ And at the beginning of the eighteenth century, members of the French mission to China wrote letters to their Parisian colleagues in which they declared in print that they used the same – yet only while visiting mandarins, as Valignano's intention and Palmeiro's confirmation had permitted them to do.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Daniello BARTOLI, *Dell'Historia della Compagnia di Giesu, Il Giappone, Seconda Parte dell'Asia*, Rome, Ignatio de'Lazzari, 1660, p. 103.

¹⁰⁵ BARTOLI, *Cina*, p. 266.

¹⁰⁶ Domingo Fernández NAVARRETE, *Tratados Historicos, Politicos, Ethicos, y Religiosos de la Monarchia de China*, Madrid, Florian Anisson, 1676, p. 440.

¹⁰⁷ Jean de Fontaney to François de la Chaise, London, 15 January 1704, in *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses écrites des Missions Etrangères par quelques Missionnaires de la Compagnie de Jesus*, 34 vols., Paris, Nicolas le Clerc, 1702-1776, vol. 8 (published 1708), pp. 51-243 at pp. 227-230.

Yet beyond the scandal that silk continued to represent for the Jesuits' rivals, unease about the use of silk lingered within the Society of Jesus. As late as the 1940s, Pasquale d'Elia, the eminent Jesuit sinologist who published Matteo Ricci's draft history of the China mission, felt compelled to reassure his readers about the purity of the mission founder's intentions when he donned silk robes.¹⁰⁸ The rapid changes that have occurred since that time have made us forget how ill at ease the Jesuits were in their silk finery. For all of their commitment to accommodation, they encountered great difficulty fitting in to the image that they had created for themselves. But with long use and much wear, silk, the most comfortable of fabrics, finally sits at ease on Matteo Ricci's shoulders.

¹⁰⁸ RICCI, *Storia dell'Introduzione*, vol. 1, p. 337, note 4.

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The Jesuit presence in Tibet against the backdrop of the China mission: different approaches to Buddhism (16th–18th centuries)

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Resumo

As missões jesuítas na Ásia facultaram as primeiras interpretações e as primeiras reações críticas ao Budismo pelos ocidentais. Este artigo propõe-se analisar a abordagem do jesuíta Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733), a partir do seu primeiro texto em tibetano, «O sinal do amanhecer que limpa a escuridão» (*Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar ba'i brda*), à luz das perspectivas sobre o Budismo que prevaleceram nas missões na Ásia, nomeadamente a de Matteo Ricci (1552-1610), na China do período Ming. A forma inédita como Desideri entende o Budismo constitui um valioso contraponto a Ricci, uma vez que a má compreensão deste último sobre algumas das principais doutrinas budistas — como as do nada e do renascimento — foi acompanhada de duras acusações contra o que Ricci considerava uma «seita idólatra».

Palavras-chave: Budismo, Tibete, China, Desideri, Ricci, idolatria.

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Abstract

The missions the Jesuits established in Asia provided the first interpretations of Buddhism and the first reactions against it by Westerners. This article proposes to analyse Jesuit Ippolito Desideri's (1684-1733) approach to Buddhism in his first writing in Tibetan, "The Sign of the Dawn that clears away Darkness" (*Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar ba'i brda*), in the light of previous views of Buddhism that prevailed in the missions in Asia, especially Matteo Ricci's (1552-1610) in Ming China. Desideri's unprecedented insight into Buddhist philosophy serves as a rich counterpoint to Ricci's views of Buddhism, as the latter's poor understanding of some of the main Buddhist doctrines – like those of emptiness and rebirth – went alongside harsh accusations against what Ricci regarded as an "idolatrous sect."

Keywords: Buddhism, Tibet, China, Desideri, Ricci, idolatry.

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The Jesuit presence in Tibet against the backdrop of the China mission: different approaches to Buddhism (16th-18th centuries)

Ana Carolina Hosne

The missions the Jesuits established in Asia provided the first interpretations of Buddhism by Westerners and the first reactions against it. This did not exclude borrowing terms from Buddhism to translate Christianity.¹ Apologetic writings became the first step for missionaries to transmit Christian doctrine in the local language, quite often when they were still familiarizing themselves with native religions. The Jesuit mission to Japan offers one of the first examples of doctrinal texts refuting Buddhism. Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), appointed visitor by General Everard Mercurian (1514–1580) in 1573, became a very influential figure in the missions to the East, regularly travelling between India and Japan from 1579 onward. Valignano composed a catechism, usually known by the abbreviated form of its name in Latin, *Catechismus Christiana Fidei*. It was composed in Japan and published in Lisbon in 1586 without the author's knowledge. A Portuguese Jesuit in the Japan mission, Luís Fróis (1532-1597), came to master the Japanese language and collaborated closely with Japanese converts. According to Urs App, it was Luís Fróis, together with other Japanese informants, who provided the knowledge for this catechism in the 1580s in order to prepare the ground for a solid basis for Valignano's presentation and critique of Japanese doctrines. App defines it as “the record of the West's earlier encounter with Buddhist philosophy.”² This catechism would serve as a model for Matteo Ricci's (1552-1610) *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義, usually translated as True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven (1603). Previously, his confrere and co-founder of the China mission, Michele Ruggieri (1543-1607), had composed a catechism, the *Tianzhu shilu* 天主實錄 (TZSL), usually translated as the True Record

¹ Among recent interpretations of Jesuit encounters with Buddhism, Urs App places “Europe's discovery of Buddhism” at the origin of what he defines as the “Western invention of Oriental Philosophy.” See Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness. The Western Discovery of Buddhist Thought and the Invention of Oriental Philosophy*, Rorschach/Kyoto, University Media, 2012.

² According to App, Valignano's informants relied heavily on a number of Chinese sources written in classical Chinese that can be considered representative of eighth- and ninth-century Chan (Chinese Zen) literature. See Urs App, *The Cult of Emptiness*, *op. cit.* 60-61.

of the Lord of Heaven (1584), as a first attempt to present the Christian faith in the Chinese context, in the first residence that Ruggieri and Ricci established in Zhaoqing, Canton province.

Both Ruggieri's and Ricci's catechisms aimed to prove the universality of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, sole creator of all things and accessible to all men through natural reason.³ However, Ruggieri's catechism would be later replaced by Ricci's. At the end of 1593 the Superior of the China mission, Duarte De Sande (1531-1600), wrote to General Claudio Acquaviva (1543-1615) stating that even though Ruggieri's TZSL had been well received and had a broad readership, Visitor Valignano wanted another catechism to replace it which was more apologetic and severe in refuting idolatry – meaning Buddhist “idolatry” – than Ruggieri's TZSL, a desire that Ricci would fulfil under Valignano's command with his TZSY.

In the time he spent in China, Ricci learned about the examination system that gave access to posts in the imperial administration and which required the candidates to master the Four Books and the Chinese Classics.⁴ On Valignano's request, Ricci also translated the Confucian Four Books into Latin, establishing analogies with the European world he came from:

During all this year we devoted ourselves to studying, and I finished reading the Four Books by good philosophers and the good moral documents that the literati study here in China [...] In moral aspects [here Ricci refers to Confucius] he is another Seneca, or any other among our most famous gentile authors [...].⁵

³ In China, catechisms for catechumens more familiar with Christian doctrine were usually called ‘doctrines’ and were positive and systematic doctrinal expositions including prayers like the Creed, Hail Mary, Pater Noster and the Ten Commandments. According to Gianni Criveller, Ruggieri's TZSL could be both a catechism and a doctrine, which may indicate that a clear distinction of genres had not yet been established. See Gianni CRIVELLER, *Preaching Christ in Late Ming China: The Jesuits' Presentation of Christ from Matteo Ricci to Giulio Aleni*, Taipei, Taipei Ricci Institute, 1997, 91.

⁴ The Four Books are the Analects (*Lun yu*), the Doctrine of the Mean (*Zhong Yong*) – both attributed to Confucius, the Great Learning (*Da xue*) – attributed to Confucius' disciple Zeng Zi (505-436 B.C.?), and the Mencius (*Meng zi*), which is composed of the dialogues by Mencius, a follower of Confucius. The Four Books were so grouped by thinker Zhu Xi during the Song dynasty. These are followed by the Five Classics: the Book of Odes, the Book of Documents, the Book of Rites (originally one text to which two others were eventually added), the Book of Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals. Tradition speaks of a Music classic, but if it ever existed it has been lost or incorporated into one of the three Rites classics. See Michael NYLAN, *The Five Confucian Classics*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001, p. 8.

⁵ Pietro TACCHI VENTURI SJ, *Opere Storiche del Padre Matteo Ricci SJ. Comitato per le onoranze nazionali con prolegomena*, Macerata, Giorgetti, 1911-1913, 2 Vols.; II, pp. 117-118. Translation by the author.

As the Jesuit explained in his account, *Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, the Chinese literati grounded their knowledge on Confucian doctrine, which Ricci defined as a “good moral doctrine.”⁶ But Ricci took his interpretation of Confucianism further and ascribed to it a non-idolatrous gentility – opposing it to the “idolatrous” Buddhism and Daoism – corresponding to his idea of Confucianism as a moral system serving to govern the Empire sagely but lacking in metaphysical or supernatural foundations. Ricci shaped what he presented as the three “sects” in China as clear-cut watertight categories: Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism, and this is how they travelled to and circulated throughout Europe. This happened when the Belgian Jesuit Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628) took the unfinished manuscript of Ricci’s account with him, arriving in Europe in 1614 after he had completed it in Latin. With some differences, we find Ricci’s tight notions of Chinese “sects” echoed in Athanasius Kircher’s (1602-1680) *China monumentis*, in a chapter on “Chinese idolatry” (*De Sinensium Idolatria*) where the author mentions the “three sects”: that of the literati (*Literatorum*), meaning the Confucian literati, that of the Buddhists (*Sciequia*, in Chinese *she jia*) and that of the Daoists (*Lançu*, meaning thinker *Lao zi*, usually acknowledged as one of the founders of Daoism).⁷

It is in his TZSY that Ricci addresses the Chinese literati, whom he regarded as exclusively adherents of Confucianism, to which he opposed an “idolatrous” Buddhism.⁸ But these attacks were not based on a thorough understanding of Buddhist doctrines; this is evident in his catechism, which aroused Buddhist reactions against the Jesuit and all those who continued his line of reasoning and argumentation in further writings in the mission, as I shall show below. He probably did not need to do what Valignano did,

⁶ Matteo RICCI, *Storia dell'introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina*, in Pasquale D'Elia (ed.) *Fonti Ricciane. Documento originali concernenti Matteo Ricci e la storia delle prime relazioni tra l'Europa e la Cina (1579–1615)*, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1942-1949, 3 Vols., I, p. 44. Between 1942 and 1949, Pasquale D'Elia SJ entitled this account *Storia dell'Introduzione del Cristianesimo in Cina* and edited it under the general title of *Fonti Ricciane*.

⁷ Athanasius KIRCHER, *op. cit.*, [Accessed 11 January 2016] Available at https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=VKNZ4SAXqYC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, p. 131.

⁸ The term “literati” can be applied to the large group of scholars who participated in the imperial examinations, although they were not always successful in passing the final grades. A considerable number among them were also officials, i.e. they occupied an official position in the local, provincial or central government. However, even those who had failed the imperial examinations were well-learned citizens and shared a familiarity with the Confucian books. See Nicolas STANDAERT, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1: 635–1800, Leiden, Brill, 2001, 474.

i.e. gather his confrere Fróis and other Japanese collaborators to help him refute Buddhism. Ricci chose his interlocutors, the Confucian literati, and – we may assume – this may have contributed to his lack of a thorough understanding of Buddhist doctrines. In Ricci’s eyes, the “sect of the idolatrous” was not “the sect of the literati.”

It is the aim of this article to analyse a different Jesuit approach to Buddhism, after considering these early views and reactions towards it in the missions to East Asia. For this purpose, the conflictive mission to Tibet, and the Italian Jesuit who tried to reopen it after many political conflicts, Ippolito Desideri (1684-1733), is a case in point, for various reasons. Desideri was trained in different Tibetan monasteries to argue with the lamas and Tibetan Buddhist monks regarding certain Buddhist precepts. He learned Tibetan and composed various works in that language during his stay in Tibet from 1715 to 1721. Unlike many of his predecessors, Desideri defended his position relying on Tibetan sources, with a remarkable insight into Buddhist philosophy, taking an important step in the Western appreciation of non-Western philosophy.⁹ In turn, this led to a much milder tone when associating Buddhism with idolatry in Tibet, a stand that Desideri progressively abandoned as a main point of contention for a stronger rebuttal of Buddhist tenets. Desideri supported his arguments more and more with his knowledge of the Tibetan Buddhist canon. Thus, what became a concern of the missionaries from the so-called West – that of local expressions of idolatry – here lost significance in argumentations in Tibetan regarding Buddhist doctrine. Unlike the experience in the China mission, which was strongly marked by Ricci’s imprint, Desideri did not detach the figures of the ‘literati’ from those of the Buddhist lamas and monks, and considered the latter to be erudite men of letters and “doctors” in Tibet.

A first section of this article focuses on the historical entanglements between the two missions, China and Tibet, as well as their major advocates, Matteo Ricci and Ippolito Desideri. The second section focuses on Desideri’s first writings in Tibetan, and one of the main sources analysed in this article, that can be translated into English as the “The Sign of the Dawn that clears away Darkness” (*Tho rangs mun sel nyi ma shar*

⁹ Trent POMPLUN, “Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy: the Tibetan Studies of Ippolito Desideri SJ (1684-1733)”, *History of Religions*, Vol. 50, No. 4, Jesuit Missionaries in China and Tibet (May 2011): 384-419, p. 406.

ba'i brda).¹⁰ Desideri finished this piece of apologetic writing in December 1716 and on 6 January 1717 presented it to Lhazang Khan, who had served as the military protector of Tibet. Desideri's *Tho rangs* materializes his first approach to Tibetan Buddhism, enabling interesting points of comparison with Ricci's TZSY and his views of Buddhism on Chinese soil. Desideri's insight into Tibetan Buddhism also entailed his training in Buddhist argumentation techniques in certain monasteries, as will be shown here. The third and last section focuses on Jesuit understandings and interpretations of Buddhism in the two missions examined here, i.e. Tibet and China, and on the Buddhist reactions and objections the Jesuits Desideri – and Ricci before him – faced in their respective local contexts.

Historical entanglements between the two Jesuit missions, Tibet and China, and their advocates

Before Desideri's arrival in Tibet, a first and brief mission had been established there by the Portuguese Jesuit António de Andrade (1580-1634) in late August 1625. Andrade gave relatively detailed accounts of Tibetan religion and culture in his *Novo descobrimento do Gram Cathayo*. In a chapter entitled "On the quality of the lands of Tibet and their people," he describes the Tibetan people as "brave, warlike, and very pious – *muito pia* –, inclined to things of God, they pray certain prayers, especially very early in the day, men, women and children." Searching for similarities with his own religion, Andrade describes religious life in Tibet:

The lamas, their priests, are many and live in communities, just like religious men like us, or in their houses. Like our clerics, they all profess poverty and live off alms...praying most of the day, in the morning and afternoons...And they have houses for prayers, like our churches. They are clean, the images are made of gold, and one we saw in Chaparangué [Tsaparang] was sitting with the hands up, representing a woman, who they say is the Mother of God, and so they recognize the mystery of the Incarnation, saying that the Son of God became a man... and say that God is three in one; they make use of confession, but in certain cases only with a major lama. They have clean glasses with holy water...and regard the law of the Moors as abominable...¹¹

¹⁰ This apologetic writing was translated into Italian by Giuseppe Toscano, under the title "L'Aurora". The manuscript by Desideri belongs in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), in the collection *Lusitaniae*, Goa 76. Trent Pomplun translated its title as "Daybreak: The Sign of the Dawn that Dispels Darkness", see TRENT POMPLUN, *Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 385.

¹¹ Antonio de ANDRADE, *Novo descobrimento do Gram Cathayo*, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal [BNP], 14-14v; 15. Translation by the author.

There were strong political motivations for Tibetan monarchs and their courts to support missionary enterprises. At the time Andrade reached Tsaparang, the king of Guge was confronting increasingly rebellious monastic communities in his domain. During the fifteenth century, Tsong Khapa, a Tibetan religious reformer, founded the Gelugpa sect, also known as the Yellow Hats. The Gelugpa became the most important sect of Tibetan Buddhism and extended its influence over central Tibet. As the various factions contended for political control of the country, Tibet became embroiled in civil war.¹² By the early 1620s, the Yellow Hat reformists had the upper hand, not only in Guge but also widely in the whole of Tibet. The king of Guge eagerly accepted Christianity as an offsetting religious influence to dilute the thriving Gelugpa and to counterbalance his potential rivals to consolidate his position. In the 1630s the Jesuit mission in Tsaparang was in danger from the political turmoil, and Andrade's leaving to take up new duties as Provincial in Goa did not help the precarious mission. In 1634 Andrade was relieved of his duties as superior in Goa and determined to return to Tibet, but apparently was poisoned on 19 March 1634.¹³ After his death, many other attempts were made to establish a mission in Tsaparang, but they were unsuccessful. More than seventy years later, through Jesuit correspondence, Ippolito Desideri learned about the Society's desire to reopen its mission in Tibet, and in July 1709 he requested a patent from the General Superior ordering him to reopen the Tibetan mission. Desideri left Goa on 16 November 1713. He then travelled to Delhi, where he met the Jesuit Manoel Freyre, who would become his superior. On 18 March 1716, they arrived in Lhasa, the capital of the new Tibetan government under the fifth Dalai Lama. In October that same year, three Capuchin fathers – Domenico de Fano, Francesco Orazio della Penna and Giovanni Francesco da Fossombrone – also arrived in Lhasa. Despite the rivalry between the two religious orders, Desideri greeted them on their arrival. Eventually, these rivalries in Lhasa would soon be overshadowed by the Mongolian invasion of Tibet in 1717. The Mongols on the northern steppe conspired with the Tibetan Yellow Hat lamas to overthrow Lhazang Khan's leadership. In the face of the

¹² Diane WOLFF, *Tibet Unconquered: An Epic Struggle for Freedom*, New York, Palgrave, 2010, pp. 76-77.

¹³ Trent POMPLUN, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World. Ippolito Desideri's mission to Tibet*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 48-50. See also Hsiao-ting LIN, "When Christianity and Lamaism met: The Changing Fortunes of Early Western Missionaries in Tibet", *Pacific Rim Report*, The Occasional Paper Series of the USF, Center for the Pacific Rim, No 36 (2004), pp. 1-7; 3.

Mongolian intrusion, the surprised king of Tibet was only half-heartedly supported by his Tibetan auxiliaries. Lhazang Khan was killed later, in 1717, as the Mongols sacked Lhasa. This conflictive scenario came to a halt after the Qing troops entered Tibet in 1720-21, marking the beginning of the Qing patronage.

Tibet had strategic importance as the link between China, one of the most important missions in eastern Asia, and those in southern Asia, especially India. Even though the missionaries of the Society of Jesus mainly tried to enter Tibet from India, they also attempted to use Tibet as a “bridge” between China and India, and this was the purpose of the journey made by the Jesuit missionaries Johann Grueber (1623-1680) and Albert d’Orville (1621-1662).¹⁴ Johann Grueber left China in 1661 and returned to Rome in 1664 after a remarkable journey overland through Asia. His conversations with Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) provided much of the material found in parts two and three of Kircher’s *China monumentis* and contain a great deal of information on Tibet, India and Mongolia.¹⁵

The major exponents of the respective missions to China and Tibet, Matteo Ricci and Ippolito Desideri, have been connected by scholars in the field of Jesuit studies for various reasons. First, because of the apologetic works they both wrote in the respective local languages distinguishing the true religion from its “false copies”, which was conceived as a first

¹⁴ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet. The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, Translated by Michael J Sweet. Edited by Leonard Zwilling, Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2010, p. 21. For a detailed description of Grueber’s routes in Tibet, see “Grueber and Dorville’s Journey Across Tibet”, *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 6 (Dec., 1904), pp. 663-670.

¹⁵ The full name of the book is *China monumentis qua sacris profanes, nec non variis naturae & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata* (China elucidated through its sacred profane [literary] monuments, natural elements, arts and other arguments). This work first appeared in Amsterdam in 1667 in a Latin edition, followed in 1668 by a Dutch edition, in 1669 by an abridged English edition and, in 1670, by an expanded French edition. See David MUNGELLO, *Curious Land: Jesuit accommodation and the origins of Sinology*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1989, pp. 134-142. For specific references to the Tibet mission in Kircher’s work, see Athanasius KIRCHER, *China monumentis; qua Sacris quâ Profanis, Nec non variis NATURAE & ARTIS spectaculis, Aliarumque rerum memorabilium Argumentis ILLUSTRATA, Auspiciis LEOPOLDI PRIMI, ROMAN. IMPER. SEMPER AUGUSTI, Munificentissimi Mecenatis. Amstelodami, Apud Jacobum à Meurs, in fossa vulgo de Keyfersgracht, Anno M.DC.LXVII* https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=VKNZ4SAXqYC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false, pp. 48-49; 64 [Accessed 11 January 2016].

step in propagating the Christian faith.¹⁶ However, it is worth noting that such works, usually written as dialogues, were commonly composed by missionaries as a way of beginning to transmit Christian doctrine. In this regard, it was Michele Ruggieri who first composed an apologetic writing in the China mission: the TZSL. However, like Ricci, Desideri also wrote a detailed account in Italian for a European readership. His *Notizie Istoriche del Tibet e memorie de'viaggi e missione ivi fatta dal P. Ippolito Desideri della Compagnia de Gesù dal medesimo scritte e dedicate*, usually translated into English as *Historical Notices of Tibet (HNT)*,¹⁷ provided thorough information about Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. Both Ricci and Desideri addressed the well-learned literati circles in their respective mission spaces: the literati and scholar officials with a Confucian education in the case of Ricci, and the erudite lamas and monks in the monasteries, especially those offering scholastic training, in that of Desideri.¹⁸ Last but not least, like his predecessors in China Desideri also claimed the right to be heard by the king – Lhazang Khan, who had served as the military protector of Tibet – on things concerning the “highest truths of their holy faith,” and to be allowed to speak of these matters in the kingdom without impediment:

The king, as a relative of the emperor in China, and you, as well-informed members of the court, know quite well that for many years European religious men have been employed in that great empire in the same ministry that I came to exercise. Such men...do not seek any worldly interest

¹⁶ See Trent POMPLUN, “Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy: the Tibetan Studies of Ippolito Desideri SJ (1684-1733),” *History of Religions*, Vol. 50, No. 4, Jesuit Missionaries in China and Tibet (May 2011): 384-419, 390; Ippolito DESIDERI, *Il T'o-Rans (L' Aurora)*, in *Opere Tibetane di Ippolito Desideri S. J.*, a cura di Giuseppe TOSCANO S.X, Roma, ISMEO, Vol. I, 1981, p. 8; In a bibliographical essay, Joan-Pau RUBIÉS compares the figures of Ricci and Desideri, marking two differences between them: first, the Confucian element in Chinese culture, which could be interpreted as very different from Buddhism, second, that Desideri lived at a different time, reaching Tibet when the Society of Jesus was about to be forced into full retreat. See Joan-Pau RUBIÉS (Review): “Missionary Encounters in China and Tibet: From Matteo Ricci to Ippolito Desideri,” Reviewed Work(s): *A Jesuit in the Forbidden City: Matteo Ricci, 1552–1610* by Hsia; *Jesuit on the Roof of the World: Ippolito Desideri's Mission to 18th-Century Tibet* by Pomplun, *History of Religions*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (February 2013): 267-282, p. 282.

¹⁷ See Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet. The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri, S.J.*, Translated by Michael J Sweet. Edited by Leonard Zwilling, Boston, Wisdom Publications, 2010.

¹⁸ Luciano PETECH, ed, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, Vol. II “Il nuovo Ramusio,” Raccolta di viaggio, testi e documenti relative ai rapporti fra l'Europa e l'Oriente. A cura dell'Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Roma, La Libreria dello Stato, 1952-1953, Vol. V, p. xxvi.

or profit for themselves in making such long and difficult pilgrimages and in exposing themselves to extreme hardships. On the contrary, they have abandoned all that they had or could hope to have in their homelands so that they might go to foreign lands for the sole purpose of teaching the truth of Christ's holy Law...I too am one of them, although inferior in merit, and have come here for the same purpose.¹⁹

In sum, all these connections help shape a historical background that enables an analysis of the Jesuit approach to Buddhism in Tibet as a backdrop to the China mission – and its precedent in Japan – in the late Ming period.

Let us now move on to one of the main sources analysed in this article, Desideri's first work, the *Tho rangs*, which is translated into English here as the "The Sign of the Dawn that clears away Darkness." It is written in verse and, as mentioned above, it is a piece of apologetic writing. Having completed it in December 1716, Desideri presented it to Lhazang Khan on January 6, 1717.

Desideri's *Tho rangs*. The Jesuit's first approach to Tibetan Buddhism

In the *Tho rangs* Desideri took his first steps in the Tibetan style of argumentation, an ability he would master throughout his years in Tibet and in subsequent writings. It took him ten months to study the Tibetan language, "studying it night and day."²⁰ Desideri was no exception among the missionaries in the missions overseas when dealing with the difficult task of choosing local religious terms for the *Tho rangs*. He borrowed terms from Tibetan Buddhism as the language for catechesis.²¹ Scholars in the field offer different views regarding his rebuttal of Tibetan Buddhism. Giuseppe Toscano claims that it is not Tibetan Buddhism that Desideri is refuting in the *Tho rangs* but a mixture of the popular religion, *bön*, with Tantric Buddhism, and thus it did not engage the 'elite' religion in Tibet.²² However, Trent Pomplun disagrees with this position regarding the first work by Desideri in Tibetan. As Pomplun describes and dates each of

¹⁹ Ippolito Desideri, *Mission to Tibet*, p. 183.

²⁰ Luciano PETECH, ed, *I missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, p. 180.

²¹ To solve this problem, Toscano states that it was of great help to have found the first seven chapters of the Italian text of the *Tho rangs* (L'Aurora), which provided the key to understanding the Tibetan terminology used by Desideri to translate Christian terminology or exclusively Western texts.

²² Ippolito DESIDERI SJ, *Opere Tibetane, Il T'o-Rans (L'Aurora)*, Introduzione, traduzione e note di Giuseppe Toscano S.X., Vol. I, 20-22.

the Jesuit's manuscripts, he challenges the idea articulated by Giuseppe Toscano that Desideri contrasted the “more elevated” religious notions found in Madhyamaka – one of the schools of Mahayana Buddhism – with the “popular” religion of Tibet, *bön*, thus changing his conceptions about Tibetan religion between his first work, the *Daybreak*, and his later more conventionally “philosophical” works.²³ In sum, according to Pomplun, a comprehensive approach shows that Desideri's views on Tibetan religion remain remarkably consistent throughout.²⁴

The *Tho rangs* contains eighteen chapters, the first of which deal with the existence of the Supreme Being who saves all men with one single – and “true” – religion. They provide help for observance of his law, the path to salvation. As stated in the introduction, the main focus of this article is on Jesuit approaches to Buddhism, especially when shaped as an ‘idolatrour’ sect, as we follow the imprint of the Jesuit missions to the East. It is in the fifteenth chapter of the *Tho rangs* that Desideri grapples with the – in the missionaries' eyes – problem of “idolatry,” as opposed to the true religion that leads to salvation. For this purpose, Desideri relies on the Prophet Daniel, and tells the story of King Balthasar. In the centre of the city was the temple of Bal. Every day both the people and the king would make offerings to the statue of Bal after their prayers. King Balthasar asks Daniel to go to the temple with them, worship Bal and make offerings to his statue. Daniel answers:

Bal is a statue made by the hand of a man without a mind, without cognition. There is no wisdom in him, not the sense of sight, without soul, without life. Because of this I do not have faith in him and do not worship him. The Supreme Being, lord of all things, the perfect creator of everything, omniscient – to him I devote my prayers, to him I offer my devotion.

The king replies, “Every day our Bal accepts food, and you say he is not the Supreme Being and that he is lifeless?” So the prophet says: “Oh, king, do not be mistaken... This Bal is a statue (སྐུ་ཚལ་ *sku tshab*), he has gold on the outside, clay on the inside; he has no intellect, cannot eat.”²⁵

If we compare the different approaches to the problem of idolatry, in Ricci's TZSY, and in Valignano's *Catechismus Christianae Fidei* previously, Buddhism and idolatry are assimilated, but we do not find this mental

²³ Trent POMPLUN, *Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 325-328.

²⁴ Trent POMPLUN, *Jesuit on the Roof of the World*, p. 93.

²⁵ This term, *sku thab*, refers to holy statues or images. ARSI, *Lusitaniae*, Goa 76, f. 100. Translation by the author.

operation in Desideri's *Thorangis*, which uses the prophet Daniel and his dialogue with King Balthasar regarding the temple and the statue of Bal to illustrate it. In Ricci's TZSY, one of the key terms constantly present is the Chinese concept of 'orthodoxy' – *zheng* 正, which is of a different order to that of Christianity in its Roman Catholic post-Tridentine form. *Zheng* is, first and foremost, a moral and political orthodoxy. However, its scope reaches far beyond social ethics. Confucian values also reflect the qualities of the cosmos itself; the conception of a morally positive universe directed by the Mandate of Heaven had a ritual dimension. Finally, the concept of *zheng* comprises an individual aspect: the Confucian ideal of self-cultivation, related to virtue. By relating Christianity to Confucianism, Ricci presents it on the side of orthodoxy. In fact, its claim that it had come to purify Confucianism – over-impregnated with Buddhism in the late Ming period – and to restore an original monotheism had never been made by any other alien religion in China. And, in its opposition to "heresy," Christianity was much more radical than Confucianism, which generally made a distinction between the respectably organized Buddhism and Daoism and the heterodox teachings of uncontrolled sectarian movements.²⁶ In sum, Ricci's TZSY is the first piece of writing by a Jesuit in China that clearly proclaims that its Christian teachings are 'on the orthodox side,' in a Confucian register, inaugurating a strict and exclusive division between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. In turn, the orthodoxy Ricci is forging, grounded on the Confucian *zheng*, has an aggressive tone against Buddhism as its dark side, to which Buddhists would react. If the nucleus of – broadly put – right, correct, legitimate thought and action is embodied in the concept of *zheng*, its counterpart is the "heterodox" *xie* 邪, which encompasses the subversion of that moral and ritual order. Ricci placed Buddhism and Daoism on the side of "heterodoxy," when on Chinese soil the concept of *xie* applies to any sectarian cults and rituals seen as a potential subversion of order.²⁷ The omnipresence of Buddhist "idols" was one of the most important factors leading Ricci to harshly reject Buddhism, which he saw as nothing other than the incarnation of idolatry in China, as he states in the seventh chapter of his TZSY. In the dialogue between the Western scholar – Ricci himself – and the Chinese scholar, the latter asks Ricci about the benefit

²⁶ Erik ZÜRCHER, "Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China", *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 4 (1997): 614-53; 616-622.

²⁷ Erik ZÜRCHER, "Confucian and Christian Religiosity in Late Ming China," *The Catholic Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (1997): 615–21; Ana Carolina Hosne, *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570–1610: Appraisals and Expectations of Expansionism* (Oxon: Routledge, 2013), 89.

of worshipping images of the Buddha – *bai fo xiang* – and reciting Buddhist scriptures – *nian qi jing*. Ricci – apparently – had no other choice than to answer that this, far from bringing any benefit, would undoubtedly harm orthodoxy – *zheng dao*.²⁸ Moreover, Ricci expresses disappointment by saying that although Confucians – *ru zhe* – wanted to get rid of Buddhism and Daoism they were still erecting temples and worshipping “idols,” literally images – *xiang*, which the Jesuits interpreted and used for “idols.”²⁹ However, the question of “idolatrous” images – a familiar controversial issue for the Jesuits – was unknown to the Buddhists.

Going back to Desideri’s *Tho rangs*, it is in the seventh chapter that Desideri refutes two Buddhist precepts that Ricci – among other Jesuits – had also refuted in the missions in Asia: the transmigration of souls and the cycle of rebirth, both “enemies” of an omnipotent Supreme Being, ruining human souls and leading them to hell. As Desideri explains in his account, when the king learned about some of the precepts in the *Tho rangs*, he distinguished principles that contradicted his “sect” but still seemed just and worthy of further discussion from two other points that seemed difficult to accept: that of a Supreme Being whose nature is single, uncreated, and incorporeal, and metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls.³⁰

Desideri relates that the king had read his book and also wanted several lamas and doctors of religion to read and examine it. But he also had to delve into the principles and books of ‘that sect’ to read their most exemplary authors and to familiarize himself with their methods of dialect and argumentation.³¹ Encouraged by the king, he continued his studies in monasteries. Only certain monasteries offered such training, and not all the monks in a given monastery were actively engaged in philosophical training and the study of a philosophy-based curriculum. Successful completion of the entire curriculum at the three major *Gelug* school monasteries – Drepung, Sera, and Ganden – could take twenty years of study.³² Desideri’s first choice was the monastery of Ramoché, where he studied the books of the Tibetan Buddhist canon, comprising the *Kangyur* – the Words of the Buddha – and the *Tengyur* – the commentaries. However,

²⁸ Matteo RICCI, *Tianzhu Shiyi* 天主實義, in LI Zhizao 李之藻, *Tianzhu chuhan* 天主 初函, Taipei, 臺北, Taiwan xuesheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1965, VII: 592, IV-V. Hereafter cited as TZSY.

²⁹ TZSY, VII: 592, V-IX.

³⁰ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, 187.

³¹ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, 188.

³² Donald LOPEZ, *Prisoners of Shangri-La. Tibetan Buddhism in the West*, III, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998, pp. 166-168.

Desideri quickly found the library at Ramoché insufficient, and in August 1717 moved to the Sera monastery, where he was given a good house and permission to construct a chapel. Once there, in his account aimed at a European readership, Desideri tells how he devoted himself to reading, annotating and internalizing the subjects found in the book of Tengyur, studying dialectics and holding discussions on different religious tenets with the monks – “especially the doctors and professors” – and also attending their debates and public examinations.³³ He claims that the Tibetans

have their own dialectics, terms, definitions, divisions of the argument, all in the form of simple enthymemes, a way of propounding theses, of convincing by implication, of denying or conceding, of denying the hypothesis, recasting the argument, and so forth.³⁴

In a search for the familiar, and features similar to his Jesuit education, Desideri continues by saying that...

...they [the Tibetans] have a way of raising and resolving problems that is the same as ours, their procedure being to propose the point at issue, state the opinions of others upon it, refute them, state one's own solution adducing the arguments in its favour, and finally to answer the objections of one's opponents.³⁵

Since the fifteenth century, logic has been considered as a *de facto* Buddhist activity proper to monastic education and specifically the process of developing or gaining insight into the nature of reality, and thus has been differentiated from arts and crafts, medicine, the language arts, and astrology and divination.³⁶ This, indeed, caught Desideri's attention.

Desideri soon discovered that certain Christian precepts were not convincing to his interlocutors. Lhazang Khan expressed doubt about Christians' belief in a Supreme Being. As Desideri more or less explicitly explains in the *Tho rangs*, “false” dogmas – like those of the Tibetans – positively, directly and expressly deny the existence of a being in itself which is uncreated and independent, and the first and universal cause of all things. It was after composing the *Tho rangs* that Desideri turned

³³ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, 188-191.

³⁴ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, 189.

³⁵ Ippolito DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, 189-190.

³⁶ Kurtis R. SCHAEFFER, “New Scholarship in Tibet, 1650-1700”, in Sheldon POLLOCK (ed), *Forms of Knowledge in Early Modern Asia. Explorations in the Intellectual History of India and Tibet, 1500-1800*, Durham and London, Duke University Press, 2011, p. 293.

to a deeper study of the canonical texts, aiming to gain insight into the Buddhist doctrine of emptiness, convinced that it leads to denial of the uncreated independent inherently-existing being, absolutely excluding any knowledge of God.³⁷

Through his studies, Desideri accepted one of the aspects of this doctrine, i.e. that all things are contingent and strictly produced by causes and therefore without their own nature. However, he then focuses on proving its lack of coherence if no primary cause is introduced to start the whole process, as an absolute independent entity.³⁸

The Tibetan writings that immediately followed Desideri's period of study at Sera such as *The Origin of Sentient Beings and Other Phenomena* show how the Jesuit became familiar with about forty different works at the core of philosophical training in Tibet.³⁹ In this work, Desideri not only argues to prove the existence of a Supreme Being who is creator of all things, but also refutes the Buddhist doctrines of emptiness and the cycle of rebirth.⁴⁰ His last work in Tibetan, usually translated as The Heart of Christian doctrine (*Snying po*), is a series of arguments again refuting the Buddhist concept of emptiness (*stong ba nyd*).

In China, Ricci also defended one of the points of contention with the Buddhists, an attribute of the Lord of Heaven, i.e. creation *ex nihilo*, but by resorting to Aristotelian metaphysics. Indeed, in his TZSY, following Aristotle's *Metaphysics* Ricci introduced the four causes, i.e. active (*zuo zhe*), formal (*mo zhe*), material (*zhi zhe*) and final (*wei zhe*), defining the Lord of Heaven as an active and final cause, not formal or material.⁴¹ However, creation *ex nihilo* was a notion alien to Chinese thought, according to which the world as an organic order is not perceived outside men, and the man who finds his place in it cannot perceive himself outside the world.⁴² This particular idea soon became an almost unbridgeable gap from the creationist standpoint of the Jesuits.⁴³ Moreover, in China,

³⁷ I. DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, pp. 190-191.

³⁸ ENZO BARGIACCHI, Desideri's Understanding of Emptiness, *Buddhist-Christian Studies*, Vol. 29 (2009): 101-116, pp. 102-107.

³⁹ T. POMPLUN, op. cit., pp. 92-93; for a detailed list of the texts that that Desideri managed to master, see p. 92 note 48.

⁴⁰ ARSI, *Lusitaniae*, Goa 74. See, for instance, f. 17v.

⁴¹ TZSY I:390, III-IV. Translation by the author.

⁴² ANNE CHENG, *El Pensamiento chino*, Barcelona, Bellaterra, 2002, p. 50.

⁴³ ERIK ZÜRCHER, "In the Beginning: 17th Century Chinese Reactions to Christian Creationism", in Chun-Chieh Huang and Erik Zürcher (eds), *Time and Space in Chinese Culture*, Leiden, Brill, 1995, 132-166; pp. 140-144.

the Lord of Heaven rapidly found a ‘local competitor’ in the Great Ultimate, the *Taiji*, which was highly predominant in Neo-Confucian thought from Zhou Dunyi (1017-1073) onward, and Ricci tried his best to dismiss any similarity.⁴⁴ In this regard, it is relevant to mention Trent Pomplun’s claims regarding Desideri’s use – or not – of an Aristotelian background in order to refute Buddhist tenets. In engaging Tibetan interlocutors in his writings, Ippolito Desideri did not attempt to correct the principles of Buddhist philosophy or translate them into an Aristotelian language. He freely adopted Tibetan sources as authorities and engaged his contemporary Tibetan thinkers in disputations using their own philosophical canon instead of Aristotle’s works.⁴⁵

However, Desideri did not have time to convince the monks of Sera of their philosophical errors in their own terms, for he was forced to hide in the monastery when Lhazang Khan lost the country he had conquered twelve years earlier.

Jesuit understandings and interpretations of Buddhism

It was mentioned at the beginning of this article that – according to Urs App – the Jesuit mission to Japan offered one of “the West’s earliest encounters with Buddhist philosophy.” However, as shown in these pages, that encounter immediately associated Buddhism with – we might say – “the Asian face of idolatry”, both in the Japan and China missions. One of the catechisms that widely circulated in and outside Ming China as soon as it was published, Ricci’s TZSY, addressed the Confucian literati while refuting the “idolatrous” Buddhists, detaching Buddhism from a world of letters that – in Ricci’s eyes – exclusively belonged to the Confucian scholar-officials and literati. Going back to another point raised in the introduction, it was mentioned that Confucianism as a local anchorage for the Jesuits to transmit the Christian doctrine on Chinese soil may have obstructed their thorough comprehension of Buddhist doctrines, which

⁴⁴ The term Neo-Confucianism does not exist in Chinese, but is expressed in this language as *Daoxue*, i.e. the study of the Way. By and large, there are two ‘Neo-Confucian branches’: one is the Cheng-Zhu tradition, after its leading exponents Cheng Yi (1033-1107) and Zhu Xi (1130-1200), which is often described as ‘rationalistic’ since it stresses the notion of *li* (principle). This is why it is also called the School of Principle. The second tradition or school is ‘Lu-Wang Neo-Confucianism’, named after its two leading representatives: Lu Xiang Shan (1139-1193) and Wang Yangming (1472-1529), also called *Xin Xue* or School of Mind. The particular variety of Neo-Confucianism as systematized by Zhu Xi (1130-1200) enjoyed official status from the early fourteenth century.

⁴⁵ Trent POMPLUN, *Natural Reason and Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 414.

they harshly condemned as “idolatrous.” In this regard, as shown in this article, Desideri seems to have chosen a completely different path. This can be exemplified with the two Jesuits’ different attitudes towards one of the main Buddhist doctrines, that of emptiness. While Ricci’s TZSY reflects a poor understanding of it – a downside that the Buddhists in China would notice –, Desideri devoted himself to acquiring a sound knowledge of this concept. Such thorough understanding implied neither agreement with it nor mere rejection.

Nevertheless, although these two Jesuits, Ricci and Desideri, took a different tack in their approach to and interpretation of Buddhism in their respective local contexts, this did not prevent Buddhist responses against certain tenets displayed in their apologetic writings, especially that of (Christian) creationism. In China, seeking to refute the Jesuits’ claim that *Tianzhu*, the Lord of Heaven, has no substance or form, *Ouyi Zhixu* (in 1643) made his disagreement clear in the Collected Refutations of Heterodoxy (*Pixie ji*), which were mainly grounded on its similarities with the Supreme Ultimate (*Taiji*). Indeed, in its introductory section, *Tiansue chuzheng*, one of its leading voices, Master Zhong – who is no other than Ouyi himself – refutes the notion of *Tianzhu* as the creator (*zhu zai*) of all things, also referring to the fact that if it is without form and matter or substance, then it would be what the Confucians call *Taiji*.⁴⁶ In Tibet, Ippolito Desideri, who had trained himself in various monasteries to argue with the lamas and Tibetan Buddhist monks regarding certain Buddhist precepts, soon discovered that certain tenets of Christianity were not convincing to his interlocutors. Lhazang Khan expressed his doubt about Christians’ belief in a Supreme Being. The Seventh Dalai Lama (1708-1757), who started ruling Tibet in 1720, responded to an apologetic writing of the Capuchins, claiming that:

If everything has being created by the Three Jewels [*dkön mchok*, understood as the Supreme Being], if all the unhappiness and the tragedies that

⁴⁶ *Pixie Ji* 關邪集, in XU Guanqi 徐光啟, 天主教東傳文獻續編, Taipei 臺北, Taiwan xue-sheng shuju 臺灣學生書局, 1965, pp. 914-915. As analysed by Beverly Foulks, one of the most interesting features of *Ouyi’s Collected Refutations of Heterodoxy* is the significance of the various figures that appear in the introduction, for all the names actually refer to *Ouyi* himself. Although Chinese writers could choose between their various names and often invent an interlocutor, here *Ouyi* not only creates an anonymous interlocutor but also includes multiple self-personae. See Beverly Foulks, “Duplicious Thieves: Ouyi Zhixu’s Criticism of Jesuit Missionaries”, *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* (2008, 21:55-75), Taipei, Chung-Hwa Institute of Buddhist Studies, 中華佛學學報第二十一期, 頁55–75 (民國九十七年), 臺北: 中華佛學研究所, pp. 62-63.

occur to the human body, like blindness, deafness, disability, not having food to eat, the many maladies, kings fighting against each other, etc... If all this pain has been created by the Supreme Being, he has no compassion. As he is partial, making some men happy and others unhappy, he is not worthy of all men's worship.⁴⁷

Going back to the thorny issue that the Jesuits in Asia would deal with, i.e. the veneration of images and other physical objects, it has been mentioned how the omnipresence of Buddhist "idols" was one of the factors that encouraged Ricci to harshly reject this "sect." He saw it as nothing other than the incarnation of idolatry in China, harming orthodoxy – *zheng dao*. In Tibet many years later, Desideri would raise this issue in the *Thorangas*, although using a much milder tone, resorting to the prophet Daniel to illustrate it. And, once he gained expertise in Tibetan argumentation techniques, he mainly focused on discussing certain Buddhist doctrines, especially those of rebirth and emptiness, with the lamas. Therefore, the issue in question is whether the Jesuit approach to Buddhism would necessarily entail its rejection as an 'idolatrous' sect or, as the case of Desideri aims to prove, a 'sect' whose main tenets could be objected through insight into Buddhist doctrines, the latter being the result of years of study and training in local argumentation techniques.

Finally, as mentioned in the introduction, unlike Ricci, Desideri characterized the Buddhist lamas and monks as "literati" – well-learned men and doctors on Tibetan soil. Likewise, as Ricci had been characterized as a 'scholar from the West' – *xi ru* 西儒 –, in his account in Italian Desideri mentions that the missionaries were acknowledged as lamas in Tibet, and called *gokargyi lama*, i.e. European lamas. The reason, he explains, is because "we are recognized as spiritual directors and masters of our Holy Law and are celibate monks."⁴⁸ Back in Rome, with his years in Tibet still marking his existence, Desideri composed a booklet giving advice for those willing to establish a mission in Tibet:

...that the missionaries sent to Tibet be endowed with great intelligence, mainly because, apart from their [Tibetans'] daily use of dialectic, argumentation, and training in their universities, their books (and they do have many) are very subtle, metaphysical and sophisticated, and the whole sys-

⁴⁷ Luciano PETECH, ed, *I Missionari italiani nel Tibet e nel Nepal*, pp. 145-147.

⁴⁸ I. DESIDERI, *Mission to Tibet*, p.323.

tem of their false religion is very broad, abstruse, metaphysical, and their understanding requires more than the standard capacity.⁴⁹

These words of advice reflect Desideri's acknowledgement of the intellectual endeavour involved in achieving insight into Buddhist philosophy, and the techniques engaged in argumentation and debates in the Tibetan monasteries, which he came to master during his stay in Tibet and allowed him to discuss and refute Buddhist doctrines on their own terms.

⁴⁹ Luigi F. BENEDETTO, *Di uno scritto poco noto del p. Ippolito Desideri da Pistoia*, In occasione delle nozze della signorina Fulvia Casella col signor Gualtiero Pastorini, Tip. M. Ricci, Fiorenzuola d'Arda, 6 ottobre 1928, p. 23. Translation by the author.

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Jesuit architecture in Japan: how to convert a Buddhist temple into a church

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Resumo

Os Jesuítas chegaram ao Japão em 1549 e, até serem expulsos, realizaram muitas conversões ao Cristianismo e construíram também várias igrejas, escolas e hospitais. Para manter a missão no Japão, os missionários jesuítas dependiam do apoio financeiro dos senhores locais e, muitas vezes, foram-lhes concedidos templos budistas para servirem como igrejas. Com base na correspondência jesuíta da época, uma breve análise da arquitetura budista no Japão e das características da arquitetura eclesial jesuíta no mundo e no Japão permite-nos inferir a possível forma da planta de um templo budista convertido em igreja.

Palavras-chave: arquitetura japonesa, missionários jesuítas, templo budista, igreja.

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Abstract

The Jesuits arrived in Japan in 1549 and until their expulsion were very active, converting people to Christianity, building churches, schools, and hospitals. The Jesuits relied on the local lords' financial support to build and often received Buddhist temples to be converted into churches. Based on a review of Jesuit letters, a brief analysis of Japanese Buddhist temple floor plan characteristics, a short review of Jesuit church architecture in general and in Japan I will illustrate how a Buddhist temple floor plan may have looked like when converted into a Jesuit church.

Keywords: Japanese Architecture, Jesuit Missionaries, Buddhist temple, church.

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Jesuit architecture in Japan: how to convert a Buddhist temple into a church

Adriana Piccinini Higashino

Francisco Xavier (1506-1552)¹ and his companions, Cosme de Torres (1510-1570)² and João Fernandez (1526-1567)³, arrived at Kagoshima in 1549. Xavier first intention was to go to the capital and ask permission to preach in Japan but the local lord⁴ suggested that Xavier waited in Kagoshima until the war at Meaco (modern Kyoto) was over. Although well received Xavier did not found the land willing to accept Christianity, so decided to continue his travel to Meaco and on his way search better places to preach. That is how the Jesuits would arrive at Hirado, in Northern Kyushu, and later at Yamaguchi where they received support from local lords⁵ to spread Christianity. Xavier eventually arrived in Meaco, which due to political turbulence was not favorable for preaching. He departed Japan in 1552, leaving his two companions with the newly founded Kyushu Christianity⁶.

The Jesuit arrived in Japan at the end of the 16th Century, and for almost a hundred years they were very active, converting people to Christianity and building churches, schools, and hospitals. However due to their expulsion from Japan in 1614 and the following persecution of Christians by the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600-1868), everything built by the Jesuit was destroyed, and very little is known about their building activities and how it may have exerted influence on traditional Japanese architecture.

¹ FRANCISCO XAVIER (1506-1552) born at the Xavier Castle in Navarra, Spain was one of the co-founders of the Society of Jesus. He was engaged in missionary work in Asia since 1540 and have been in Japan from 1549 to 1551. Xavier died in China in 1552 and canonized in 1622.

² COSME DE TORRES (1510-1570) born in Valencia, Spain, joined the society in 1548 after doing religious work in Mexico, Philippines, and the Moluccas. Arrived in Japan together with Xavier in 1549 and died in Amakusa in 1570.

³ JOÃO FERNÁNDEZ (1526-1567) Borne in Cordoba, Spain. Arrived in Japan in 1549, where he worked until his death in 1567. He was one of the first Jesuit to learn well the Japanese language.

⁴ 島津 實久 Shimazu TAKAHISA (1514-1571).

⁵ Lord of Hirado: 松浦 隆信 Matsura TAKANOBU (1529-1599), Lord of Yamaguchi: 大内 義隆 Ouchi YOSHITAKA (1507-1551).

⁶ Luís FRÓIS, SJ, *Historia de Japam*. José Wicki, SJ, ed., 5 vols. Lisbon, 1976-1984, vol. 1 pp. 28-30.

The Jesuit Missionaries in Japan did not have financial support from Europe and relied on the sponsorship and technical support of local Japanese lords to build their houses and churches. According to the Society 16th Century letters, the Jesuit in Japan often received Buddhist temples to convert into churches. The letters also described how the novelty of the interior of those churches amazed the Japanese. Contradictorily the Visitor, Alexandro Valignano (1539-1606)⁷, in his directives for the Japanese mission wrote that the building type of Japanese Buddhist temples was not appropriate to be used as a church because the floor plan of a Buddhist temples was wide and shallow while a church floor plan should be narrow and deep.

Did the Jesuit convert Japanese Buddhist hall into Churches?

What are the characteristics of Jesuit church architecture?

What are the architectural characteristics of the Buddhist hall the Jesuit received?

How could the Jesuit have transformed a Buddhist hall into a church?

In this paper, I will answer the questions above and propose a floor plan for a Buddhist temple converted into a church. At first, I will review the 16th Century Jesuit's letters related to the topic and gather passages that suggested the conversion of Buddhist halls into Churches. After a brief analysis of Japanese Buddhist temple floor plan development and 16th Century temples architecture, I will examine Jesuit church architecture in general and in Japan. Finally, I will propose a floor plan for a Buddhist hall transformed into a church. Through a floor plan drawing, I will illustrate how a Buddhist hall floor plan may have looked like after it was converted into a Jesuit church.

1. Did the Jesuit convert Japanese Buddhist temple into Churches? Analysis of Records on Jesuit Building Activities in Japan

The Jesuits in Japan did not receive direct financial support from Europe and consequently to construct churches or houses they entirely relied on local lords and the local community sponsorship. Documents and previous studies have shown that the Jesuits in their missions would mostly adapt existing structures to their needs, the best they could. Sometimes

⁷ Alessandro VALIGNANO (1539–1606), was an Italian Jesuit missionary born in Chieti. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1566 and was sent to East Asia in 1573 to supervise the Jesuit Mission in Asia. Valignano visited Japan in 1581-82 and after wrote “Advertimentos E Avisos Acerca Dos Costumes E Catangues De Jappão” a set of guidelines for the Jesuit mission in Japan, applying his cultural adaptations ideas.

local lords would give them the means to build new structures, which were made by local carpenters using traditional Japanese architecture techniques, or would provide them buildings to use⁸.

The information on Jesuit correspondence shows what kind of facilities and how the Jesuits were able to build in Japan. However, as Diniz⁹ has explained on her review of the letters printed at Évora in 1598, the description about Jesuit building activities in Japan mostly concerns the houses and residences, and there is few information about the architecture of the churches. Among those few reports, I found extracts confirming that the Jesuit did convert Buddhist temple into churches. For example, Cosme de Torres, in his letter of 1551, described how the local lord gave them a Buddhist monastery to use as a church¹⁰. João Fernandez, in his letter of 1576, wrote that the king of Arima¹¹ gave them the main Buddhist temple with everything that it had inside, the land where they had the church and some houses that were so big that they did not need to improve them¹². As shown in the records the local lords had control over the Buddhist temples and donate temples' buildings to the Jesuits use. For example, during the turmoil of 1551, when the city of Yamaguchi was attacked, a local lord (*Naetodono*) asked a Buddhist temple to hide the Jesuits. The monks first refused but were forced to shelter the Jesuits for two days and two nights¹³. Therefore Buddhist monks may not always have agreed with the local lord's decision and were forced to obey. In extreme cases, the lord would force the monks to convert themselves to Christian-

⁸ Gauvin Alexander BAILEY, Jesuit Art and Architecture in Asia, *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540-1773*, Saint Joseph's University Press, November 1, 2005, pp. 313-318.

⁹ Diniz, Sofia: Jesuit buildings in China and Japan: a comparative study, *Bulletin of Portuguese – Japanese Studies*, num 3, December 2001, pp107-128 Universidade Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa, Portugal.

¹⁰ BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA [BA], Códcs. 49-IV-49 «Copia de huma carta do Padre Cosmo de Torres que esta en Japão pera os Irmãos da companhia de Jesus de Goa feita em dia de Sao Miguel 29 de setembro ano 1551» [fl. 143] ...*E mais deu hum mosteiro para estar em elle o padre e seus companheiros ...*

¹¹ King of Arima: Dom Andre (有馬 義貞) Arima Yoshisada (1521-1577).

¹² ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO [ANTT], Armário Jesuitico, liv. 28, f 43v. Copia da Carta do Padre Alonso Gonçaves, “*Dom Andre Rei de Arima he Irmão de Don Bertolomeu, ainda que Dom Bertolomeu he seu vaçallo. Dom Andre nos deu huma varella principal que era cabeça e como metropolis das outras donde vivia seu mestre com tudo o que avia nella que era muyto, e terras que estão dentro da cerca donde temos a igreja e a casa sem fazer nenhuma coisa por serem as casas grandes, a onde hay tanto concurso de gente que com ser muito capas não cabem em ella, e no patio e quando amanhece esta a Igreja cheia*”.

¹³ BA, Códcs. 49-IV-49 «Translado de huma carta do Irmão Joao Fernandes de XX de Outubro do ano de 1551 que escreve do Reino de Japao da cidade de Hamangochi a Goa ao Pe Mestre Francisco» [fl. 1135v].

ity. For example Dom Bartholomeu¹⁴ gave the Jesuits a temple together with its monks, after winning a war, to be used as a church. The monks asked the Jesuits to teach them how to bury the dead in the catholic way because they wanted to help and there was a lot of people to be buried¹⁵.

In his letter of 1576 Alexandre Valerregio¹⁶ describes how, in a small village of the Island of Goto, they first build a stone wall around a land they received, which was to be used as a cemetery, and later erected a large cross. Since the village did not have a church, the liturgical services were held on open air, in front of the cross¹⁷. On the same letter, Valerregio wrote about another small village that had no church, but only a cross, and how with the villagers help they were able to build a church¹⁸. This letter shows how the local community helped to construct the wall and how the Jesuits used the cross to symbolize Christianity.

The Jesuit correspondence showed that local lords sponsored the Jesuits in the construction of churches and houses, and sometimes provided them Buddhist temples buildings to be transformed into churches. The temples the Jesuit received were not abandoned buildings, as some

¹⁴ Otomo SORIN 大友宗麟 (1530-1587).

¹⁵ ANTT, Armário Jesuitico, liv. 28, f. 21.

¹⁶ Alexandre Valerregio: arrived in Japan in 1568 and returned to Europe in 1570 by order of the General due to his health issues. Copies of his letter exist on the manuscripts of the REAL ACADEMIA DE LA HISTORIA [RAHM], codice 09-02663, and Cartas que os padres e irmãos da Companhia de Jesus, que andão nos Reynos de Iapão ascreuerão aos da mesma Companhia da India, & Europa des do anno de 1549 até o de 1580 : por Manoel de Lyra, 1598. ff. 254-256 (<http://purl.pt/15230>).

¹⁷ RAHM, codice 09-02663, f1. «Copia de una del Padre Alexandro Valerregio (dela compania) qual acabo despues de venido del Gotto, que es Isla y reino sepor si ay mucha noblessa christiana en Japon para V.Exca del ano de 1570». «*Es esta tierra una Isla (Goto) la qual tiene Rey por si que reside en esta ciudade de vohica que es la principal de esta Isla y Reino... Luego que vine a esta Isla del Gotto me espante mucho que no tubiessen cimiterio donde enterrar los xpianos, como le tienen en otras partes de Japon donde ay Iglesias, viendo esto se movieron todos en grande fervor a hazerlo, y luego sennalaron un lugar y sitio muy aproposito el qual cercaron (desde el principe Don Luis, y los demas nobles hasta los mas bajos hombres mugeres) con una pared de pedra la qual todos acarrearán sobre los hombros con tanto fervor y devocion, que me causava por una parte grandissima alegria.... Despues de cercado el cimiterio, hizieron una cruz muy grande y hermosa y para enarbolarla y levantarla en el campo que avian cercado y para ben dezir el cimiterio, me embiaron a dezir, que determinase el dia en que queria ir alla, parescio me que sexta muy aproposito el dia de todos los Santos*».

¹⁸ RAHM, cod. 09-02663, f1.: «*En esta isla de el Gotto, ay otro lugar que se llama muzada, el qual por no aver mas de un ano que se avia convertido nrs Sancta Fee, no tenia mas de una cruz en arbolada, viendo la necesidad que tenían de iglesia, así para hazer oracion, como para que en ella se enseñase la doctrina. Junte los xpianos, y persuadiles que la hiziesen, lo qual ellos aceptaron con tanto fervor, que conser hombres trabajadores olui dados del provecho temporal, y movidos del... se deo enparon de sus trabajos, y de sus labores, y hizieron con grande priesa una iglesia muy hermosa conforme al lugar que era*».

researchers have suggested¹⁹, some of the buildings belonged to prominent temples, and the monks of those temples were forced to convert to Christianity²⁰. I can list several reasons for the Kyushu lords to present the Jesuits missionaries with buildings. Sponsoring the Jesuits not only aided the Kyushu lords to conquest the sympathy of Portuguese merchants but also gave them control over the Buddhist monks. During the warring states period,²¹ many Buddhist temples had armies and were a threat to the local lord. Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582)²² burned down the Enryakuji temple in Kyoto, Koyasan temple in Wakayama, and in Osaka, he had trouble containing the Negoro monks, which would turn the population against him. Therefore according to the information on the Jesuits letters in addition to the political-socio situation of 16th century Japan, I can affirm that the Kyushu lords gave Buddhist temples' buildings to the Jesuits to convert them into Catholic churches.

2. What are the architectural characteristics of the Buddhist hall the Jesuit received?

In the letters, the Jesuits refer to all religious buildings as “varelas”. When the Jesuits arrived in Japan there were two types of religious buildings, Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. The Shinto religion is much older and worships natural elements such as an old tree or a mountain. It is strongly related to the emperor. The Shinto shrines are mostly small structures, characterized by the simplicity of their architectural design, the elevated plank floor, the thatched roof and wooden walls. Buddhist temples sponsored Shinto shrines since the introduction of Buddhism in the 8th Century, and more strongly from the Middle Ages. Several Buddhist temples have or had a Shinto shrine constructed inside its site. Sponsoring Shinto shrines was a strategy adopted by Buddhist temples to spread Bud-

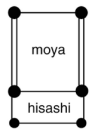
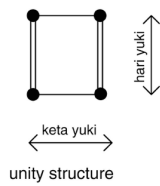
¹⁹ Matsuda and Kawasaki in their Japanese translation of Frois *Historia de Japam*, use the word *haidera* (麿寺) to refer to the temples received by the Jesuits, what gave the idea to Japanese researchers that the Jesuits received abandoned temples or old buildings. However, the Jesuits emphasized on their letters that they received the most important temple or that the temple had monks, what proves that the structures received where not abandoned and stopped to be used as a Buddhist temple because they were converted into churches. (Fróis, Luís. Kan'yaku Furoisu Nihon Shi. Tōkyō: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2000).

²⁰ ANTT, Armário Jesuitico, liv. 28, f. 21.

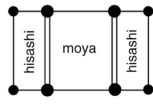
²¹ The warring state period started with the Onin war (1467-77) and ended with the Siege of Osaka (1615).

²² Oda Nobunaga was a powerful daimyo in the late 16th century, original from the country of Owari, actual Gifu prefecture and responsible for starting the unification of Japan.

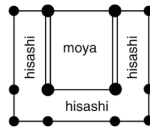
dhism among the people. Due to the small size of Shinto shrines, its relation with the emperor, and its financial dependency on Buddhist temples, probably the Jesuit did not receive any Shinto shrine. The building they referred as varela in the letters were Buddhist temples. To deduce how the Jesuits may have transformed a Buddha hall into a church first we have to determine the architectural style and the size of buildings they may have used. To understand it I will first go through a brief review of Buddhist architecture and then show the most common style and size of Buddhist hall during the 16th century.



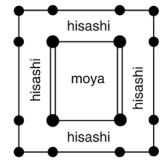
1 bay 1 side



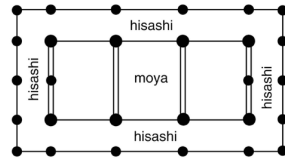
1 bay 2 sides



1 bay 3 sides

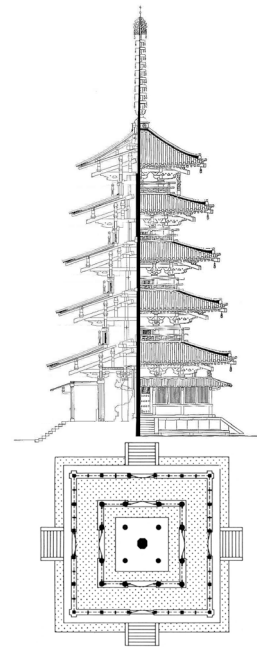


1 bay 4 sides



3 bays 4 sides

1 *Kenmenkiho* Structural System



2 Horiyuji pagoda²³

Buddhist temples share a common architectural language, which varies according to the time it was constructed, and the sect of Buddhism it belongs to. Buddhist architecture was introduced in Japan at the end of the 8th century, imported from China together with the Chinese writing system and Buddhist religion, by the Japanese Aristocracy. Buddhist temples are complexes of several buildings, among which the Buddha Hall is

²³ Figure composed based on drawings from O. Hirotarō (2006), 太田博太郎編「日本建築史基礎資料集成七仏堂II」中央公論美術出版,2006年.

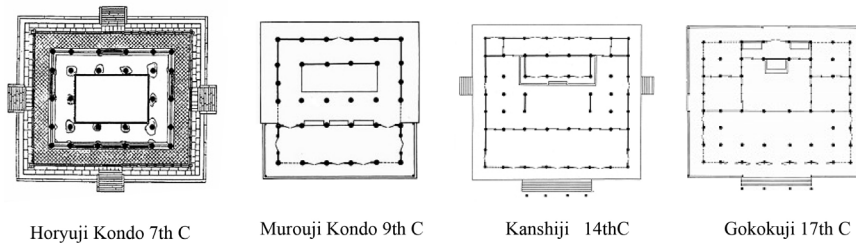
one of the principal buildings, where images and sculptures were placed. The first Buddhist temples used a construction system called *kenmenkiho*, which was based on a core unit that could be repeated and had verandas added to it. Buddha halls and other structures were classified according to the number of times this core was repeated and to how many sides the verandas were added. The core on the roof beam direction, perpendicular to the roof ridge (fig. 1 *Hariyuki*) could be repeated up to 2 bays, but on the direction parallel to the roof ridge (fig.1 *Ketayuki*), the core could be repeated infinitely. Consequently, large buildings were very long structures. A good example is the Sanjusangendo²⁴, which has 33 bays plus the verandas added to 2 sides, in total it is 35 bays long. The first Buddhist halls were built on stone platforms, had tiled roofs and the wood structural elements painted in red and green. The timber construction techniques imported to build Buddhist temples in Japan were used in China to build palaces, showing that the Japanese selected the techniques they imported and also explains the differences between Japanese and Chinese Buddhist architecture. At first Buddhist ceremonies were held at the garden and corridor structures surrounding the main buildings. The first halls were not built to be entered by people. The interior space was used only for displaying Buddhist sculptures and not to gather people. An excellent example of this lack of interior space of the first Buddhist structures is the five roofs pagoda of Horyuji temple²⁵. As figure 2 shows, in the floor plan, elevation and cross-section, the building has no internal division and the main post together with the building structure fulfill the interior. On the ground floor there is an altar with Buddhist images, but no space was left for gathering people.

The first Buddhist buildings from Asuka (592-710) and Nara period (710-794) had no ceiling, and the interior space of the building was integrated with the structure of the roof. In a structure like that, it is difficult to divide the interior space. Consequently, there was only one room per building. In the case of Buddhist halls and pagodas, the interior was fulfilled with Buddhist images, and there was no worship space inside the building. During the Nara period were erected the six major temples of

²⁴ Sanjusangendo (三十三間堂) means the 33 bays hall is the popular name for the temple Rengeo-in. The present building is a reconstruction from 1266. The hall has 118.2 m long by 16.4m deep.

²⁵ Houryuji Temple is the oldest building in Japan and probably the oldest wooden structure of the world. It was built at the end of 7th century in Karuga, actual Nara prefecture.

the new Heijo capital and a network of Buddhist temples (*Kokubunji*²⁶) were built all around the country establishing a Japanese style of Buddhist architecture. In the Heian period (794-1185) Tendai and Shingo Buddhist sects entered Japan, together with new architectural styles of Buddha hall.



3 Development of the worship space in Buddhist Halls²⁷

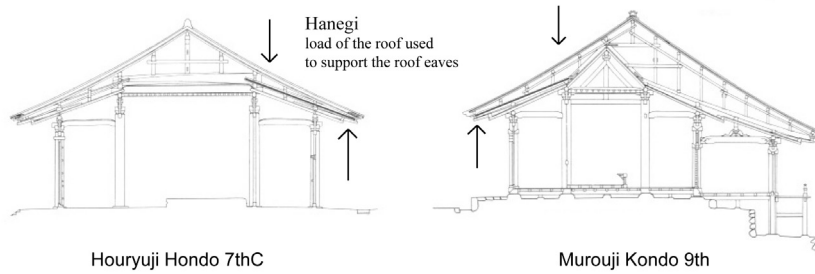
The worship space, which originally was outside the buildings, was gradually incorporated to the Buddha hall (fig. 3). At the end of the Heian period, Pure Land Buddhism (*Jodoshu*) became popular and lavish Buddha Halls (*Amida-do*) were built everywhere in the country. In this period, significant changes occurred in the structure of the Buddha halls, such as the use of elevated planked floor and the addition of ceiling. The period shows an adaptation of Buddhist architecture to the Japanese socio-cultural context and Japanese traditional architecture techniques. For example, not all Buddha halls had a tiled roof anymore, some had thatched or shingled roofs, techniques initially only use on residential architecture and Shinto Shrines.

Due to the addition of worship space to the Buddha halls interior, the building changed. The stone floored interior space dedicated only to the display of images, evolved into a planked floor, later covered with tatamis mats, more comfortable to people. The invention of the ceiling, which would structurally separate the interior space from the roof structure, allowed the division of the interior space into rooms. Further development

²⁶ Kokubunji (国分寺) literally means country (国) divided (分) temples (寺) and were a network of Buddhist temples constructed in all parts of Japan by the Emperor during the Nara period. It had Todaiji temple as head of the network and helped the emperor in controlling the population.

²⁷ Figure 3 was elaborated using drawings from 文化庁監修「国宝・重要文化財大全11建造物上巻」毎日新聞社、1998.

of construction techniques such as the *Hanegi*²⁸ (fig. 4) permitted longer roof eaves and smaller size of structural elements.



4 *Hanegi* – based on the lever system, it uses the load of the roof to support the roof eaves²⁹

From the Kamakura period (1185-1333) new sects of Buddhism and architectural styles³⁰ entered Japan. The new architectural styles brought innovation to the structure of the buildings. The addition of horizontal structural elements, such as crosspieces and piercing beams gave the buildings more resistance against earthquakes. These new architectural styles mixed with traditional techniques were incorporated in the traditional style of Buddha halls. Esoteric Buddhism (*Mikyo* 密教) became popular, and several Wayo style³¹ Buddha halls were built all around the country. Zen style halls were also built and exerted a strong influence in the native style of Buddha Halls, which incorporated structural elements

²⁸ Hanegi: a beam system based on the Archimedes principles that use the load of the roof to support the roof eaves.

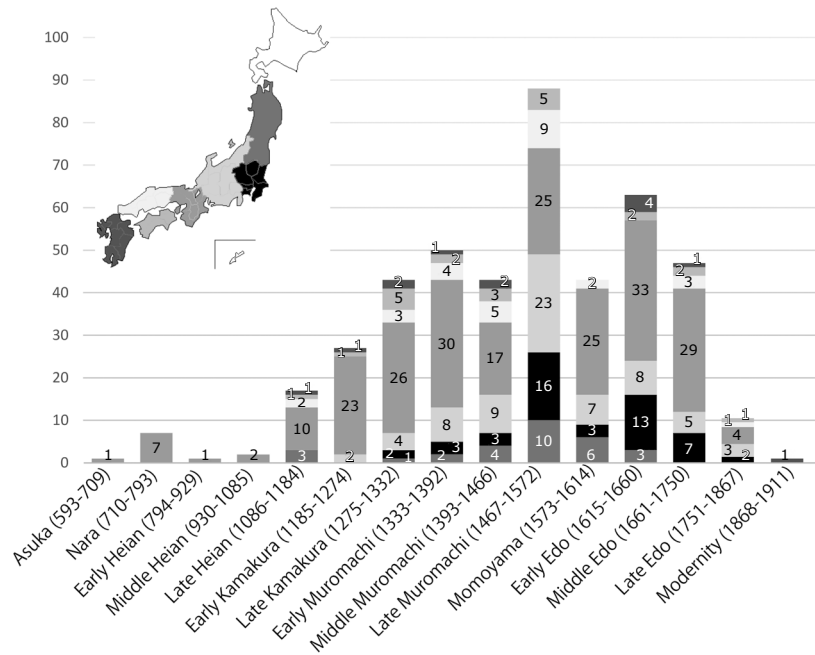
²⁹ Figure elaborated with drawings from O.Hirotaro (2006) 太田博太郎編「日本建築史基礎資料集成七仏堂II」中央公論美術出版,2006年.

³⁰ Daibutsu Style (大仏様) and Zen style (禅宗様): The Daibutsu style was introduced by Chogen (1121-1206) during the reconstruction of Todaiji Big Buddha (Daibutsu) hall. The Style was an answer to the structure of the buildings, weak on the horizontal direction and to the lack of timber. The only buildings existing now built by Chogen in the Daibutsu style are the South gate of Todaiji in Nara and the Jododo of Jodoji temple in Hyogo. Zen style arrived together with the Zen sect of Buddhist in the 13th century. Zen style temples have the main buildings, Sanmon, Butsuden, and Hato aligned on a central axis of the site. The Buddha Hall (Butsuden) is a one store structure with two layers of roofs, with several elements typical of the style such as the katomado windows.

³¹ When the new styles, Zenshuyo (禅宗様) and Daibutsuyo (大仏様) entered Japan all the Buddhist architecture before that was classified as Wayo (和洋).

of both Daibutsu and Zen styles. Sponsored by local political power relatively large structures, 5x5 bays halls, and 7x7 bays³² halls were built all around the country. In resume, the main characteristic of Buddhist halls from the Middle Ages is the eclectic Buddha hall, where the base of the design was the traditional Japanese Wayo style, but other styles, such as Zen style, were also mixed.

In residential architecture, the *Kenmenkiho* system was replaced by a new modular system based on tatami mats. However, the floor plan of Buddhist halls continued to be modulated by the *Ken* (間). The terminology changed, and the distinction between core and verandas disappeared. From the Middle Ages, the Buddhist hall would have the interior space divided into sacred space with images and sculptures and the worship space, which would be later covered with tatami mats.



5 Number of Buddhist Halls grouped by area and construction period

³² 1 bay or 1 ken (間) is approximately 1.82m, the size varies a little from region to region.

Regarding the most common size of Buddha halls of the 16th century, based on the data published by the Japanese Ministry of Education³³, excluding round shaped halls, there are 440 Buddha Halls, all designated by Japan as important cultural property. On the next graph we organized the data of the Buddha Halls existing today by construction date and location (figure 5). The graph shows that most of the Buddha Halls were constructed between Late Kamakura period (1275-1332) and Early Edo (1615-1660). The area which has the most number of halls is the Kansai region. The graph shows that there is no Buddha hall left from the period the Jesuits were in Kyushu. Among the 440 Halls, 316 Halls were built before 1614.

I organized the Buddha Hall's data by the size, the number of bays and the period it was built. The table only includes Buddha halls constructed before the Jesuits expulsion from Japan, in 1614 (figure 6).

	35x5	15x4	11x4	9x7	9x6	9x5	9x4	7x9	7x8	7x7	7x6	7x5	7x4	7x3	6x6	5x8	5x7	5x6	5x5	5x4	4x4	3x7	3x5	3x4	3x3	3x2	1x2	1x1	Total	
Nara (710-793)				1		2						1	3						1	1						1			11	
Heian (794-114)			1								1	1	1							2	3				4	3		1	1	18
Kamakura (1185-1274)	1								1					1	1	1				1	3	5			2	7		1	1	25
Kamakura (1275-1332)							1			1		3	1				1	2	17	2				1	2	8		1	41	
Muromachi I (1333-1392)					1			1	3	2	1						3	11	6			1	1		16			1	47	
Muromachi II (1393-1466)		1							2	2	2						1	1	15	4				4	12	1		45		
Muromachi III (1487-1572)						1		1	2	1		2	23	4	1				2	23	4	1			11	38	1	1	86	
Momoyama (1572-1614)						1		1	2	2	3	1			1		1	9	3	1		5	2	8	2	2	1	43		
Total	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	2	9	10	7	11	2	1	2	2	10	81	28	2	1	7	25	92	6	2	6	316	

6 Construction period and the Buddha hall size, indicated by number of bays

The table shows that the most common type of Buddha Halls were the 3x3 halls (29%) and the 5x5 halls (26%), which had an area smaller than 200 m². The data confirms that from the Muromachi period several small and middle size Buddha halls were built.

In resume, the most common style for Buddhist hall during the period the Jesuits were in Japan was the hipped-gabled single roof hall, in the Wayo style with elements of Zen architecture. Therefore the Buddha hall the Jesuits received to convert into a church was probably a hall in the Wayo style, incorporating elements of Zen style architecture, with a 5x5 bays or 3x3 bays floor plan and an area inferior to 200 m².

³³ 文化庁監修「国宝・重要文化財大全11建造物上巻」毎日新聞社、1998.

3. Characteristics of Jesuit church architecture

The Jesuit architecture was for longtime associated with Baroque architecture, but recent researchers have shown that no particular architectural style was adopted by the society in the construction of their churches or houses. Regarding architectural style, the Jesuits were the most flexible of the Catholics orders, and very good at adapting their buildings to local social-historical context³⁴. Jesuit architecture has 3 phases. The First phase, 16th century period, is characterized by the simplicity, austerity and functionality of the buildings. The Second phase, between 16th and 17th century, was marked by the construction of important centers establishing the typology for collegial complexes. The third phase, 17th century, emphasized the décor and scenography of existing building instead the construction of new ones³⁵.

Although flexible regarding architecture style the society had norms for construction, called “*Nostrus Modus*”, or “our way”. The Society was faithful to its goals, planed its architectural activity with the criteria of hygiene, modesty, and functionality. Simplicity and functionality of construction was critical, and the simple nave was the most common plan choose for churches.³⁶ The expression “our way” appears in the texts and letters of the Society, and is not an invention of modern scholars.³⁷

The Society tried to establish rules regarding architecture and how to build. In the General Congregation of 1558 were set few regulations regarding construction. According to those rules, the buildings of the society should be simple, salubrious and adapted to the socio-historical context. The second Congregation (1565) was more specific and forced the submission of floor plans to the approval of the General before construction³⁸. The norms applied to plans submitted for approval to the superior general in Rome were practical, functional, and financial rather

³⁴ Fernandez ZAMORA, *La arquitetura Jesuítica: Actas del Simposio Internacional*, Zaragoza, 2010, pp. 6-8.

³⁵ Luciano PATETTA, *Arquitetura da Companhia de Jesus entre maneirismo e barroco*, Actas II Congresso Internacional do Barroco, Faculdade de Letras d U. Porto (FLUP), 2003, pp. 389-400.

³⁶ John W. O'MALLEY, Gauvin A. BAILEY, Giovanni SALE: *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540-1773* Saint Josephs University Press, November 1, 2005, Prologue xiii.

³⁷ *Ibid.* 33, p. 38.

³⁸ Jean VALLERY-RADOT. *Le Recueil De Plans D'édifices De La Compagnie De Jésus Conservé À La Bibliothèque Nationale De Paris: Suivi De L'inventaire Du Recueil De Quimper Par Jean Vallery-Radot Et De L'inventaire des Plans des Archives Romaines De La Compagnie Par Edmond Lamalle* S.i. Rome: Inst. Hist. S.I, 1960. p. 7.

than aesthetic. The Jesuits did not impose a specific style and tried to respect local culture and traditions³⁹. Besides, only the floor plans of the buildings were checked, the architectural style was left in charge of the constructor. However, sending plans to the General approval in Rome was time consuming, and some provinces asked for model plans to be used on the construction of the churches. In a failed attempt to solve this problem, De Rosis⁴⁰ proposed six middle size churches model plans to simplify and uniform the spatial distribution of new buildings. De Rosis developed the plan on the longitudinal direction and proposed a single nave or three naves floor plan, with lateral chapels, three apses at the end and contracted transepts.

The Society “Our way” of building implied specific ways of organizing and managing a building site and indicated the criteria to determine the economic and orderly conduct of a project. The Society of Jesus criteria to build was determined by practicality, functionality, and simplicity. It recommended the use of a simple model of architecture, the church with a single nave. The church as a spacious room, as proposed in Roman architectural circles of the age by Antonio da Sangallo the younger⁴¹.

4. Jesuit architecture in Japan: Jesuit Manuscripts, Valignano Principles for Japan and Nanban Screens

The Jesuit built several houses and churches in Japan, but no building survived the 17th-century Christian persecution. However, Jesuit manuscripts and 17th-century Japanese folding screens (Nanban Screens) provide descriptions of the Jesuit missionaries architecture in Japan.

Jesuit missionaries brought from Europe Catholic artworks to the Asian missions. They believed images were an important tool to overcome their biggest obstacle: the language barrier. Later, they invited Italians, Spanish and Portuguese painters to join the mission in Asia. These painters founded art academies to train indigenous artists in the styles and iconographies of European Catholic imagery.⁴² Francisco Xavier followed by Alexandro Valignano recognized the importance of adapting Catholic art

³⁹ John W. O'MALLEY (2005), p. 29.

⁴⁰ Giovanni de ROSIS, *Ideal Designs for Jesuit Churches. Ink on paper*, 1580 Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. Campori 1.1.50.

⁴¹ John W. O'MALLEY (2005), p. 31.

⁴² O'MALLEY (2005), p. 315.

to the cultural context of the host community. The architecture of the Japanese mission was even more adapted to the local cultural context than the painting. Jesuit churches in Japan used materials taken from Buddhist temples and residences. They were built by Japanese carpenters and used Japanese traditional timber architecture techniques: a hipped-gabled roof and post-and-lintel structure. Although long destroyed, the Jesuit Church of the Assumption in Kyoto (1576), known in Japan as the Nanban-dera (Southern Barbarian Temple) survives in descriptions and paintings, such as the seventeenth-century fan at Kobe City Museum.⁴³ In the manner of Buddhist temples, the Kyoto Assumption Church had the main hall of worship and a separated rectangular building. A wall with gates surrounded the courtyard or open cloister.

Alessandro Valignano visited Japan twice: 1581 and 1592. Based on the information he gathered during the first visit he elaborated a manuscript with rules and advice that determined how the Jesuits missionaries were to behave and how they were to construct and maintain the buildings of the Society.⁴⁴ In the 7th chapter of his “Advertimentos” (advices) he detailed explained how to build the houses and churches of the Society.⁴⁵

It is necessary that we know how to receive guests in the Japanese way and that we should adapt the construction of our churches and houses to their costumes. To correctly fulfill with the Japanese courtesy and way of hosting we should construct our building in the Japanese style. Otherwise, our buildings may be interpreted as bad architecture and found inconvenient to the service and other necessities.⁴⁶

Valignano emphasized the importance of cultural accommodation and ordered that the buildings of the Society respected Japanese culture and tradition. However, regarding building churches, Valignano advised oppositely. He ordered the churches to be constructed in the European way, with the nave longer in the profundity and not wide, as Japanese Buddhist

⁴³ Miyako no Nanbandera zu, Momoyama period (end of 16th Century), painted by Kano Soshu, Kobe City Museum (Access Nov.2016) http://www.city.kobe.lg.jp/culture/culture/institution/museum/meihin_new/404.html.

⁴⁴ Josef F. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano, Alessandro: Il Cerimoniale Per I Missionari Del Giappone: Advertimentos E Avisos Acerca Dos Costumes E Catangues De Jappão: Importante Documento Circa I Metodi Di Adattamento Nella Missione Giapponese Del Secolo XVI: Testo Portoghese Del Manoscritto Originale, Versione Letterale Italiana*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letterature, 1946 (2nd en 2011), pp. 270, 278, 280.

⁴⁵ Op. cit 18, p. 270.

⁴⁶ Op. cit 18, p. 146.

halls were. On both sides of the nave, there should be several *Zashiki*,⁴⁷ in the Japanese style, with sliding doors that could be removed and the space of the *Zashiki* integrated to the nave when necessary. The *Zashiki* was to assure that the Lords had space, separated from the crowd, to be with their wives inside the church.⁴⁸ According to Valignano, the churches should have a single nave with side *Zashikis* instead of chapels.

Valignano also ordered that the churches had verandas. In front of the church, there should be a garden, in accord with traditional Japanese style. This instruction was particularly challenging since Japanese gardens are built at the south side of the building while Catholic churches usually have the entrance on the west. Near the verandas, there should be a roofed space with water, for those who came to the church to wash their feet, and very clean latrines conveniently parted from the church.⁴⁹ These features resemble a Buddhist temple site, where the buildings usually have verandas, and there is always a place to wash. The necessity of a place to wash the feet and the existence of *Zashiki* also suggest that people took shoes off to enter the church, the floor was presumably covered with *tatami* mats and people sat on the floor.

Valignano also advised to build a pair of *Zashiki* near the church, to receive the ladies that came to see the priests, in a way that they do not need to enter and could not see inside of the Society house. On the *Nabandera Zu* (Kobe city museum) we can see two ladies leaving the building on the corner of the site, a scene that corresponds to Valignano instructions.

Valignano resumed his advice by emphasizing that the houses and churches should be wisely planned in accord with the Japanese tradition and that before planning any building an expert, a Japanese carpenter, should be consulted. He also ordered the buildings to be designed in a manner to allow the addition of rooms when necessary. He ordered that from now (1582) no new facility should be constructed before having the plan checked by the Superior of Japan. Valignano tried to impose a system of monitoring the projects for new constructions similar to the system used by the Society in Europe.

⁴⁷ *Zashiki* (座敷) : literally means a room to sit, is a room to received guest designed in the *Shoin* style. A *Zashiki* should have the floor covered with *tatami* mats, an alcove at the wall (*Tokonoma*) and a window with a built-in desk (*Tsukeshoi*) among other decorative elements.

⁴⁸ VALIGNANO, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁴⁹ VALIGNANO, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

According to Schütte, Valignano rules probably never reached Japan. However, Schütte says that the *Advertimentos* also reflected what Valignano had seen in the Missions during his visit.⁵⁰ The fact that Valignano emphasizes that Buddhist temples were not appropriated to be used as churches confirms that he saw Buddhist halls converted into churches.

The 17th-century folding screens by the Kano school of painting, known as the Nanban screens depicted Jesuit architecture in Japan. The oldest Nanban screens date from 1593-1605 and are associated with Kano Naizen (1570-161). The Nanban screens usually are variations of the same motif: the arrival of the Black ship and the Nanbanjin (foreigners). The screens are divided into three categories:

Category I: Left Screen- Black ship anchored at a Japanese Port; Right screen- Nanbanjin gyoretsu (foreigners parade) and the buildings associated with them.

Category II: Left screen: Departure of the Black ship from a foreign port; Right screen: Black Ship anchored at a Japanese port, the foreigner's parade and related buildings.

Category III: The same episodes painted on the 2nd category but assembled in one panel.⁵¹

Now a day exists about 91 Nanban screens.⁵² Not all screens showed pictures of buildings being used by the Jesuits. The Nanban screens that pictured buildings being used by the Jesuits can be organized into two groups.

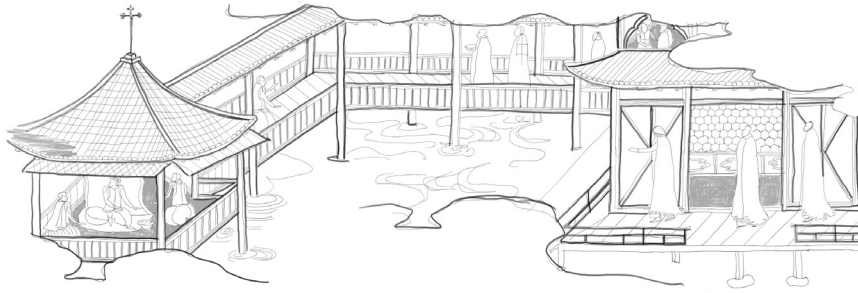
In the first group (fig7), we see two pavilions connected by a corridor. The corridor is built over water. The interior of the buildings had the floor green, probably to represent tatamis mats. The smaller pavilion on the left resembles a 3x3 bays Buddhist temple; it has a square floor plan with a pyramidal hipped roof. In most the screens in this group, there are foreigners drinking tea in this building. On the right side of the screen, there is a bigger building with Jesuit priests standing in front of it. In some screens this building is two stores high, while in others it is only one store high. Some screens show the interior of the building on the right:

⁵⁰ Josef F. SCHÜTTE, *Valignano, Alessandro: Il Cerimoniale Per I Missionari Del Giappone: Advertimentos E Avisos Acerca Dos Costumes E Catangues De Jappão: Importante Documento Circa I Metodi Di Adattamento Nella Missione Giapponese Del Secolo XVI: Testo Portoghese Del Manoscritto Originale, Versione Letterale Italiana*. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letterature, 1946 (2nd en 2011).

⁵¹ Alexandra CURVELO, *Nanban folding screen Masterpieces*, Chandeigne, p. 201.

⁵² SAKAMOTO (2008).

green floor (tatami mats), other screens had the doors closed, not showing the interior of the building. Among the 91 Nanban screens analyzed, 21 screens presented this pattern of composition.



7 Group 1 style of buildings: 2 pavilions connected by a corridor over water and people drinking tea⁵³

As an example of a screen with this type of composition, we have the screens from Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Porto (c.1600-1610-Cat-egory I)⁵⁴. On the right screen was painted buildings related with the Jesuits, two pavilions connected by a corridor. The pavilions have a check-board floor of white and blue, while the corridor is a light brown collared floor. The pavilion on the left is smaller and has only one floor. The floor plan is square and the hipped pyramidal roof has a cross decorating the

⁵³ The screens are: Particular Collection (K family) early 17th century (1610 Kano school), Particular Collection (T family), early 17th century (1610 Kano School), Freer Gallery of Art Screen, 17th century (1630's), Kanagawa Prefectural Museum of Cultural History, early 17th century, MOA Art Museum Screen, 17th century (second half 1630's), Unknown (Former Nakai Family Collection), early 17th century, Unknown, (Osaka City Art Museum), 18th century or later, Muroji Screen, early 17th century (1630's-1640's), The Dayton Art Institute, early 17th century but has been restored, re-painted, Unknown (former Ike-naga Family collection), Guimet Museum, early 17th century, Private Collection, early 17th century, Private Collection (Hotoji Temple Collection), Toyamashi Sato Memorial Museum, early 17th century (1630's), Amsterdam National Museum Screen, early 17th century (1630's-1640's), Private Collection (N Family) Screen, early 17th century, Idemitsu Museum Screen, early 17th century (1620?), Kano School Style, Nagasaki Museum of History and Culture, early 17th century (1620's ?), Soares de Luis Museum Screen, early 17th century, Northern Culture Museum Screen, early 17th century (1610-1620), Kano school.

⁵⁴ CURVELO (2015), p. 45.

ridge. The *shitomido*⁵⁵ type windows are opened. There are three foreigners drinking tea inside the building. The structure on the right has two floors, and there are people on the second floor looking from a semi-circle windows. It has black planks walls on the first floor, and the rafters of all the structures are red. Another example is the Idemitsu Museum of Art's Screen (early 17th century-Category I). On this screen, there are people on the second floor of the building on the right, they are looking through a flower shaped window. The screen of Musée National des Arts Asiatiques –Guimet, Paris (early 17th century- Category I) show a similar composition, but on the ridge of the pyramidal hipped roof instead of a cross, a Phoenix is decorating the roof ridge.

In the second group, the Jesuit buildings are composed of two buildings, a prayer hall (church) and a lecture hall. In some screens, the prayer hall is on the left, and in others, it is on the right. Some screen showed the lecture hall with two floors while on others it has only one floor. Among the 91 screens, 26 screens showed this kind of composition.

An example of a screen showing this kind of composition is the folding screen from Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (c1593-1614 - Category I) on the left the screen there is a black ship anchored at a Japanese Port, and the right screen has the foreigners parade and buildings related to the Jesuits. The buildings are a composition of two halls connected by a corridor. The floor of the corridors and verandas is painted on a check-board of two different tones of gray, suggesting a stone floor, while the interior of the building has a green floor, probably representing tatami mats. The pavilion on the left resembles a 3x3 bays Buddhist temple; it has a square floor plan with three layers of pyramidal shape hipped roof. The ridge is decorated with something that resembles a Shigi⁵⁶. A lattice wall divides the interior of the building, echoing again a Buddhist hall where the sacred space (*Naijin*) is separated from the worship space (*Gejin*). There are brackets (*Kumimono*) of the three hands type (*Mitesaki*) over two layers of the pillars heads, of the first roof and the Mokoshi roof⁵⁷.

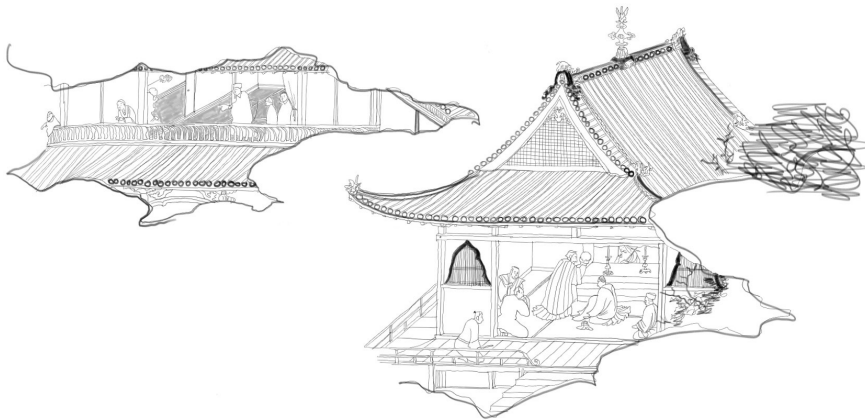
⁵⁵ Shitomido (葺戸) are wooden shutters with crisscross lattice and each shutter section is divided horizontally. It opens out and swings up so that it can be held in place by metal fixtures. *Shitomido* first appeared in the aristocracy residences during the Heian period. It can also be found in various temple and shrine buildings. Originally these shutters were made in a single piece to fit the size of the bay (Ken間) but later were divided. (<http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/s/shitomido.htm>).

⁵⁶ Shigi is a roof ridge decoration used on the Temples from the Nara period, a good example is the main hall (Hondo) of Toshodaiji.

⁵⁷ Mokoshi (裳階) is a skirt roof.

The bigger pavilion on the right has two floors, and the interior is covered with tatamis mats. There are three people on the second floor. The first floor has *katomado*⁵⁸ style windows.

On the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon screen (c1593-1614-Cat-egory I)⁵⁹, we have a similar composition. However, in this screen, the bigger pavilion is on the left, it has a square plan of 5x5 bays, the roof is hipped-gabled, and the building is gabled entered. There is a cross in the center of the roof ridge. The building has *Shitomido* windows, which are opened, showing tatamis mats covering the floor inside. The wood structural elements have the natural wood color, and *funahijiki*⁶⁰ type of brackets. The smaller building, on the right, has a square floor of 3x3 bays. It has a pyramidal shape hipped roof with a cross on the top. The walls are made of planks, the door in the middle is opened, showing people kneeling on tatami mats and praying inside the hall. There is a black and red altar at the back of the room.



8 Group 2: two halls connected by corridors, people praying, smaller building on the right, left two floors structure

⁵⁸ Katomado (花頭窓) are a kind of window with a curvilinear top part. It has an ogee-type pointed top with a series of S-like curves on either side of the peak. It dates from end of the Muromachi period to the Momoyama period and is mainly associated with Zen style temple buildings. (<http://www.aisf.or.jp/%7Ejaanus/deta/k/katoumado.htm>).

⁵⁹ CURVELO (2015), p. 23.

⁶⁰ Funahijiki (舟肘木) is a bracket placed directly on top of a pillar to carry a purlin on the shape of a boat. This bracket is thought to be of Japanese origin and not imported from China. (<http://www.aisf.or.jp/%7Ejaanus/deta/f/funahijiki.htm>).



9 Group 2 variation smaller building on the left and the two floors structure on the right.

The screen from Kobe City Museum, (early 17th century- category II) has the Nanban buildings on the right corner of the right screen. Here again, we have two buildings, a bigger one on the left with two floors and a smaller one on the right. The picture only shows the second floor of the building on the left; there are three Jesuits inside and one at the veranda, he is looking down. The building has the floor covered with tatami and divided by sliding doors (*fusuma*⁶¹). The picture shows part of the brackets and *kaerumata*⁶² of the first floor of the building among the golden clouds. The building on the right is smaller, probably a 5x5 bays size. It has a hipped-gabled roof, and the entrance of the building is at the gable end side. There is a cross decorating the center of the roof ridge. Inside the building there are two priests and three people praying, the floor is covered with tatamis mats, and there is a black altar on the center-back of the building. The buildings have plank walls and *katomado* style windows.

The screens of Nanban Bunakan, Osaka (early 17th century- Category II) shows the same two halls motif. The structure on the left is probably 5x5 bays size, a priest is reading for several people inside, and two people on the veranda outside. The interior is covered with tatami mats and divided by sliding doors. The walls have no windows. The building on the right also has a 5x5 bays floor plan, a hipped-gabled roof and the building is entered by the gable end side. There are three priests inside doing a ceremony and people watching it from the veranda. The building has tatami mats; it has the altar at the center and no interior division.

⁶¹ Fusuma (襖) are sliding-door panels constructed of wooden frames and covered with layers of thick paper or silk on both sides. (<http://www.aisf.or.jp/%7Ejaanus/>).

⁶² Kaerumata (髯股) is a strut with legs spread like those of a frog. (<http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/k/kaerumata.htm>).

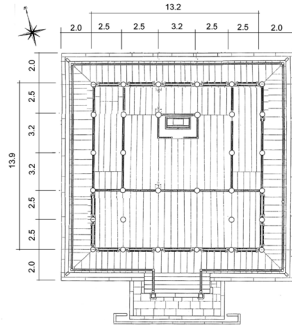
The screen of Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon (early 17th century-Category III) has only one screen. There is only a little building on the right corner of the screen that appears to have a relation with Jesuits priests. It has a square floor plan, and pyramidal hipped roof with a cross decorating the ridge. The most interesting aspect of this picture is the mixture of windows styles. The front wall has *shitomido* type windows while the side walls have *katamodo* type windows. This combination of *shitomido* windows and *katamodo* does not exist on Japanese traditional architecture.

In resume, the Nanban screens show two patterns of design for the Jesuit buildings. Both patterns have two buildings, a bigger one and a smaller one, connected by corridors. Most of the buildings have *shitomido* windows, and few have *Katamodo* windows. The buildings have the interior covered with tatami mats on most of the screens, and when the roof is hipped-gabled, the entrance is on the gable end. 91 Nanban screens were analyzed, and only 48 screens pictured Jesuit related buildings. Those screens showed two scheme of buildings. The screens on group 1 always had two buildings connected by open corridors, the smaller building on the left with opened *shitomido* windows and people drinking tea inside. Rafters and other structural elements were red. The screens on group 2 showed two buildings, a bigger one and a smaller one, which had an altar and many times people were praying inside. This hall had a hipped-gabled roof and was entered by the gabled end. In some of the screens, the bigger building had two floors while in the others it was a single floor hipped-gabled building. We see the use of *funahijiki* and the natural wood color of the structural elements, probably to emphasize the Japanese origin of the building.

5. Converting a Buddhist Temple into a church

Here based on the analyses above I will propose a floor plan for a Buddha hall converted into a church. At the time the Jesuits were in Japan the most common type of Buddha hall was the Mikyo hall, 3x3 bays or 5x5 bays size. These small halls were built and maintained by local lords. We chose the Jodoji Buddha hall (浄土寺本堂), a 5x5 bays hall built in 1327 in Hiroshima prefecture, Onomichi city⁶³ (fig. 5). This Buddha hall shows the typical characteristics of a Mikyo hall: it is in the Wayo style and incorporates elements of Zen style architecture. The hall has a

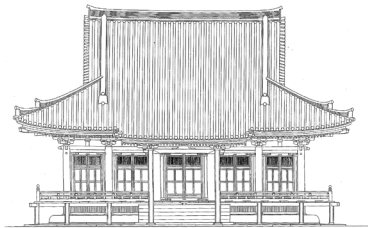
⁶³ 1933 National treasure Jodouji repair reports 国宝浄土寺修理委員会、国宝並びに重要文化財 浄土寺本堂、多宝塔、山門修理工事報告書、昭和8年6月。



Floor Plan



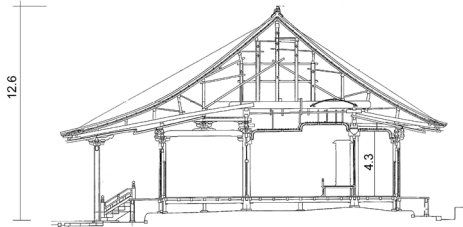
South (Front) Facade



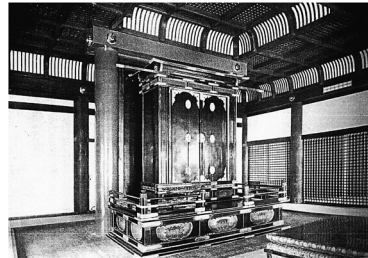
Front Elevation



West Facade View



South-North Section

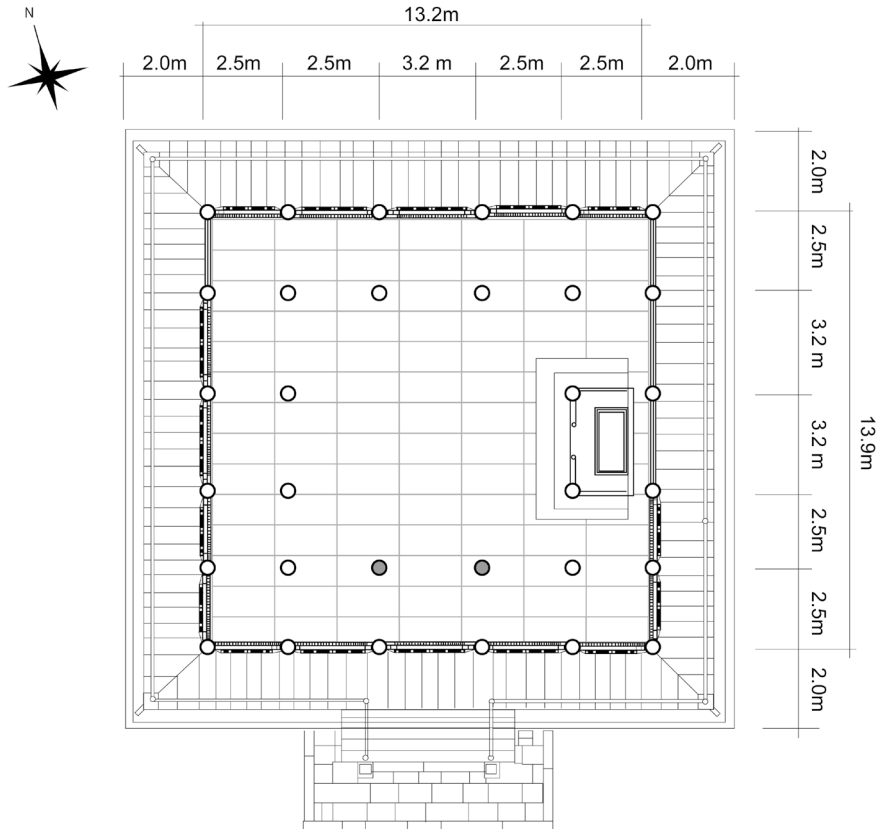


Interior View

10 Jodoji Buddha hall⁶⁴

hipped-gabled roof covered with *hongawara* type tiles. The building faces south and is entered on the hipped side of the roof. The hall has brackets of the type *Degumi* (出組), whit small posts (*Kentotsuka* 間斗束) and two layers of rafters at the roof eaves (*Futanoki-shigedaruki* 二軒繁垂木). The floor plan has 5x5 bays, with the bays of the center larger than the corner

⁶⁴ The figure is an arrangement of drawings and pictures from repair report, 国宝浄土寺修理委員会、国宝並びに重要文化財 浄土寺本堂、多宝塔、山門修理工事報告書、昭和8年6月。



11 Floor plan proposal of a Buddhist Hall converted into a church.

ones. The interior of the temple is divided by lattice walls in the worship space (*Geijin*) and the space with the images and sculpture (*Naijin*).

The Nanban screens have shown that the buildings of the Jesuits had the floor covered with tatamis, the structure for praying was entered from the gable end of the hipped-gabled roof, the altar at the back, and no interior division. Also since the Jesuits way of buildings, “Nostrus Modus”, meant to be practical and economical, I refrained the alterations of the temple floor plan to a minimum. I propose to move the entrance to the west facade of the building and to place the altar opposite to the entrance, on the east end of the plan, respecting the catholic churches tradition. To make this alteration possible a plank wall on the west side was

switched with a door from the south side. Since the bays have the same size, this kind of alteration was probably very easy. The division of the interior was eliminated. To make the interior design symmetric two pillars (fig. 6 pillars in gray) have to be slid to the south, what is structurally possible. Valignano in his “Advertimentos” ordered that zashikis were built like chapels on both of the naves side. Due the small size of the building, the zashikis would have to be very small, under 4 tatamis mat size, reason why here I opted for not adding zashikis on the sides of the nave.

I propose covering the floor with tatami mats. However, tatamis were not popular and very expensive during the 16th, covering the floor with tatamis would have been the most expensive part of the reform. Finally, these changes on the floor would generate a replacement of the ceiling because it had different designs for the *Naijin*, *Gejin* and the altar.

6. Conclusion

The Jesuit correspondence shows that the Jesuit received Buddha halls to be converted into churches. The most common type of Buddha Hall during the 16th century was the Mikyo hall, a middle size building of 3x3 bays or 5x5 bays, in the traditional Wayo style.

According to former researches, the Jesuit architecture did not have an architectural style, was very flexible and adapted according to the local technical and cultural context. Also, the Jesuits have a policy called “Noster Modus”, which did not impose an architectural style but a set of rules to assure that the buildings were functional, economical and salubrious. The politic of adaptation was also supported by A. Valignano, the responsible for the Asian mission. In his rules for building in Japan he ordered the use of traditional techniques and architectural styles.

The Nanban screens have shown that there were always two buildings, a bigger one for lecture and a smaller one from praying. The building used Japanese traditional techniques, had a hipped gabled roof, was entered from the gable end and had tatami mats covering the floor.

Finally, with very few alterations, I proposed a floor plan of a Buddhist hall converted into a church. The entrance of the hall was moved to the west side and the altar placed at the east end. I showed here that the Jesuit received Buddhist halls to be used as churches and with minus changes was possible to convert it into a church.

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«O culto ao diabo» na Inquisição de Goa, segundo o *Reportorio* de João Delgado Figueira (1623)

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Resumo

Partindo do *Reportorio* do inquisidor João Delgado Figueira, à guarda da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, pretendemos saber o que se entende por «culto ao Diabo», nas regiões sob alçada da Inquisição de Goa. Embora lacónicas, as notícias aí inscritas permitem-nos constatar que os inquisidores tinham problemas em destringir entre categorias de acusação afins, o que revela, para esse período, uma certa dificuldade em interpretar a realidade local a ser «processada». Inquisidores, e alguns dos réus e testemunhas, interpretariam certamente determinados cultos locais no espectro das suas crenças relativas a um universo mágico na Europa, o que explica a adesão àqueles de um diversificado número de acusados, inclusivamente de reinóis de alta estirpe.

Palavras-chave: diabo, cultos, magia, Índia, Inquisição.

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Abstract

Taking into consideration the *Reportorio* of the inquisitor João Delgado Figueira, kept by the National Library of Portugal, we address the question of what meant the «worship of the devil» in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Goa. Although brief, the information listed in *Repertório* allows us to recognise the difficulty to differentiate types of accusation related to that category. This difficulty seems to reveal misapprehension of the local context by the Inquisition. Inquisitors, and a few defendants and witnesses, certainly would interpret certain local rituals in the light of their beliefs related to a magical universe in Europe, which explains the practice of these rituals by a significant number of defendants, including high ranked *reinóis*.

Keywords: devil, worship, magic, India, Inquisition.

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«O culto ao diabo» na Inquisição de Goa, segundo o *Reportorio* de João Delgado Figueira (1623)

José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva Tavim

Introdução

O objectivo deste artigo é tentar reconhecer o que designa, no Oriente, a Inquisição de Goa, como culto ao Diabo. A base fundamental deste estudo é o famoso *Reportorio* do inquisidor João Delgado Figueira, de 1623. Autor e obra já foram alvo de um estudo nosso, no contexto da documentação que restou da depauperada Inquisição de Goa (assim como os motivos deste fenómeno), pelo que nos escusamos a tecer mais considerações sobre este assunto¹.

A eleição desta fonte e, logo, do período a que diz respeito, deve-se ao facto de esta permitir uma outra espessura da análise do conjunto social acusado de tal prática, assim como das complexidades desta. De facto, como mostram os estudos de Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes, para um período posterior – o século XVIII –, embora se revele um número significativo de pessoas acusadas de culto ao Diabo, ou seja, 180, na primeira metade daquele século, a estreiteza maior do tecido social dos acusados – esmagadoramente cristãos de origem local – e um maior laconismo das fontes dificultam a prossecução da perspectiva que aqui se apresenta². Por outro lado, as listas de acusações da Inquisição de Goa que «sobreviveram», para um período posterior, e em que a autora se baseia, à guarda da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Reservados), mostram uma outra faceta: se no primeiro dos códices (201), relativo aos anos 1685-1745, o Demónio, se bem que sumariamente referido, ainda é uma presença notória (mas não notável), dizendo-se muitas vezes que tal pessoa de origem indígena é «arreptícia» (ab-reptícia) ao Diabo (no sentido de arrebatada ou possessa);

¹ Vide José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva TAVIM, «Um inquisidor inquirido: João Delgado Figueira e o seu *Reportorio*, no contexto da 'documentação sobre a Inquisição de Goa'», *Leituras. Revista da Biblioteca Nacional*, Vol. 3, n.º 1 (Abril-Outubro, 1997), pp. 183-193; idem, «A Inquisição no Oriente (século XVI e primeira metade do século XVII)», *Mare Liberum*, Vol. 15 (1998), pp. 17-31.

² Vide Maria de Jesus dos Mártires LOPES, «A Inquisição de Goa na segunda metade do século XVIII. Contributo para a sua História», *Studia*, Vol. 48 (1989), pp. 237-262; idem, «A Inquisição de Goa na primeira metade de Setecentos: uma visita pelo seu interior», *Mare Liberum*, Vol. 15 (1998), pp. 107-136.

no segundo códice (202), que respeita a acusações que se desenrolaram entre os anos de 1765 e 1806 (portanto, no período do próprio fenecer do Tribunal da Inquisição), aquele é praticamente substituído pela designação «ídolo», de que se identifica por vezes o nome, como por exemplo «Rama» (राम – o sétimo avatar de Vishnu)³. Este fenómeno, aliado à imposição de outro léxico, como «superstição», «invocação», etc., revela uma maior permeabilidade dos inquisidores não só às culturas locais – nem que seja para as «processar negativamente» – mas porventura, também, aos indícios da cultura iluminista europeia, com o seu desprezo pelas imagens «torpes» do pacto e do mal demoníacos, e pelas quais os próprios inquisidores, por vezes tão adversos, também não deixaram de ser influenciados⁴. O conteúdo destes dois códices, pelo facto de reportar a uma cronologia posterior, e no âmbito de contextos culturais, metropolitanos e locais bastante diferenciados daquele a que respeita o manuscrito do Inquisidor João Delgado Figueira, ficará à espera do seu historiador.

Charles Amiel e Anne Lima revelam que, desde a fundação da Inquisição de Goa, em 1560, até 1623 (com base no manuscrito de Figueira), os acusados de práticas conotadas com o Hinduísmo ascendem a 40% dos réus, considerando que tal revela o «drame de ces pauvres gens mal convertis (étaient-ils même conscients d’être ‘convertis’?), dont le seul délit était de ne pouvoir répudier leurs pratiques ancestrales»⁵. Duas questões se colocam aqui. A primeira é a de que, sob o amplo leque da expressão *Hinduísmo* – não utilizada pelos inquisidores como categoria religiosa de acusação –, se desdobra uma série de atitudes e rituais (entre os quais se destaca o culto ao Demónio) que, como veremos de seguida, a Inquisição teve problemas em delimitar como motivo de acusação. Daí o facto de estes indivíduos poderem ser acusados de dois e até três delitos⁶. Segundo aspecto: se de facto há um número avultado de «cristãos da terra» acusados

³ BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL [BNP], *Reservados*, Cód. 202, fol. 116v^o.

⁴ Giuseppe MARCOCCI e José Pedro PAIVA consideram que a condenação por práticas mágicas teve um declínio evidente desde 1774. Mas já antes tal se pressentia: para os inquisidores, os condenados deixaram de ser aliados do Diabo, com quem teriam estabelecido pacto para obtenção de favores. Também denotaram que, mesmo para os confessados de pacto diabólico, as penas passaram a ser suaves – cf. *História da Inquisição Portuguesa (1536-1821)*, Lisboa, A Esfera dos Livros, 2013, pp. 367-369. Vide ainda José Pedro PAIVA, *Bruxaria e superstição num país «sem caça às bruxas» (1600-1774)*, Lisboa, Notícias Editorial, 2002, pp. 86-89.

⁵ Charles AMIEL e Anne LIMA, «L’Inquisition de Goa. Survol Historique», in *L’Inquisition de Goa. La relation de Charles Dellon (1687)*, Paris, Éditions Chandeigne, 1997, p. 71.

⁶ Consulte-se a base de dados <http://www.i-m.co/reportorio/reportorio/base.html>, dirigida por Bruno Feitler.

destas práticas – crescendo em contínuo na sequência do século XVII e durante o século XVIII –, como veremos, no caso do culto ao Diabo este móbil acusatório é transversal aos cristãos oriundos do reino, e até do ponto de vista social, visto que não há só pessoas humildes mas também nobres acusados de tal «crime». Ora, estas premissas são fundamentais para tentarmos entender o que os inquisidores consideram como culto ao Diabo no Oriente e que realidades subjazem nestas «traduções» de diversas dinâmicas culturais. É então altura de saber por que razão o «Diabo orda».

O Demónio pera ordar...

[...] Sabendo que em certo lugar estavam tesouros e que o demonio pera ordar pedia carneiros, lebres e galos e outras cousas ella com outras pessoas se hião aos ditos lugares levando as ditas cousas pera oferecem e sacrificarem ao diabo.

Assim dizia Madalena Brandoa, natural de Baçaim e aí residente, em 26 de Agosto de 1619⁷. Madalena era meia-cristã-nova, segundo a tipologia rácico-cultural dos inquisidores; e parece que esta identificação social não contagiou o carácter específico da acusação, que foi apenas a de procura de tesouro⁸.

Antes de mais devemos salientar que a tipologia inquisitorial distinguia o «gentilismo» de outras realidades que consideraria mais no espectro do culto demoníaco. O primeiro parecia apontar para a prossecução dos antigos cultos dos deuses e avatares indianos, fossem eles considerados demoníacos ou não, como a «consulta de feiticeiros» e a «adoração de pagodes». O culto demoníaco local, com a acusação de «sacrifício» ou «tesouro», parece distinguir-se do «gentilismo» e, como veremos, é interpretado na esfera da contaminação das ideias que percorriam a Europa acerca da magia e da bruxaria. Quiçá no caso da procura de riquezas haja mesmo um eco da actividade de pesquisa de tesouros dos mouros, na metrópole, utilizando magia⁹ – se bem que esta intenção também devesse fazer parte das tradições

⁷ BNP, Cód. 203 – João Delgado FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio Geral de três mil oito centos processos, que sam todos os despachados neste sancto Officio de Goa & mais partes da India, do anno de Mil & quinhentos & secenta & hum, que começou o dicto sancto Officio, até o anno de Mil & seis centos & vinte e tres (...)*, 1623 (doravante citado FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*), fol. 530.

Consulte-se também a base de dados <http://www.i-m.co/reportorio/reportorio/base.html>, dirigida por Bruno FEITLER.

⁸ Quantos aos cristãos-novos acusados de serem clientes de feiticeiras, vide Francisco BETHENCOURT, *O Imaginário da Magia: feiticeiras, saludadores e nigromantes no séc. XVI*, Lisboa, Projecto Universidade Aberta, 1987, pp. 189-190.

⁹ F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

culturais locais, dado o embate secular entre as várias entidades sociopolíticas locais e exteriores, que teriam levado ao conhecido ocultar de riquezas.

Mas nem sempre a delimitação é tão clara: por exemplo, em 1592 e em 1607, respectivamente o «cristão da terra» Lourenço Ferrão¹⁰ e o «moço da terra» Lopo Pereira¹¹ seriam apontados como autores de sacrifícios, por assim os executarem com bodes e galos, mas entregando-os aos pagodes; e em 1597 o cristão-velho António Gonçalves seria acusado de consultar feiticeiros e de sacrifício ao Demónio¹². Em 1619, a mestiça Luzia Pereira seria acusada de «cerimónias gentílicas», por pretender obter um tesouro com «cerimónias gentílicas em honra do diabo»¹³.

Os padrões da *performance* também não são fixos. Normalmente sacrificam-se animais domésticos, como vimos pelo depoimento de Madalena Brandoa. Por exemplo, em 1607, a bengali Ana Dias seria acusada de dar um frango em sacrifício¹⁴. O mesmo fez a brâmane baptizada adulta Antónia de Abreu – acusada em 1619 – com o objectivo de curar um filho¹⁵. Ainda em 1619, o homem da terra António de Ataíde seria acusado de sacrificar um galo e um bode¹⁶. Por vezes estes sacrifícios são acompanhados de música¹⁷. Outras vezes juntavam-se-lhes vegetais: em 1619, a viúva mestiça Maria Pereira, de Baçaim, foi acusada de tentar curar o seu marido por meio de um «gentio» que ofereceu um galo (degolado), arroz e farinha, em sacrifício ao Diabo¹⁸. Em 1620, Maria Teixeira, cristã-nova mestiça, foi apontada por chamar «gentios» para sacrificarem ao Diabo arroz, cocos e um galo, em troca da cura das suas doenças, assim como das de seu filho¹⁹. Em 1622, Andresa Pereira foi acusada de sacrificar ao Diabo galos, um cabrito e cocos²⁰. Mas todos estes elementos podem ainda ser substituídos por oblações e perfumes, como no caso do cristão-velho madeirense António Dinis, de 1623²¹.

¹⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 452.

¹¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 468vº.

¹² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 127.

¹³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 471.

¹⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 142.

¹⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 164.

¹⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 165vº.

¹⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 163vº.

¹⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 530.

¹⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 539.

²⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 171vº.

²¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 171vº.

O próprio sacrificante podia sacrificar-se. Tal como na metrópole, a consagração do pacto consubstancia-se em dar o seu próprio sangue ao Demónio, que era chupado por este e, por vezes, aproveitado para redigir um termo escrito do contrato²². Por exemplo, em 1568, o cativo das Molucas Luís, filho de pais muçulmanos, foi acusado de «Pacto com o Diabo», a quem deu sangue da sua perna²³. Também em 1597, a goesa mestiça Ana, cativa do sapateiro Jorge Pires, seria acusada apenas de «fazer pacto» com o Diabo e o adorar, dando-lhe sangue do seu corpo²⁴. Em 1619, Domingos da Costa, cristão-velho de Torres Vedras, seria apontado por oferecer perfumes e sangue do seu braço, ao Demónio, para obter um tesouro²⁵. O caso mais dramático, de 1572, parece ter sido o da cativa do Pegu, à tutela do capitão de Chaul, Luís Freire, e chamada Isabel: crendo no Demónio, deu-lhe sangue da mão esquerda, e com ele teve relações sexuais, que foram a causa do nascimento de um nado-morto – segundo os inquisidores, que por isso a acusaram de «Pacto com o Diabo»²⁶.

Outras vezes, como no caso de Ana, cativa do tanoeiro João Mendes, de 1597, a referência ao Demónio não está presente, mas sim apenas as expressões de acusação de feitiçaria ou sacrifícios, o que parece remeter, de forma lacónica para o mesmo género de culto²⁷.

Contudo, mesmo neste âmbito deve haver certas precauções, pois o sacrifício podia não ser dirigido especificamente a uma entidade considerada demoníaca: por exemplo, em 1600, António Vaz, residente na ilha de Chorão (Goa), seria acusado de procurar feiticeiros e de sacrificar «aos pagodes»²⁸. O mesmo sucede com o goês André Robert, em 1601²⁹. Aliás, também se podem juntar na mesma acusação elementos que são mencionados como outros indícios: por exemplo, em 1601, António de Siqueira, «gentio» baptizado em Cochim, seria acusado simultaneamente de consultar feiticeiros e de sacrifícios feitos ao Demónio³⁰; e também Isabel, mulher da terra, apontada por sacrifício aos pagodes e ao Diabo em 1623, foi apenas acusada de «gentilidade»³¹. Tal parece transparecer dificuldades

²² Cf. F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

²³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 441.

²⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 103v^o.

²⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 280.

²⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 389v^o.

²⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 127.

²⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 129v^o.

²⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 130v^o.

³⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 131.

³¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 436.

no enquadramento tipológico da acusação; ou então que na mesma acusação o réu pode ser indiciado por «crimes» que abrangem vários espectros, ficando à consideração dos inquisidores qual daqueles deve prevalecer. Mas outras vezes consideram os inquisidores, como no caso de D. João Pereira, natural de Soure e morador em Baçaim, de 1619, que o réu praticou cerimónias gentílicas e diabólicas³².

Porquê invocar o Demónio?

O Demónio *orda* quando o crente se lhe dirige. *Ordar*, como vimos no testemunho de Madalena Brandoa, parece remeter para o significado de executar, fazer aparecer. O Demónio pode ser invocado pessoalmente – como se presume da acusação de António de Albuquerque, natural de Bardez, de 1618³³ – ou através de sacrifícios, comumente de animais. Mas também se considera em 1619 que o cristão-velho André de Oliveira sacrificou um galo em «veneração» ao Diabo³⁴. Trata-se, na realidade, de uma economia de trocas simbólicas, semelhante à relação dos Homens com os Santos, mas no caso do Demónio considerada pelos Inquisidores como «pacto com o Diabo»³⁵.

Comunica-se com o Demónio através de sacrifícios, por vários motivos. Um dos mais comuns, como vimos acima, é a procura de tesouros. Do mesmo género de actividade foram acusados, em 1599, Martim Botelho, homem da terra, natural de Goa, que em troca ofereceu bodes e galos ao Diabo³⁶; o cristão-velho lisboeta António Domingues, casado pela segunda vez em Chaul, em 1602³⁷; o alfaiate «cristão da terra» André Vaz, natural de Goa e aí casado, acusado em 1606³⁸; o «homem da terra» Domingos Fernandes, também em 1606³⁹; o regatão goês Duarte de Sá⁴⁰ e Domingos Rodrigues, cristão da terra⁴¹, no mesmo ano; o regatão Jorge Cabral, «homem da terra», de Goa Velha, em 1607⁴²; o pedreiro António Rodrigues,

³² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 277vº.

³³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 162.

³⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 164vº.

³⁵ Vide F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 499vº.

³⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 132.

³⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 139.

³⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 261vº.

⁴⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 262.

⁴¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 270.

⁴² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 415vº.

de Pangim, em 1611⁴³; o lisboeta António Gomes, morador em Damão, também em 1611⁴⁴; o pescador António Caria, morador em Mormugão, no mesmo ano⁴⁵; António Álvares Mexia, natural de Baçaim, em 1619⁴⁶; ainda em 1619, Domingos da Costa, cristão-velho de Torres Vedras⁴⁷, Bárbara Gomes, mestiça de Chaul⁴⁸, Domingos Fernandes, «cristão da terra»⁴⁹, o mestiço Luís da Cunha de Azevedo, de Baçaim⁵⁰, o também mestiço de Baçaim, João Coutinho, acusado de sacrificar carneiros e galos ao Demónio, e a mestiça Luzia Pereira, através de cerimónias gentílicas⁵¹. Também foram acusados de procura do tesouro, através dos mesmos métodos, D. Maria de Sousa, de Baçaim, em 1619⁵²; D. Filipa, de Taná, no mesmo ano⁵³; António Lopes, natural de Diu, em 1620⁵⁴; Maria Trigueiro, originalmente muçulmana, que também em 1620 foi apontada por mandar degolar um carneiro como sacrifício ao Diabo⁵⁵; o goês Luís Serrão, em 1623; e o cristão-velho de Évora Luís Marques, ainda no mesmo ano⁵⁶.

Contudo, parecem ficar muitas vezes fora deste espectro as demandas de tipo maléfico, que remetem não para a entidade demoníaca, pelo menos directamente, mas sim para as artes da feitiçaria. Por exemplo, em 1616 o soldado português António de Proença, cristão-velho, natural de Penamacor, seria acusado apenas de «Consultar Feiticeiros» com o intuito de matar um homem⁵⁷; e o mesmo aconteceu com a cristã-velha de Damão, D. Branca de Melo, em 1619⁵⁸.

Pelo contrário, parece invocar-se o Demónio quando se quer afastar uma doença: assim procedeu em 1604 Helena Godinha, cristã-velha de Goa, que mandou degolar um bode ao Diabo, para lhe dar saúde, sendo

⁴³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 149v^o.

⁴⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 151.

⁴⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 153v^o.

⁴⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 166.

⁴⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 280.

⁴⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 206v^o.

⁴⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 281.

⁵⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 471.

⁵¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 471.

⁵² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 275.

⁵³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 275.

⁵⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 166v^o.

⁵⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 533v^o.

⁵⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 471v^o.

⁵⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 158v^o.

⁵⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 283.

apenas acusada de «Sacrifício»⁵⁹. Em 1619, o cristão-velho António Dias, nascido na Caparica mas morador em Baçaim, sacrificou um galo ao Diabo para «dar saúde a ele». O mesmo fizeram, no mesmo ano, António Leão, cristão da terra, e Alexandre Pereira, baptizado adulto, também moradores em Baçaim⁶⁰; o cristão da terra João Lourenço, de Taná, que foi acusado de sacrificar galos ao Diabo⁶¹; e ainda, na mesma localidade, o cristão-novo João Boto Machado, que também sacrificou um galo ao Diabo⁶²: mas igualmente, e ainda no mesmo ano, Maria de Valadares, natural de Chaul, que ofereceu um frango ao Demónio⁶³. Por vezes era outrem quem ordenava a cura de uma pessoa através de invocação ao Demónio: assim aconteceu com Maria Soares, cristã de Baçaim, acusada em 1619 de fazer com que um «gentio» curasse uma sua cativa, sacrificando este um galo ao Diabo para o efeito⁶⁴. No ano seguinte, Maria de Rafael, mestiça «cristã-velha», nascida e casada em Diu, seria apontada por consentir que certo «gentio» curasse seu marido com cerimónias gentílicas e sacrifício de um frango ao Diabo⁶⁵. E ainda no mesmo ano a mestiça Madalena Barreta, de Diu, foi simplesmente acusada de «consentir» que certas pessoas se curassem com um «gentio», dando por isso duas galinhas⁶⁶. Em 1620, o mestiço Manuel da Fonseca foi acusado de levar uma pessoa a curar pelo Diabo, dando dois galos para sacrifício⁶⁷. Outras vezes havia mesmo um interlocutor que incitava doentes a sacrificar galos por questões de saúde: é o caso do solicitador António de Noronha, «homem da terra», também de Baçaim, que em 1618 mandou certas pessoas curarem-se por meio de feiticeiros e sacrifício de três galos ao Demónio, tudo acompanhado de música⁶⁸. E o mesmo fez o mourisco António Pereira, em 1619⁶⁹. No ano seguinte, Maria Meira, mestiça de Diu, foi auxiliada por outra pessoa no sacrifício de uma galinha ao Diabo, por estar doente⁷⁰. Neste caso, os inquisidores consideram que as cerimónias realizadas pelos «gentios» para curar o cristão são diabólicas:

⁵⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 411vº.

⁶⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 163.

⁶¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 429vº.

⁶² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 429vº.

⁶³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 527vº.

⁶⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 530.

⁶⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 533vº.

⁶⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 534.

⁶⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 539.

⁶⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 163vº.

⁶⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 164 vº.

⁷⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 534.

assim acontece na acusação de «Consultar Feiticeiros», imputada à cristã-velha Maria de Aguiar, em 1598, nascida e casada em Ormuz – consultou feiticeiros «pera se curar com cerimónias diabólicas»⁷¹ –; de «Consulta» de feiticeiros para se curar, os quais «faziam cerimónias ao diabo», apontada à mulher da terra Maria Rodrigues, vivendo em Ormuz, no mesmo ano de 1598⁷²; e na de «Sacrifício», imputada a António Leão, cristão da terra, e morador em Baçaim, no ano de 1619⁷³. Temos assim notícias de que neste caso a Inquisição podia ultrapassar as fronteiras da sua alçada para castigar pessoas que nunca tinham sido cristãs: em 1579, o hindu Bituchori foi açoitado por proceder a invocações e sacrifícios ao Diabo, juntamente com cristãos⁷⁴. Também por vezes se davam os frangos aos próprios feiticeiros, para estes os sacrificarem ao Demónio, como se nota pelo caso de António Pessoa, «cristão da terra» e morador em Damão, de 1620⁷⁵. Outras vezes o requerente presta-se a dar tudo o que o Diabo pedir, em troca de um tesouro – foi o que fez D. Filipa, de Taná, em 1616⁷⁶.

O mundo diabólico é também apresentado como uma pluralidade: em 1620, António da Fonseca, cristão da terra, pretendeu curar-se através de cerimónias gentílicas e sacrifícios aos Diabos⁷⁷. No caso de Domingos do Rego, cristão velho de Freamunde, a necessidade de sacrifício ao Demónio advém do facto de este o ter «molestado» quando deitou fora uma lâmina onde o mesmo estava representado: tal provocou uma doença a quem trazia um relicário onde a lâmina se encontrava⁷⁸. E ainda no caso datado de 1598, da judia de Ormuz convertida ao Cristianismo com o nome de Maria de Sequeira, casada ali com o veneziano Jacome Antico, numa espécie de realidade invertida, foi o Diabo que lhe ordenou que procurasse um tesouro⁷⁹.

Não temos muita noção do tempo em que decorria o sacrifício, mas este devia verificar-se, por precaução, apenas durante um dia. No entanto, em 1620, a «cristã da terra» Maria do Couto, de Tarapor, seria acusada de sacrificar três galos ao Diabo, um em cada três dias, para curar o seu filho⁸⁰.

⁷¹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 502v^o.

⁷² FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 503.

⁷³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 163.

⁷⁴ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 183 v^o.

⁷⁵ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 167v^o.

⁷⁶ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 275.

⁷⁷ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 169v^o.

⁷⁸ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 277v^o.

⁷⁹ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 503.

⁸⁰ FIGUEIRA, *Reportorio*, fol. 539.

Que diabo!

Vimos acima que uma judia de Ormuz surge como acusada de culto ao Demónio⁸¹. Também os cristãos-novos de Cochim e Goa são acusados de culto a uma representação, que o discurso redutor dos inquisidores interpreta no âmbito do motivo maior de acusação, que é o da prática heterodoxa de um criptojudaísmo. É nestes primeiros processos, que de facto pertencem à Inquisição de Lisboa – visto que os réus foram enviados para a metrópole, estando os seus processos integrados neste tribunal, por não estar ainda estabelecida a Inquisição de Goa –, que se encontra uma descrição mais detalhada de «uma representação do foro religioso».

Em alguns processos abertos aos cristãos-novos na Índia portuguesa, de 1565, existem alusões a episódios de adoração de uma «Torá de metal». A testemunha Guiomar Fernandes acusará o acaudalado Diogo Soares, de Goa⁸², e outros cristãos-novos e judeus de Cochim desse «delito» – o que significa que não se cingia a este local. Mas a própria Guiomar Fernandes seria acusada de feitiçaria e pacto com o Diabo, o que mostra que tinha um conhecimento interno deste universo de rituais:

«Guiomar Fernandes, portuguesa christã-velha, de alcunha a champorrada, natural de Lisboa, filha de António Gonçalves e de Francisca Pinheira, por fazer pacto com o diabo, e a elle conhecer por Deus, e disso lhe dar hum escrito de seu sangue e fazer feiticerias e irreverencias a um crucifixo, abjurou de apartada com carcere e habito perpetuo e que fosse ao auto com carocha e corda ao pescoço».⁸³

No testemunho contra os cristãos-novos de Cochim Leonor Caldeira⁸⁴, Jácome de Olivares⁸⁵, e sua esposa Maria Nunes⁸⁶, Guiomar Fernandes

⁸¹ Vide supra nota 79.

⁸² Acerca de Diogo Soares, de Goa, vide sobretudo Ana Cannas da CUNHA, *A Inquisição no Estado da Índia. Origens (1539-1560)*, Lisboa, Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, 1995, pp. 37-38 e 215.

⁸³ FIGUEIRA, *Reportório*, fol. 353vº.

⁸⁴ Sobre Leonor Caldeira, vide José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva TAVIM, *Judeus e cristãos-novos de Cochim. História e Memória (1500-1662)*, Braga, Edições APPACDM Distrital de Braga, 2003, sobretudo pp. 180-181.

⁸⁵ Acerca de Jácome de Olivares, vide J. TAVIM, *op. cit.*, p. 183; e nomeadamente *idem*, «From Setúbal to the Sublime Porte. The Wanderings of Jácome de Olivares, New Christian and Merchant of Cochim (1540-1571)», in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*, vol. 2 (1995), pp. 94-134. Reeditado com a mesma paginação in Sanjay Subrahmanyam (ed.), *Sinners and Saints. The Successors of Vasco da Gama*, Deli, Oxford University Press, 1998.

⁸⁶ ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO [ANTT], *Inquisição de Lisboa (II)*, proc. 6369, fol. 56.

oferece-nos uma descrição da imagem em causa, à guarda do judeu Ruivo, originário de Setúbal, na cidade portuguesa de «Cochim de Baixo» ou Santa Cruz de Cochim:

hua thora de metal que tem a maneyra de bezerra, que tinha a mão esquerda haberta, e estendida, e a direyta fechada a qual estava em pee, arimada, a qual bezerra os sobredictos hião adorar⁸⁷.

Guiomar Fernandes acusaria também o cristão-novo de Goa, Diogo Soares, em 1558, de possuir em sua casa, em lugar escuso, num sótão, uma Torá de metal, como um bezerro pequeno com um livro grande nos pés⁸⁸, que outros cristãos-novos, como sua esposa Leonor Fernandes⁸⁹ e seu filho Lopo⁹⁰, também conheciam. Neste último caso poderíamos alegar que Guiomar ficcionou a relação entre a estátua daquilo que entende como uma bezerra e a verdadeira Torá, servindo aquela apenas como suporte desta última. E o mesmo se trata no caso dos cristãos-novos e judeus de Cochim? No processo da goesa Elvira Rodrigues, casada em Cochim com Diogo Vaz, a «Justiça Eclesiástica» profere que esta «adorava a bezerra»⁹¹. E de qualquer forma, parece singular que, segundo o depoimento de Guiomar Fernandes, a Torá seja suportada pela estátua de uma bezerra que tem pés e não patas, como seria de supor se fosse de facto uma representação daquele animal.

Parece pois que, nos depoimentos de Guiomar Fernandes relativos a Goa e a Cochim, estamos perante a representação de uma divindade que, segundo aquela, parecia um bezerro ou uma toura, mas com membros humanos. A própria tentativa de identificação da figura com a bezerra ou toura pode ser uma analogia semântica com a Torá judaica. Maria José Pimenta Ferro Távares informa, por exemplo, que o povo de Lamego costu-

⁸⁷ «Depoimento de Guiomar Fernandes na devassa contra a cristã-nova Leonor Caldeira», Cochim, 9.3.1558; ratificação na mesma cidade, em 3.8.1559, in ANTT, *IL*, proc. 7296, fol. 90v^o, pub. por José Alberto Rodrigues da Silva TAVIM, in «Os judeus e a Expansão Portuguesa na Índia. O exemplo de Isaac do Cairo: espião, 'língua' e 'judeu de Cochim de Cima'», *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Calouste Gulbenkian*, Vol. 33 (1994), p. 246. Vide ainda «Depoimento de Guiomar Fernandes na devassa contra o cristão-novo Jácome de Olivares», Cochim, 9.3.1558; ratificação na mesma cidade em 3.10.1559, in ANTT, *IL*, proc. 5265, fols. 72v^o-73, pub. por J. TAVIM, *idem*, p. 251.

⁸⁸ ANTT, *IL*, proc. 185, fol. 140. E ainda o processo de Lopo Soares, filho de Diogo Soares: ANTT, *IL*, proc. 2187, fol. 74.

⁸⁹ ANTT, *IL*, proc. 7631, fol. 81v^o. Acerca de Leonor Fernandes vide A. CUNHA, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁹⁰ ANTT, *IL*, proc. 2187, fol. 74. Acerca de Lopo Soares, vide A. CUNHA, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁹¹ ANTT, *IL*, proc. 4656, fol. 8.

mava queimar um boneco em forma de bezerra ou toura, para ridicularizar os cristãos-novos⁹². Mas a referência a este «animal» como sendo feito de metal, com pés e estando de pé, com a mão esquerda aberta e estendida, e a direita fechada, parece remeter para a figuração de uma entidade indiana, de difícil identificação, até pelo facto de Guiomar Fernandes proceder a um paralelismo semântico com a palavra Torá.

Os fenómenos culturais descritos permitem-nos contudo avançar a hipótese de se tratar de figuras de *yakshi* e *yakshini* (forma feminina), «génios» benévolos cuja função era proteger o seu príncipe *Kubera* (*Yaksharāja*), senhor das riquezas e tesouros, e oferecer sacrifícios; mas que, como «divindades menores», teriam mais possibilidades de se tornarem propícias às pretensões dos meros humanos⁹³. Gilles Tarabout, na sua obra *Sacrifier et donner à voir en Pays Malabar. Les fêtes de Temple au Kerala (Inde du Sud): étude anthropologique* revela a importância, mesmo hodierna, do culto dos *yakshi* naquela região, associados à árvore «pala» (*Alstonia scholaris*), de látex leitoso, que serve de sua morada. Em certos cortejos, os homens envergam máscaras destas entidades, executando movimentos graciosos, designados como *sundari yakshi*⁹⁴. Tal significa que os homens os «sentiam» perto de si, de tal forma que os podiam «incorporar». Aliás, *yakshi* e *yakshini* não escolheram como morada, não um longínquo lugar etéreo, mas uma próxima árvore especial? Como refere Jackie Assayag, considera-se que estas divindades, sendo mais impuras e carnívoras, e estando situadas na base do panteão cujo topo era ocupado pelas divindades mais longínquas e transcendentes, vivem na proximidade dos homens e, mais pragmáticas, estão por isso mais relacionadas com as actividades humanas⁹⁵. Estas elucidacões são preciosas para entendermos quer o carácter dos sacrifícios evocados nas acusações de culto ao Diabo no *Reportório*, incluindo inclusivamente o sangue dos requerentes; quer ainda a expressão enigmática de «o Demó-

⁹² Vide Maria José P. Ferro TAVARES, *Judaísmo e Inquisição. Estudos*, Lisboa, Presença, 1997, p. 93.

⁹³ Sobre os *yakshi* considera Alain DANIELOU: «D'après le *Bhāgavata Purāna* (5,24,5), Brama créa un grand nombre d'êtres divins et leur demanda: 'Quelle sera votre fonction?' Quelques-uns dirent: 'Nous offrirons des sacrifices' (*Yakshama*). Ils sont appelés *Yaksha-s*» – in *Mythes et Dieux de l'Inde. Le polythéisme hindou*, Paris, Éditions du Rocher, 1992, p. 211. Sobre estas entidades, vide por exemplo Louis FRÉDÉRIC, *Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Indienne*, Paris, Éditions Robert Laffont, 1987, p. 1152; e sobretudo Jackie ASSAYAG, *Au confluent des deux rivières. Musulmans et hindous dans le sud de l'Inde*, Paris, Presses de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1995, pp. 77-81.

⁹⁴ Paris, École Française d'Extrême-Orient-Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1986, pp. 218-221, 239-241.

⁹⁵ Cf. J. ASSAYAG, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

nio pera ordar» que, neste contexto, significaria realizar sacrifícios. Estes «génios» fariam sacrifícios como contrapartida daqueles que lhes eram dirigidos pelos «próximos» humanos: precisavam de ser «alimentados» para dirigir o sacrifício num sentido propício. Mas presumia-se também, como vimos pelo caso de Maria de Sequeira, que a sua proximidade dos humanos os faria ordenar que procurassem um tesouro⁹⁶. De qualquer maneira, a forma mais comum de contacto era, como já, vimos, a inversa: tornar o Diabo propício, através da oferta de uma matéria viva como sacrifício. Estamos assim perante o recurso a *balis* para a concretização de determinadas pretensões, no contexto da invocação destas entidades⁹⁷.

Resta questionar o que levava cristãos-velhos a invocar «génios» que se presumiria serem horrendamente representados. E, como vimos, temos pessoas de estatuto social elevado acusadas de «culto ao Diabo». De facto, estatuetas de *yakshi* e de *yakshini* abundam nos vários museus dedicados à antiga arte indiana, quer na Índia, quer fora dela, nomeadamente na Europa e nos Estados Unidos. Muitas vezes datam de tempos recuados, como aquelas que podem ser observadas no Goa State Museum – para citar um museu que cobre um espaço onde se desenvolveu parte dos episódios aqui enunciados⁹⁸. A questão é que, no caso da Índia, não estão frequentemente representados de forma repelente. Por exemplo, o *yaksha* de Bicholim, do século XII, estante no mesmo museu, pode dizer-se que tem um aspecto agradável e apaziguante (vide, figura 1). E ainda a título de exemplo podemos dizer o mesmo para a face de um *yaksha* à guarda do famoso Museum für Asiatische Kunst de Berlim, de Sanchi, datando do século I (vide, figura 2).

⁹⁶ Vide supra, nota 79.

⁹⁷ Jean-Claude GALEY chama a atenção para a diferença entre *pujá* – uma simples oferenda – e *bali* – que implica o sacrifício de um animal – in «Reconsidering Kingship in India: An Ethnological Perspective», *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 4 (1989), p. 133.

Acerca do sacrifício cultural campestre na Índia, vide ainda, por exemplo, G. TARABOUT, *op. cit.*, pp. 327-532; Bernard DELFENDHAL, «Le culte champêtre dans une village de l'Inde: Description systématique», *L'Ethnographie*, nouvelle série, Vol. 66 (1972), pp. 29-53; e os clássicos Edgar THURSTON, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, Londres, Adelphi Terrace Leipsic Inseltrasse, 1912; Abbé J.A. DUBOIS, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, trad. do Francês por Henry K. Beachamp, Nova Deli, Rupa & Co. 1994, sobretudo Parte III, cap. 3 – «Hindu Feasts».

⁹⁸ Vide L. K. PITRE, *Catalogue of the Remarkable Sculptures in the Goa State Museum*, Panaji, Directorate of Museums, Govt. of Goa, 2006, p. 25 – imagem do século XIV, de Sanquelim, que se encontra sentada.



1 Yaksha (século XII), Kottambi,
Bicholim, The Goa State Museum.
Fotografia: coleção do autor.



2 Yaksha (século I) – Sanchi, Museum für Asiatische Kunst (Museen Darlem), Berlim.
Fotografia: coleção do autor.

As *yakshini* — devoradoras dos bebés — surgem com um carácter mais temperamental que os equivalentes masculinos, e por isso há representações verdadeiramente medonhas das suas essências⁹⁹. Mas nem sempre isso acontece, como se pode verificar pela figura abaixo (n.º 3), pertencente ao Musée Guimet, de Paris.

Aliás, como veremos de seguida, as potencialidades reconhecidas das suas essências deveriam ultrapassar a dicotomia «monocrómica» que afectava a imagem das entidades diabólicas na Europa cristã, que além disso tinham número finito, uma existência material – não se podendo desdobrar – e uma hierarquia mais cerrada, conducente a uma especialização de funções (Asmodeu, príncipe da luxúria; Leviathan, Demónio do orgulho; Belial, patrono dos ciganos, adivinhos e feiticeiros, etc.)¹⁰⁰.



3 Yakshi (século X) –
Mathura, Musée Guimet.
Fotografia: colecção do autor.

⁹⁹ Vide L. RENOUE e J. FILLIOZAT, *L'Inde classique*, Paris, Payot, Vol. 1, 1947, p. 526; e G. TARBOUT, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152.

Satanizando

Estas divindades menores indianas possuem uma natureza lábil e fugitiva. A sua invocação pode dar origem a uma materialização, muitas vezes ameaçadora, até porque estão dotadas de um extraordinário poder de manifestação e, como vimos, convivem com os humanos, chegando a incarnar-se ocasionalmente neles. Possuem também uma imensa volatilidade: surgem repentinamente e rapidamente desaparecem, não possuem identidade permanente nem características determinadas. A sua evanescência ontológica não permite, assim, uma certeza na tradução para os campos semânticos da cultura ocidental (mesmo na Índia): são designadas alternada e alternativamente como «demónios», «espíritos», «génios», «fantasmas», «aparições», «ventos» e «seres maléficos». Essa evanescência também não permite a distinção entre manifestação demoníaca e divina: as aparições temporárias – *yaksha* – não permitem clarificar se estamos perante divindades em cólera ou diabos enraivecidos. É devido a toda esta «instabilidade» ontológica e até divinal, que são muitas vezes mencionadas fugazmente como «mistérios».

A sua natureza mais constante parece remeter para a sexualidade: machos e fêmeas, casados ou celibatários; alguns, contudo, não têm um género fixo ou são hermafroditas, como é próprio dos «poderes menores» que fogem à hierarquia social do panteão dos deuses maiores. Tratando-se mais de «almas» ou «espíritos», escapam à figuração permanente e à instalação de um culto. Mas tal não significa que não se tente materializá-los através da representação – como vimos – e imobilizá-los em santuários onde, divinizados, passam a integrar a sociedade dos deuses. O seu culto institucionalizado permite assim aplacá-los e torná-los susceptíveis de invocação¹⁰¹.

A maior distinção entre estas entidades deriva contudo da invocação de um género, quando o assumem (ou quando o querem assumir): nas *yakshini*, como vimos, parece ter sido fixada uma natureza mais agressiva e carnívora. Quanto à forma *yaksha*, a palavra é uma designação védica que significa simultaneamente «entidade maravilhosa ou misteriosa», e os *yakshi* são vistos, muitas vezes, como seres bondosos, detentores de riquezas. Não esqueçamos contudo a sua volatilidade de género, o que permite assumir uma natureza, também genérica, mais agressiva ou mais benevolente¹⁰².

¹⁰¹ Vide J. ASSAYAG, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-80.

¹⁰² Cf. G. TARABOUT, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

No quadro metafísico de cristãos (velhos e novos), o recurso a estas divindades menores indianas apresenta um cariz semelhante à incursão, mais a ocidente, nos domínios da feitiçaria e da magia. Como considera Francisco Bettencourt no seu livro *O Imaginário da Magia. Feiticeiras, saluadores e nigromantes no século XVI*, nas fontes teológicas cristãs, o poder de Deus afirma-se pela denúncia do poder do Demónio, que é ilusório mas nem por isso actuante e insidioso, sendo uma entidade palpável e visível no quotidiano dos homens. Mas a afronta no contexto desta teologia, na recorrência ao Diabo quando existe descrença no poder divino para alívio de males físicos e espirituais¹⁰³, só revela, de forma atestada, que o seu poder era bastante valorizado.

Georges Minois realça que, ao contrário das religiões politeístas, os monoteísmos não podem dispensar o Demónio. Naquelas, a existência de inúmeros deuses, de poder mais ou menos limitado e vivendo em ambiente de rivalidade, é suficiente para explicar a existência do mal: os deuses, sendo ambivalentes, tanto podem ser benéficos como destrutivos. Pelo contrário, no monoteísmo a existência do Diabo maléfico é necessário para evitar o equívoco de um Deus bom, que é a origem de todas as coisas, criar igualmente o mal¹⁰⁴. De salientar que os judeus não personificam num ser o mal absoluto, estando o Diabo ausente do *Antigo Testamento*. Na realidade, Javé, embora sendo um Deus único, apresenta muitas das características dos deuses do Médio Oriente, sendo capaz de uma agressividade extrema. Mas é verdade que alguns servidores divinos vão servir de catalisadores de uma potencialidade maligna, como o caso do anjo Azazel. É no livro de Job que o papel de Satã é definido: esta palavra deriva do hebraico *satan* (שָׂטָן) o «opositor ou adversário» – e trata-se de um título, não de um nome. É a tentativa de tradução grega deste significado por *diabolos* (διάβολος) – do verbo *diaballein*, ou seja, «difamar, atacar (jogar através de)» – que origina a palavra *Diabo*. Na verdade, o Satã bíblico é mais um acusador – pedindo a Deus que ponha o Homem à prova – e executor das obras mais baixas a mando de Deus, sendo um membro da sua corte (dos *Benei Ha'Elohim* – בְּנֵי־הַאֱלֹהִים). Satã não está só e é auxiliado por uma multidão de demónios, masculinos e femininos, sendo aqueles chefiados por Asmodeu, e estes por Lilith. Contudo, no século IV a.C., Satã parece autonomizar-se de Deus, talvez devido à influência do dualismo da religião persa, e torna-se um espírito rebelde, provavelmente incorporando a

¹⁰³ Pp. 21 e 147.

¹⁰⁴ Georges MINOIS, *O Diabo: origem e evolução histórica*, Lisboa, Terramar, 2003, p. 5.

metáfora da desobediência frequente de Israel a Javé. Mas, na realidade, aparecerá plenamente autónomo apenas nos textos apócrifos da literatura apocalíptica das seitas judaicas dissidentes, entre as quais surgiu o Cristianismo. É de facto no Novo Testamento que o Diabo tentador atinge uma dimensão plena e essencial: como Jesus desceu à Terra para conduzir o grande combate contra o mal, o Diabo é omnipresente nas páginas dos Evangelhos – nas possessões, nas tentações e nos discursos. Assim surge o «Príncipe das Trevas», que se opõe à Luz Divina. O Diabo é aqui considerado um anjo caído, por luxúria ou orgulho, que se torna inimigo de Deus e do Homem, procurando levar este a desobedecer Àquele, e difundindo o mal por toda a parte. O anjo caído resulta da interpretação do presente pelas seitas apocalípticas, que consideram que a situação desastrosa do povo hebreu face aos domínios grego e romano é o resultado do seu desvio dos planos divinos. O universalismo paulista vai transformar o combate da elite numa luta constante de todo o crente cristão: assim como Jesus resistiu ao Diabo no deserto, cada crente deve estar sempre atento às suas manhas: «livrai-nos do pecado e do mal». O Diabo transforma-se assim em agente universal do mal, ou seja, de todas as forças que real ou imaginariamente se opõem aos princípios da religião cristã.

Mas este é o Diabo dos textos teológicos e dos doutores da Igreja, que aterroriza as massas dos crentes, tantas vezes representado de forma medonha nas encenações das paixões e dos mistérios: o Diabo negro, cornudo e vestido de peles de animais. O Diabo popular também pode ser cornudo, maneta ou coxo – aqui, talvez invocando o antigo Hermes. Mas neste caso surge frequentemente designado com apelações grotescas, o que implica uma relação mais próxima e não tão aterrorizadora. Na realidade, o Diabo popular arvora símbolos das divindades locais pré-cristãs, como os deuses cornudos do Nordeste da Europa – Tor, Votão e Cernuno – e quiçá dos sátiros, faunos e silvanos da Antiguidade. E em ambas as vertentes, erudita e popular, é possível fazer um pacto com ele, em troca de riqueza e amor – uma cadeia ficcional que chega aos tempos modernos na famosa obra literária *Fausto*, de Goethe (1790).

Quanto à representação do Diabo, se de facto a Igreja impõe uma imagem temível e horrenda, como uma representação física da sua maldade intrínseca, não esqueçamos que os diabos barrocos seiscentistas, representados como anjos caídos de uma beleza sobrenatural ambígua, não deixam de preencher cadeirais e retábulos ibéricos.

Feitiçaria e heresia são pela primeira vez associadas na bula *Super Illius Specula*, emitida por ordem do papa João XXII (1316-1334), em 1326, onde se afirma que todos aqueles que fazem pacto com o Demónio e procuram

nele um aliado dos seus intentos são passíveis da fogueira. A bula instaura uma ideologia que considera os actos mágicos como episódios reais, concretizados através da intervenção do Diabo: daí se transformarem em uma heresia a ser severamente punida¹⁰⁵. O termo *sabbat* aparece pela primeira vez em documentos oficiais de 1349¹⁰⁶. No dealbar do Mundo Moderno, a bula do papa Inocêncio VIII (1484-1492) *Summis Desirantes*, de 1484, inicia institucionalmente a época da caça às bruxas, como uma seita de adoradoras do Diabo¹⁰⁷, que se estende até onde os impérios cristãos se espriam. Satanás passa então a reinar sobre todos os povos não cristãos, e muitas manifestações culturais locais como os cultos dos antepassados, a invocação dos espíritos pelos feiticeiros ou ainda a invocação de entidades propiciadoras, para aplacá-las ou requerer-lhes um desejo, são consideradas devoção ao Diabo, que é necessário combater. As acusações de culto ao Demónio no *Reportorio* do inquisidor João Delgado Figueira são fontes exemplares das consequências da extensão da ideologia cristã que associa magia e culto diabólico, na interpretação de cultos locais vislumbrados como concorrentes e maléficos.

Mas existia da parte dos réus a possibilidade de se irmanarem, de facto, a tais cultos, interpretados de forma reducionista pelos inquisidores como culto ao Diabo?

Logicamente que é fácil explicar a recorrência a esses cultos por parte dos «cristãos da terra», hindus convertidos, e por vezes mal convertidos, que regressavam ao seu universo cultural ou simplesmente o exerciam de forma sincrética com o Cristianismo, como é comum na pluralidade de crenças e atitudes religiosas que os europeus designaram de Hinduísmo – ou seja, a religião dos hindus – que se afasta fenomenologicamente das constituições religiosas monoteístas do mundo ocidental, sendo considerado pelos próprios, de forma singular, como *Sanâtanadharmā* – a Lei Eterna, visto que os seus conceitos são considerados não criados, mas eternos¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁵ J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

¹⁰⁶ F. BETHENCOURT considera que o *sabbat* (nunca assim designado mas como assembleia ou ajuntamento colectivo), raramente é referido nos processos de feitiçaria em Portugal – vide *op. cit.*, p. 165-167.

¹⁰⁷ J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

¹⁰⁸ Seria despropositado apresentar aqui uma referência da extensíssima bibliografia sobre o Hinduísmo e das tentativas da sua localização no sistema ocidental de crenças e religiões. Este trabalho valeria por si mesmo, no mínimo, um artigo. Vide apenas, a título sumário de elucidação, L. FRÉDÉRIC, *op. cit.*, pp. 475-480; Louis DUMONT, *La Civilisation Indienne et Nous*, Paris, Armand Colin, 1975; A. DANIELOU, *op. cit.*; Gavin FLOOD, *An Introduction to Hinduism (Introduction to Religion)*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Os cristãos vindos do reino (velhos e novos) deviam ser atraídos (no sistema teológico cristão dir-se-ia «tentados») pelo culto destas entidades, através da simples observação dos mesmos e da constatação da proliferação dos sacrifícios e outras actividades em seu torno: se tanta humanidade executava tais actos e estava ciente do seu resultado, é porque os pedidos se concretizavam... Muitos provavelmente interpretavam-nos no âmbito das referências de um antigo universo de magia e de mistério, que sobrevivia sobretudo em meios campestres, relacionado com os cultos da Natureza e da exaltação da procriação, que permaneciam não obstante as invectivas cristãs. Não esqueçamos que a «folclorização» do Diabo o tornara muito semelhante ao Deus celta Cernunos, deus da fertilidade, da caça e do outro mundo¹⁰⁹. Mas recordemos também quanto a cidade está próxima do campo, nessas épocas...

Como vimos, o próprio *Reportorio* apresenta algumas precauções ao acusar as pessoas de «Feitiçaria», «Culto ao Demónio» ou «Gentilidade» (embora por vezes estas acusações sejam associadas à mesma pessoa), pois desde o final da Idade Média passou a entender-se que aquela implicava uma dedicação constante ou quase constante a determinadas práticas, como a comunicação com o Diabo. A feitiçaria, como bem notou Robert Muchembled, nasce de uma evolução do tratamento canónico da heresia, remetendo a palavra *sabbat* para as reuniões de sábado realizadas pelos Valdenses. Rapidamente, sobretudo a partir da publicação da obra do dominicano João Nider, *Formicarius* (1435-1437), assiste-se a uma «bestialização» dos significantes, de tal forma que valdense, de início, passou a ser sinónimo de feiticeiro. Na realidade, os juízes passam a indagar nos supostos feiticeiros e feiticeiras proposições e marcas concretas da sua associação ao Diabo, e das relações sexuais com ele, tentando captar numa malha jurídica de demonologia como a emergência das evanescentes crenças populares é uma prova da sua deliberação em pecar – com Aquele (ou seguindo, ou invocando Aquele), em Alma e Corpo. Quanto aos interrogados, limitavam-se a contar

¹⁰⁹ Para esta digressão servimo-nos abundantemente das seguintes obras: Jeffrey BURTON RUSSELL, *The Devil: Perceptions of Evil from Antiquity to Primitive Christianity*, Cornell, Cornell University Press, 1977; idem, *The Prince of Darkness*, Cornell, Cornell University Press, 1984; G. MINOIS, *op. cit.*; Norman COHN, *Europe's Inner Demons*; Londres, Pimlico, 1975; *Enfers et Damnation dans le monde hispanique et hispano-américain*. Actes du Colloque International de la Sorbonne, ed. Annie MOLINIÉ-BERTRAND e Jean-Paul DUVIOLS, Paris, PUF, 1996; e Robert MUCHEMBLED, *Uma História do Diabo, séculos XII a XX*, Lisboa, Terramar, 2003.

Julio CARO BAROJA considera que simplesmente se assimilaram os deuses antigos aos demónios, ou ao próprio Diabo – vide *As bruxas e o seu mundo*, Lisboa, Veja, s.d., p. 69.

histórias da sua infelicidade, de doenças e de mortes, e a serem sujeitos aos mais diferentes tipos de inspecção até que, pressionados, molestados e/ou torturados, as suas respostas se apresentam como estereótipos das intenções de resposta dos juízes: sumariamente, dizem que renegaram a fé cristã, se submeteram ao Demónio¹¹⁰ – tornando-se desta forma agentes daquele – e disputaram o Homem, dada a inclinação deste para o mal¹¹¹. São provavelmente os indícios destas presunções que podemos vislumbrar na acusação, de 1572, de a cativa do Pegu, chamada Isabel, ter relações com o Diabo e por causa de tal facto dar à luz um nado-morto¹¹².

Um «voo nocturno» sob o Verão indiano

Pode dizer-se que, no caso das acusações presentes no *Reportorio*, o Diabo surge estandardizado pelos sacrifícios que lhe são oferecidos. Não há qualquer visualização da sua figura, ou interesse em procurá-la. Só a «feiticeira» Guiomar Fernandes descreve, vagamente, nos processos da Inquisição referidos uma Torá em forma de touro ou bezerra, de metal, quiçá deslizando propositadamente a imagem da figura para a incorporar no universo de indícios acusatórios de criptojudaísmo.

Já vimos que Madalena Brandoa entendia «por dentro», ou seja, no âmbito da cultura local, o carácter da correspondência com uma entidade superior: a expressão «o demonio pera ordar pedia carneiros, lebres e galos» revela que ela sabia que esses «Diabos» locais tinham como missão realizar sacrifícios e que a eles se devia sacrificar para que actuassem em favor dos humanos. Mesmo que se trate de uma cristã-nova de origem judaica, e não local – pois estas são normalmente designadas de «cristãs da terra» ou «mestiças» –, o facto de ser «natural» de Baçaim mostra que desde jovem podia ter participado em certas vertentes da cultura religiosa não cristã, tanto que afirma que ela ia «com outras pessoas [...] aos ditos lugares»¹¹³. Mas será que todos os cristãos-novos e cristãos-velhos, sobretudo os oriundos da metrópole, entendiam este culto nessa perspectiva? E se não, como se transformava em algo de aliciante?

Duvidamos contudo que os réus se reportassem a estas entidades como Diabos ou Demónios com a mesma carga semântica – altamente negativa,

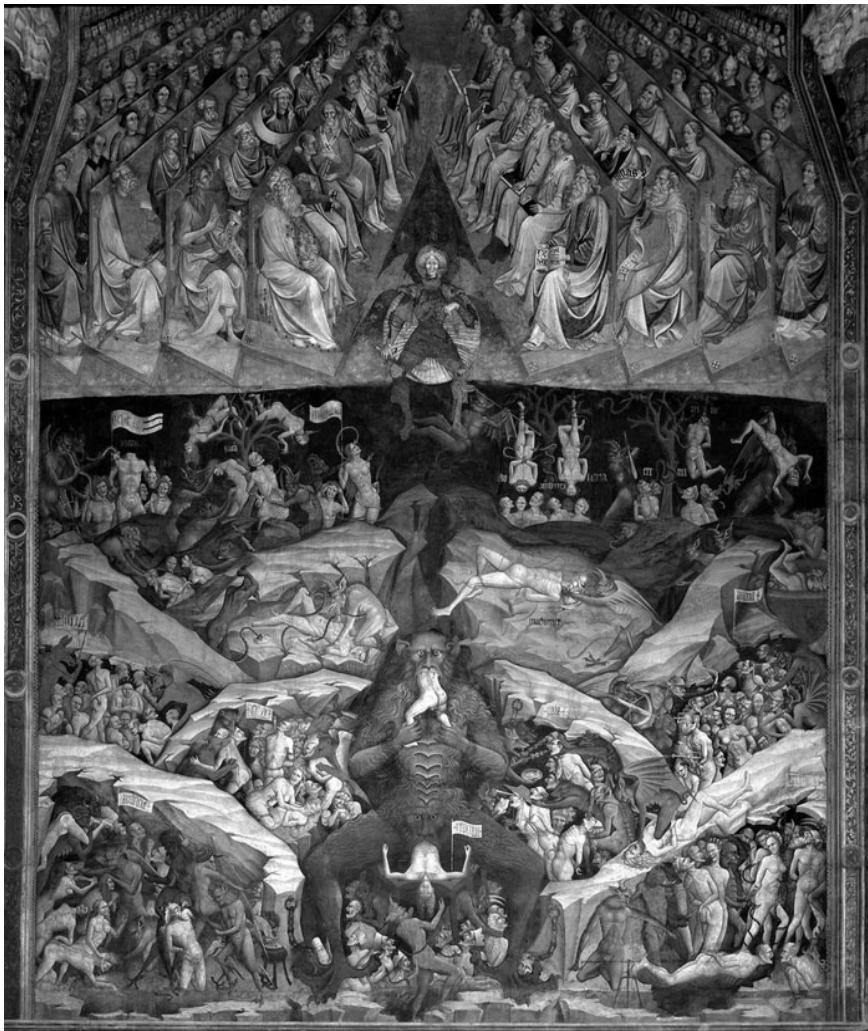
¹¹⁰ J. CARO BAROJA, *op. cit.*, p. 137; R. MUCHEMBLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-97; e J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-350 e 354-355.

¹¹¹ Vide F. BETENCOURTH, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹¹² Vide supra, nota 26.

¹¹³ Vide supra, nota 7.

mesmo abjecta – com que a Igreja foi preenchendo a palavra. O Diabo, ser horrendo de aspecto aterrador, tem a sua marca visual bem notada desde a Idade Média tardia e o dealbar da Idade Moderna, nas pedras e paredes das catedrais e igrejas. Um exemplo a reter, devido ao facto de ter resistido até aos nossos dias, à sua dimensão e extraordinária riqueza de conteúdo e cromática é a famosa pintura parietal da Capella dei Re Magi, da Basílica de S. Petrónio, de Bolonha, da autoria de Giovanni da Modena, do início do século XV – «La parete di sinistra (Paradiso e Inferno)» (vide figura 4).



4 Paraíso e Inferno, Capela dos Reis Magos da Basílica de S. Petrónio, Bolonha. Giovanni da Modena. Fresco, início do século XV. Fotografia: coleção do autor.

Aqui surge, na dimensão imagética e como catalisador fabuloso, em forma condensada para todo o fiel crente cristão, a dicotomia necessária, na teologia cristã, entre o Bem e o Mal. O Bem constituído por uma corte celestial, etérea e arrumada. O Mal caótico, desalinhado abaixo de uma linha nítida, de demarcação, para onde o Arcanjo Miguel empurra os danados, depois de lhes pesar a alma. É o mundo das profundezas, terreal, sem altivez, onde uma corte de Demónios exerce a sua função de castigar os pecadores. Os Demónios, eles mesmos, são a visão de bestialidade que a Igreja queria propagar a seu respeito: verdes, castanhos ou cinzentos, são contrários à luminosidade da Luz Eterna. Peludos e com asas, orelhas grandes e cornos, de face tão desumana como inumanos são os seus gestos e atitudes, estão (des)controlados pela figura central do grande (gigantesco) Satã, com um olhar esgazeado de quem não intenta senão aniquilar. Satã é ele mesmo o símbolo máximo da vanidade do Mal, que nada cria e só destrói, incapaz também de procriar, pois no lugar do sexo tem apenas outra boca que tenta devorar. Enfim, o Diabo cristalizou um dos grandes medos no Ocidente, para utilizar uma expressão consagrada de Jean Delumeau¹¹⁴.

Estes estereótipos perpassavam a vida religiosa de todos os homens e mulheres vivendo na Cristandade e duvidamos que, a não ser por patologia grave, alguém desejasse pertencer à primeira fila dos «peccatori contra Dio», os piores, que estão mesmo acima dos sete pecados capitais, e onde vislumbramos, atacados para a Eternidade, à esquerda, os sacrílegos e os encantadores (como a Pitonisa); mas também os idólatras e os heréticos, à direita.

Deve-se a Carlo Ginzburg um dos mais fascinantes estudos interpretativos sobre a construção de discursos contemporâneos acerca da feitiçaria, do *sabbat* e do Diabo: *História Nocturna: uma decifração do Sabat*. Nesta obra o autor conclui, após uma profusa e bem consolidada análise, que se assistiu a uma fusão sólida e duradoura entre os dois filões culturais que presidem à criação da imagem do *sabbat* – o tema elaborado pelos inquisidores e juizes laicos da conjura perpetrada por um grupo social hostil – e elementos de proveniência xamânica radicados na cultura folclórica – porque havia entre ambos uma afinidade substancial¹¹⁵. Esta constatação pode expandir-se para o caso do culto do Demónio. Os inquisidores, ainda que cultos, partilhavam ideias e crenças do contexto em que actuavam, mesmo

¹¹⁴ Jean DELUMEAU, *La peur en Occident*, Paris, Fayard, 1978, cap. 7.

¹¹⁵ Carlo GINZBURG, *História Nocturna: uma decifração do Sabat*, Lisboa, Antropos, 1995, pp. 255-256.

se o objectivo fosse definir-lhe um «locus horribilis». E, como sublinham Roberto Rowland e José Pedro Paiva, referindo especificamente o caso das bruxas, para que existisse uma acusação de tal índole, é porque havia uma crença colectiva sobre a sua existência e poder¹¹⁶. Por outro lado, se é verdade que muitos dos réus eram obrigados a confessar, finalmente, segundo a «grelha instrumental» dos inquisidores¹¹⁷, também se denota que agiam individualmente, mas também por vezes a título colectivo, formando grupos ou comunidades que resistiam à normatividade da ortodoxia, porque convencidos dos benefícios da secular cultura xamânica (resistente), ou porque por eles atraídos¹¹⁸; e que na generalidade conheciam e acreditavam no discurso sobre o Diabo maldito, veiculado pela Igreja e pela Inquisição¹¹⁹.

De todas as formas, denota-se nos processos de feitiçaria que os acusadores dos potenciais bruxos ou bruxas falavam de malefícios pressupostamente causados por estes – o que remete para a longa permanência de uma mentalidade mágica. Os inquisidores, por sua vez, estavam interessados que os bruxos e as bruxas confessassem que tinham pactuado com o Demónio e praticado o *sabbat* e, portanto, em demonstrar que deviam ser castigados como heréticos e anticristãos¹²⁰. Jean Delumeau chama no entanto a atenção para a permanência na Europa de uma certa simpatia por uns «Diabos companheiros» – que os crentes acreditavam ser de uma estirpe diferente do Diabo terrífico projectado pela Igreja, benfazejos ao ajudar a concluir casamentos, e mimados com nomes «de proximidade» – e que parecem ser uma encarnação de um politeísmo simpático, adaptado ao contexto religioso vigente¹²¹. Relativamente a Portugal, Maria Cristina Correia de Melo apresenta um testemunho no mesmo espectro, de um jovem pintor de 22 anos, chamado Pedro Gonçalves de Abreu, natural de Fronteira, no Alentejo (processo de 1652-1653), cujas «invocações» a um Diabo parecem rezas aos santos. Ali se nota também que este funciona como um intermediário positivo entre diversas ordens do real – prodígio imortal da terra e do ar – entre o global e o local, prestando serviço aos interessados, como livrá-los de infortúnios, separar namorados ou ajus-

¹¹⁶ Robert ROWLAND, *Fantastical and Devilish persons: European witch-beliefs in comparative perspective*, in B. Ankarloo e G. Henningsen (eds.), *Early Modern European Witchcraft. Centre and peripheries*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990, pp. 170-171; e J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, p. 306.

¹¹⁷ Vide F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-243.

¹¹⁸ Verifique-se o grande e diversificado número de casos apresentado para o Portugal quinhentista, por F. BETHENCOURT, in *op. cit.*, cap. 3.

¹¹⁹ Vide idem, *ibidem*, pp. 262-263.

¹²⁰ Cf. J. DELUMEAU, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

¹²¹ Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 317-318.

tar casamentos¹²². Por outro lado, também há provas de que na metrópole se invocava o Demónio para encontrar tesouros, tal como na Índia portuguesa¹²³. Naquele caso pode associar-se o Diabo à questão terreal, às entranhas da terra: mas esta interpretação apenas ajudava à associação entre Demónio europeu e entidades diabólicas indianas. Como revela José Pedro Paiva, tal como no resto da Europa, os diabos nos meios populares portugueses podiam ter nomes que revelavam um grande grau de «convivialidade» com os humanos: o Tição, o Caldeirão (em analogia com o fogo e o inferno), o Rodilha, o Tiburro, o Messajana, o Machado e Costa, etc., anunciando a sua presença com redemoinhos de ventos, rumores, e cheiro a queimado e enxofre¹²⁴, e assumindo frequentemente uma forma zoomórfica, como o luxurioso bode negro¹²⁵ – e daí, talvez, outra influência nas descrições «animalescas» da feiticeira Guiomar Fernandes. Estamos assim mais próximos do Demónio ridicularizado nas peças de Gil Vicente, onde surge tão próximo dos homens que chega a ser ludibriado por estes, enganador e enganado, personagem de comédia que aparece mais como perturbador do mundo dos vivos que potência do mal na tragédia ensaiada pela Igreja e pela Inquisição acerca das trevas do Além¹²⁶. Também há provas de que os diabos europeus assumiam uma sexualidade – porém, definida, ao contrário dos revertentes *yakhsi* e *yakshini*: súcubos se femininos; incubos, se masculinos. Tal como os *yakhsi* e as *yakshini*, também podiam engendrar filhos de humanos – ainda que algumas vezes nados-mortos, como no caso de Isabel, de Chaul, simbolizando estes, provavelmente, a sua propensão para a destruição¹²⁷ – e exigiam alimentos¹²⁸.

Interpretariam os «reinóis» o culto das evanescentes divindades indianas mencionadas no contexto da sua cultura mágica europeia, em que, como salienta Paiva, o acaso estava praticamente ausente e os infortúnios precisavam de ter uma explicação¹²⁹? E interroguemos também se a invocação de uma entidade sobrenatural podia ser considerada uma mais-valia

¹²² Vide Maria Cristina Correia de MELO, «Feiticeiras ou Feiticeiros? Bruxos e feiticeiros processados pela Inquisição de Évora», in Anita Novinsky e Maria Luísa Tucci Carneiro (eds.), *Inquisição: Ensaio sobre Mentalidade, Heresias e Arte*, São Paulo, Expressão e Cultura, p. 759.

¹²³ Vide J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-41.

¹²⁴ Idem, *ibidem*, p. 154.

¹²⁵ Cf. F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

¹²⁶ Cf. José MATTOSO, *Poderes Invisíveis. O Imaginário Medieval*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, 2001, pp. 315-316.

¹²⁷ Vide supra, nota 26.

¹²⁸ Cf. F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹²⁹ Vide J. PAIVA, *op. cit.*, pp. 311-312.

por vezes sobreposta, por vezes paralela, ao culto «oficial» da Igreja, sobretudo quando se pensava que esta fracassava junto às suas intercessões¹³⁰? Podemos ainda questionar se os reinóis seriam simplesmente seduzidos pela idiosincrasia dos cultos hindus? Ou se simplesmente estes surgiam também como alternativos?

De qualquer modo, como em qualquer outra forma de procedimento inquisitorial, o inquisidor «edita», ou seja, «limpa» a mensagem de todos os elementos desnecessários, e conduz aqueles que considera necessários no sentido de reconstituir um discurso que torne verosímil uma determinada intenção. Subjaz a este acto de «editar», no *Reportorio* de João Delgado Figueira, a pretensão de limpar o indesejável, os «ruídos» – para utilizar um termo caro à Semiótica – que se interpõem na mensagem a transmitir na «perenidade» do processo inquisitorial. O resultado é um discurso acusador, cuja sistematicidade traduz uma arrumação jurídica sobre a realidade instável, um procedimento de indagação de onde assume o âmago da prova acusatória. Sobre o instável e a complexidade da crença, o inquisidor arrumou os factos em pequenas «gavetas» uniformes, e os significantes instalados nos resumos processuais, repetidos de uma forma racionalizada – as origens dos réus, a menção quase abstracta de «um Diabo», os sacrifícios –, remetem para uma significação de uma realidade a transformar em matéria de acusação. Como afirma Francisco Bethencourt, assiste-se a uma incriminação reducionista da actividade do mago, da feiticeira ou do suplicante como agentes ou invocadores do Demónio, quando estes não procedem a uma inversão sistemática dos ritos católicos, nem apelam exclusivamente Àquele, mantendo antes uma relação pragmática de balanço entre ambos¹³¹. A situação torna-se ainda mais complexa, como vimos, no caso da Índia, onde as fronteiras entre o que se considera o Bem e o Mal – segundo concepções religiosas ocidentais – são mais fluidas e versáteis, abarcando percepções dos diabos ou entidades sobrenaturais primitivas locais.

Por isso, o sistema apresenta fragilidades, detectáveis por um «leitor externo». Como já vimos, denota-se que o inquisidor, com a sua mente ocidental – mesmo se, como Norman Cohn realça, a instrução do processo só acontecia porque a autoridade religiosa acreditava que as crenças popula-

¹³⁰ Vide Pierre BOURDIEU, «Une interprétation de la théorie de la religion selon Max Weber», *Archives Européennes de Sociologie*, Vol. 12, n.º 1 (1971), p. 7; idem, «Genèse et structure du champ religieux», *Revue Française de Sociologie*, Vol. 12, n.º 3 (1971), p. 309; e F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹³¹ Vide F. BETHENCOURT, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

res não eram ilusórias, associando-as por isso inquestionavelmente a cultos demoníacos¹³² –, tem dificuldades em delimitar os «móbeis» de acusação e de «arrumar» as matérias relativas a um universo cultural em que não penetra com a mesma facilidade dos casos europeus. Culpabilização de gentilidade, feitiçaria, culto ao Diabo e outras incriminações, por vezes parecem remeter para uma mesma realidade, cujo laconismo descritivo revela, pelo menos, dificuldades em encontrar o factor de acusação. Uma «arqueologia do saber» – para utilizar uma expressão epistemológica consagrada de Michel Foucault¹³³ – denotaria que o saber destes inquisidores sobre a matéria a julgar é mais escassa e mostra, de forma proeminente, os seus próprios «demónios» – para fazer uso do título de outra autoridade, Edgar Morin¹³⁴ –, aqui no sentido duplo da sua vontade de incriminar o indesejável e de tentar fazer acreditar (e muitos acreditavam) que os seus diabos – do Ocidente – se estendiam até à Índia. Mas é por de mais sabido que estes textos inquisitoriais serviam para «consumo interno» do próprio Tribunal ou, se necessário, de todo um aparelho jurídico, de forma convincente.

Podemos vislumbrar na fornalha do Verão indiano o labor do inquisidor em juntar o *puzzle* da matéria apurada, de forma a reter um Diabo que se pretende universal – segundo os princípios de uma ideologia cristã «oficial» – na difusa multidão de aparições que as oferendas dos crentes na Índia tentavam transformar em veículos propiciadores. Sem assim o pretenderem, os inquisidores transformaram o idealizado Diabo europeu num avatar indiano, levando para o caloroso Verão indiano as trevas infernais europeias.

¹³² N. COHN, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 e 252.

¹³³ Michel FOUCAULT, *L'Archéologie du savoir*, Paris, Éditions Gallimard, 1969.

¹³⁴ Edgar MORIN, *Mes Démons*, Paris, Stock, 1994.

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Constructing and contesting Portuguese difference in Colonial Spanish America, 1500-1650

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Resumo

Este estudo analisa três aspetos, semelhantes porém diferentes, de acusação e contestação – a apostasia, a condição de estrangeiro e a traição – que serviram de base a um vigoroso debate sobre a natureza e o grau da divergência portuguesa por espanhóis e portugueses. Como forma de reação a estes diversos ataques, os portugueses residindo na América espanhola buscavam o estabelecimento da sua naturalidade, lealdade e ortodoxia por meio de várias ações públicas ao serviço da Coroa, da Igreja e da comunidade local. Ao portar-se como um nativo, um fiel vassalo e um devoto católico, cada português era julgado como indivíduo e considerado como tal pelos vizinhos espanhóis, apesar da vasta circulação de preconceitos antiportugueses por todo o império.

Palavras-chave: Portugueses, América espanhola, estrangeiros, cristãos-novos, lealdade.

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Abstract

This article examines three overlapping yet distinct sites of accusation and contestation – apostasy, foreignness, and treason – in which the nature and degree of Portuguese difference was vigorously debated by Spaniards and Portuguese alike. In response to these diverse attacks, the Portuguese in Spanish America sought to establish their nativeness, loyalty, and orthodoxy through repeated public actions in service to the Crown, the Church, and their local community. By behaving as a native, a faithful vassal, and a pious Catholic, individual Portuguese were typically judged as such by their Spanish neighbors, despite the circulation of anti-Portuguese stereotypes throughout the Atlantic world.

Keywords: Portuguese, Spanish America, foreigners, New Christians, loyalty

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Constructing and contesting Portuguese difference in Colonial Spanish America, 1500-1650

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For over a century, the question of “Jewishness” has been at the heart of scholarly inquiries into the Portuguese in colonial Spanish America. This is hardly surprising, given the abundance of inquisitorial sources that purport to offer a wealth of detail concerning secret “Jewish” practices and traditions. Although some scholars have been content to take these inquisitorial documents more or less at face value, in recent years, several excellent works have raised new questions and proposed alternative ways of thinking about *converso* religiosity and identity beyond the misleading dichotomies of “Jew” and “Christian.”¹ Yet, when it comes to the critical question of Spanish-Portuguese relations in the New World, the standard picture has unfortunately remained largely static, marked indelibly by Spanish anti-Semitism and the early modern stereotype linking Portuguese *naturaliza* with Jewish ancestry. Yet, accusing the Portuguese of being secret Jews was far from the only rhetorical strategy that Spaniards used during the early modern period to cultivate enmity against their Iberian neighbors. Depending on time and place, anti-Portuguese discourse could take on a variety of forms, each of which provoked much resistance and opposition not only from the Portuguese, but also from many Spaniards as well.

This essay examines three overlapping yet distinct sites of accusation and contestation – apostasy, foreignness, and treason – in which both the nature and degree of Portuguese difference was vigorously debated by Spaniards and Portuguese alike. The charge of religious apostasy is, of course, the best-known – at least, for the seventeenth century. Yet, for most of the sixteenth century, fears of Portuguese apostasy did not usually involve Judaism, but rather the Protestantism of Spain’s northern European

¹ Some leading recent examples include: Nathan WACHTEL, *La fe del recuerdo: laberintos marranos* [2001], trans. Sandra Garzonio, Mexico City, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007; Miriam BODIAN, *Dying in the Law of Moses: Crypto-Jewish Martyrdom in the Iberian World*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2007; David GRAIZBORD, “Religion and Ethnicity among ‘Men of the Nation’: Toward a Realistic Interpretation,” *Jewish Social Studies* 15 (2008), 32-65; and Juan Ignacio PULIDO SERRANO, “Plural Identities: the Portuguese New Christians,” *Jewish History* 25 (2011): 129-151.

enemies. The second set of accusations involved the “foreignness” of the Portuguese. Although the Portuguese were always classified juridically as foreigners to the Spanish Indies, early modern Spanish conceptions of “native” (*natural*) and “foreigner” (*extranjero*) were anything but fixed, since in addition to the allegedly “objective” facts of birthplace and lineage, multiple “subjective” variables, such as public behavior and reputation, were critical in making these assessments. Adding to the conceptual confusion, debates about the foreignness of the Portuguese were directly tied to broader disputes about what constituted “*España*” (or “*las Españas*”). The final type of allegation brought against the Portuguese involved collusion with Spain’s enemies. The “*complicidades grandes*” in Lima and Cartagena, which involved suspected Portuguese judaizers with ties to Amsterdam, are perhaps the best-known examples of this type.² However, similar accusations arose in the sixteenth century as well, when various Spanish officials and writers disparaged the Portuguese, especially pilots and mariners, as untrustworthy and eager to assist the endless numbers of French and English corsairs that roamed the Caribbean.

Despite the enormous differences among these three types of anti-Portuguese rhetoric, the responses to all of them on the part of the Portuguese in Spanish America share much in common. Most fundamentally, in fighting back against these indictments, the Portuguese sought to establish their nativeness, loyalty, and orthodoxy through public behavior and reputation. Portuguese individuals from privileged and humble backgrounds alike defied accusatory stereotypes and invectives through a wide range of public actions that collectively testified to their fidelity and piety, such as maintenance of a *casa poblada*, membership in a *cofradía*, militia service, and patronage of local hospitals and monasteries. By behaving as a native, as a faithful vassal, and as a pious Catholic, Portuguese individuals were usually judged as such by their Spanish neighbors. Even when hostile stereotypes concerning the “Portuguese Nation” circulated on both sides of the Atlantic, individual Portuguese generally proved able to integrate into Spanish colonial society, effectively establishing in the process their religious and political loyalties.

Although these three areas of dispute were distinct, they sometimes coalesced in times of crisis. Once again, the *complicidades grandes* serve as prominent examples of this phenomenon, as many non-naturalized

² Ricardo ESCOBAR QUEVEDO, *Inquisición y judaizantes en América Española (Siglos XVI-XVII)*, Bogotá, Editorial Universidad del Rosario, 2008, chs. 8-11.

Portuguese were accused by the Inquisition of not only following the “Law of Moses,” but also of plotting with Jewish compatriots in Holland to finance an attack on vulnerable ports in Spanish America. However, other contexts called for different kinds of arguments. For instance, during most of the sixteenth century, anti-Portuguese rhetoric usually lacked any sort of religious dimension to it; instead, the claims made against the Portuguese were typically political and economic in nature. When religion was mentioned, it often concerned Portuguese *luteranos*, rather than *judaizantes*. Even in the seventeenth century, when stereotypes linking Portuguese *naturaleza* with the “Law of Moses” were commonplace, multiple examples can be found in which arguments deployed against the Portuguese wholly ignored the vexed questions of religious belief and purity of blood, focusing instead on legal categories or pragmatic considerations.

Finally, on all sides of the debates over Portuguese difference, it is hard to overstate the importance of local contexts in shaping the perceptions and responses to the Portuguese residents of the area. Although anti-Portuguese stereotypes abounded during the early modern era, it should not be assumed that these typecasts were particularly accurate reflections of how Spaniards in widely differing locales judged the virtues or vices of individual Portuguese. Time and again, most Spaniards judged specific instances based on a range of circumstantial factors, including the needs of the local community, as well as the personal history of the individual in question. This is not to say that cultural stereotypes had no impact, but rather that the immense diversity of responses and judgments made by the Spanish concerning the Portuguese can only be fully understood through a deeper appreciation of the local dynamics of the specific cities and regions in which these contested negotiations took place.

The Question of Apostasy

Apostasy, particularly to the “Law of Moses,” is the best-known of all early modern Spanish accusations leveled against the Portuguese. For generations, scholars have noted how the terms “Portuguese” and “Portuguese Nation” served as synonyms to “Jew” and “Jewish (or Hebrew) Nation.” Indeed, these terms were often combined to form new labels, such as “Portuguese of the Hebrew Nation.” Difficulties arise, however, when this connection is judged as simply self-evident, precluding any need for further analysis into the complexities of what being “Portuguese” might have meant to different groups at different times. Frequently, historians

mention this synonymic association only in passing, utilizing the same two or three sources, if any references are given at all. Unsurprisingly, confusion abounds from this (mostly) unexamined truism. One basic point of disagreement is when this association between “Portuguese” and “Jew” began. Norman Simms dates the synonymic association to the forced conversions in Portugal in 1496-97.³ Mordechai Arbelle puts the starting point at around 1530, perhaps in connection to the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition during that decade.⁴ Finally, David Gitlitz argues that “the term ‘Portuguese’ *instantly* became synonymous with ‘Judaizer,’” thanks to the Union of the Iberian Crowns in 1580.⁵ Unfortunately, none of these conflicting claims are supported by any evidence, leaving the reader without any means of judging between them.

One critical facet to note is that starting in the fifteenth century, many non-Iberians tended to equate all of *Hispania* with Judaism. Erasmus – who had famously professed, “*non placet Hispania*” (“Spain does not please me”) – described this displeasing land as being “strange, sinister, and Jew-ridden.”⁶ Around the same time, Pope Paul IV was said to have held Spaniards in low repute, due to their tainted Jewish blood.⁷ One French pamphleteer exclaimed in the 1590s that “those of Castile and Portugal are Jews, those of Galicia and Granada [are] Muslims, and their prince is an atheist.”⁸ Moving into the seventeenth century, Cardinal Richelieu opined that the Spanish were “*des marranes, des faux catholiques, des basanés.*”⁹ What gave foreigners such fodder for these claims was the explosion of a *converso* population in all of Iberia, due to a century of forced conversions (starting in 1391) and expulsions (ending in 1498). Even someone as anti-Jewish as Erasmus came to have doubts about the wisdom of such actions: “Today many wonder whether it would not have been wiser to leave the Jews in

³ Norman SIMMS, *Masks in the Mirror: Marranism in Jewish Experience*, New York, Peter Lang, 2006, 1.

⁴ Mordehay ARBELL, *The Jewish Nation of the Caribbean: The Spanish-Portuguese Jewish Settlements in the Caribbean and the Guianas*, Jerusalem, Gefen Publishing House, 2002, 226.

⁵ David M. GITLITZ, *Secrecy and Deceit: The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*, Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 1996, 52, emphasis added.

⁶ Quoted in Shimon MARKISH, *Erasmus and the Jews*, trans. Anthony Olcott, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1986, 144.

⁷ José ÁLVAREZ-JUNCO, *Spanish Identity in the Age of Nations*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2011, 215.

⁸ Quoted in David NIRENBERG, *Neighboring Faiths: Christianity, Islam, and Judaism in the Middle Ages and Today*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2014, 164. In another pamphlet, Philip II was derided as a “*demi-More, demi-Juif, demi-Sarrazin.*”

⁹ Quoted in ÁLVAREZ-JUNCO, op. cit., 215.

Spain, as before, rather than to see them today in our midst, their names changed rather than their souls.”¹⁰ Although there were various motivations for these sorts of pronouncements, what is clear is that even into the seventeenth century, Portugal was not some sort of uniquely “Jewish” country. All of Iberia was tainted by Jewish blood – and, according to Erasmus, much of Italy was not exempt either.¹¹ Due to the emergence in the seventeenth century of influential “Portuguese” Jewish communities in places like Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London, it is not surprising that the “Jewish” label would shift from *Hispania* to Portugal. Nonetheless, this change should be seen as a continuation of previous prejudices rooted in the late fifteenth century, not an independent development specifically relating to the Portuguese.

In thinking along these lines, it is striking how infrequently anti-Jewish rhetorical strategies were used in the sixteenth century to attack the Portuguese. One interesting example of this absence is a 1574 letter by Francisco Carreño, an admiral serving on Spain’s treasure fleets, who wrote that “in all of the towns along the coast of Tierra Firme and on the islands of Santo Domingo [*sic*], Cuba, and Jamaica, half of the citizens and inhabitants are Portuguese, [...] so that it seems like this land is nothing else but the coast of Portugal.” Carreño’s proposed solution to this situation was harsh: he argues that the king would be served well “by removing from these Indies and taking the lands of those [Portuguese] who do not have a license from Your Majesty.” The author humbly offers his own services in this task, if Philip II would promise him a fifth of all of the confiscated property, which, as the admiral admits, will make him “very rich.” In the end, however, Carreño maintains that it is the king himself who will profit the most, as there would be a “great sum of money” going into the royal coffers, which might otherwise be drawn out and shipped to foreign lands.¹² Given the blatant greed and anti-Portuguese prejudice present in this letter, it is perhaps surprising that not a hint is given about the supposed Jewish beliefs or practices of the Portuguese. Carreño’s reasons are purely economic and political – *viz.*, the Portuguese drain money away from Castile, and they assist the English and French corsairs in raiding Spanish cities in the New World. One would imagine that if Carreño thought that it would benefit his case, he would utilize religious

¹⁰ Quoted in MARKISH, *op. cit.*, 93.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹² ARCHIVO GENERAL DE INDIAS [AGI], Santa Fe 187, f. 170r.

arguments concerning the need to defend the Catholic faith against secret Jews. However, nothing of the sort was put forward by the admiral.

This was not because the Spanish were unaware of the exodus from Portugal of New Christians seeking to escape the Inquisition and, for some, to practice Judaism in greater freedom. As early as 1569, the Duke of Alba claimed in a letter to Philip II that he had “no doubt that many of them [*i.e.*, the Portuguese] would like to go thither [England] to live in the law of Moses.”¹³ Even more specifically, the Spanish ambassador to England, Diego Guzmán de Silva, reported how those Portuguese who served the French corsair, Peyrot de Monluc, in the late 1560s were “considered by some to be Jews, as they have fled from the Inquisition in Portugal.”¹⁴ But even here, the suspicions of Judaism derived from specific actions – *viz.*, leaving Portugal – not simply from their Portuguese nationality. In any case, this belief about the “Jewishness” of these Portuguese did not seem to have been a universally held opinion, as Guzmán de Silva stated that only “some” believed this to be true.

Instead of judging the Portuguese renegades to be Jews, it was much more common for the Spanish to consider the Portuguese pilots employed by the French and the English as heretical Protestants – or, in the parlance of the day, “*luteranos*.” One Spanish report in 1588 related a small group of English ships that had committed multiple robberies led by “a Portuguese mulatto pilot [...] named Domingo Díaz. He is a Lutheran, according to what this seaman tells me, and a native of Aveiro.”¹⁵ Díaz had served as a pilot of a “packing-boat which the Marquis of Santa Cruz dispatched in 1586 to Santo Domingo,” when he was conscripted by Drake.¹⁶ It is unknown whether Díaz was truly a Protestant or if “Lutheran” here simply indicated that the pilot was a willing accomplice of the English, independent of religious persuasion. A more famous *luterano* from Portugal was Simón Fernández, who was described in certain Spanish reports as a “great pilot” and a “Lutheran Portuguese” who had “married in England” some time before.¹⁷ Trained as a pilot in Seville, Fernández became an ally

¹³ Martin A.S. HUME (ed.), *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas*, 4 vols., London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896, II.187.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I.657.

¹⁵ David B. QUINN (ed.), *The Roanoke Voyages, 1584-1590*, 2 vols., London, Hakluyt Society, 1955, II.783; cf. Irene A. WRIGHT (ed.), *Further English Voyages to Spanish America, 1583-1594*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1951, 233-35.

¹⁶ QUINN, *op. cit.*, II.783.

¹⁷ WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, 15, 240; cf. Quinn, *op. cit.*, II.742.

of the arch-Protestant “spymaster,” Francis Walsingham, who had helped the Portuguese pilot avoid charges of piracy in England.¹⁸ Throughout the late 1570s and 1580s, Fernández entered into the service of some of the leading English explorers of the era. He was appointed as a pilot to Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, and later served on both Ralph Lane’s 1585 colonizing expedition to Roanoke Island and John White’s voyage back to the ill-fated island two years later.¹⁹

In marked contrast to the early seventeenth century, when Portuguese *converso* allies of the Dutch were hardly ever deemed “Protestant” or “Lutheran,” at this point in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese allies of the English were here assumed to have converted to the English religion as well. The battles between Spain and her enemies were understood by all sides as being confessional in nature – specifically, Catholic versus Protestant. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that in official investigations of the robberies committed by French or English corsairs, Spanish investigators would almost always comment explicitly on how these corsairs were “Lutherans.”²⁰ Sometimes this also extended to Spanish or Portuguese prisoners on board. According to one deposition, “The said Corsair [Drake], and all his company, the Portuguese pilot, and negroes were all Lutherans, because this witness saw them perform their Lutheran ceremonies.”²¹ In the same vein, corsairs like Francis Drake sought to establish a religious solidarity with the pilots he had captured. One captured pilot later testified that Drake had “tempted [him] with many promises of silver and gold, to go with him to England and to become a Lutheran, saying that as soon as he would reach his native country, he would confer great mercies upon him.”²² For both the Spanish and the English, religious antagonism was an integral dimension to these geo-political conflicts, a circumstance that greatly benefited the Portuguese as a whole, who – despite the apostasy of certain individuals – came from an indubitably Catholic nation and shared the same Iberian religious culture as their Castilian neighbors. Portugal had no more succumbed to the temptations of Protestantism than Castile had, and the defections of a tiny number of Portuguese were comparable to the relatively

¹⁸ David B. QUINN, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1974, 249.

¹⁹ QUINN, op. cit., I.79, 199-204; II.515-43.

²⁰ AGI, Patronato, 267, N.1, R.76b, f. 4v; see also: AGI, Patronato, 245, N.1, R.45, and AGI, Patronato, 255, N.2, G.1, R.6.

²¹ Zelia NUTTALL (ed.), *New Light on Drake: A Collection of Documents Relating to His Voyage of Circumnavigation, 1577-1580*, London, Hakluyt Society, 1914, 188.

²² *Ibid.*, 195.

small numbers of Spanish Protestants tried by the various Inquisition tribunals throughout Spain during the sixteenth century.

In response to suspicions and accusations of apostasy to either Protestantism or Judaism, many Portuguese performed works of religious piety and devotion, which increased their reputation as a “*buen cristiano*” in the eyes of the local community. For wealthier Portuguese individuals, patronage of a monastery, convent, or hospital was one important and quite conspicuous means by which to enact their Catholic piety. For example, Jorge Fernández Gramajo was the benefactor of the Franciscan monastery of San Diego in Cartagena, which one traveling Spanish friar noted was “of excellent design and construction, built at his own expense by Captain Gramajo.”²³ Fernández’s patronage did not stop with the Franciscans; he also contributed generously to the local Augustinian monastery as well. Furthermore, as one of the most distinguished residents of Cartagena, Fernández became friends with some of the highest-ranking clerics of the region, including the bishops of Cartagena and Popayán, whom Fernández could rely upon to bear witness to his devotion to the Catholic faith.²⁴ Although differing in scale, the same type of religious piety can be witnessed in much poorer Portuguese as well. This can be seen in the example of Andrés González, a pharmacist who routinely donated necessary medicines to local monasteries and convents, as well as tending to the poor and destitute of the city.²⁵ For rich and poor alike, works of mercy, such as almsgiving and religious patronage, were critical means by which a person’s piety was enacted and recognized by others in the community.

Another principal means of demonstrating religious devotion was participation in local Catholic lay brotherhoods (*cofradías*). As it was common to have *cofradías* organized by nation, in cities with a large Portuguese community, there was often a Portuguese *cofradía*, usually dedicated to St. Anthony of Padua, the patron saint of Portugal.²⁶ However,

²³ Antonio VÁZQUEZ DE ESPINOSA, *Compendio y descripción de las Indias occidentales* [c. 1620], Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1948, 292. Julián Ruiz Rivera posits that Fernández established the convent as “a secure front” against the Inquisition; however, he provides no evidence for his claim. Julián B. RUIZ RIVERA, “Gobierno, comercio y sociedad en Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII,” in *Cartagena de Indias en el siglo XVII*, eds. Haroldo Calvo Stevenson and Adolfo Meisel Roca, Cartagena, Banco de la República, 2007, 362.

²⁴ AGI, Santa Fe, 100, N.37a, ff. 1r-1v.

²⁵ AGI, Escribanía 589B, pieza 23.

²⁶ STUDNICKI-GIZBERT, op. cit., 56-57; cf. Juan Ignacio PULIDO SERRANO, “La Hermandad y Hospital de San Antonio de los Portugueses de Madrid,” *Anales del Instituto de Estudios Madrileños* 44 (2004), 299-330.

many Portuguese became members in multiple *cofradías*, such as Luis Gómez Barreto who had ties to at least four different *cofradías* in Cartagena, each of which received a bequeathal in his will.²⁷ Some Portuguese also sought leadership positions within these confraternities. Blas de Paz Pinto was a *mayordomo* of two different *cofradías* in the city, and Luis López was a *mayordomo* for the Confraternity of the Most Holy Sacrament on two different occasions.²⁸ Membership in religious brotherhoods allowed for many opportunities to build a reputation of religious piety, including participation in religious processions and collective works of patronage. Furthermore, it often afforded the Portuguese numerous Spanish witnesses who could testify as to the genuineness of their devotion to the Catholic faith.

For some Spaniards, however, all the good works and pious acts in the world would not prove convincing as to the genuine Christianity of the Portuguese, especially those known to be New Christians. One memorialist, Fernando de Montesinos, captured this skeptical spirit perfectly in a lengthy account of the 1639 *gran auto de fe* in Lima. Although referring specifically to the Portuguese merchant, Manuel Bautista Pérez, Montesinos's words could have applied equally as well to countless other Portuguese:

From the outside, he appeared to be a great Christian, observing the feasts of the Holy Sacrament, hearing Mass and the sermons [...] He confessed and took communion frequently, was a member of the congregation, and educated his children with priests as tutors [...] Finally, he performed so many works of a good Christian that he dazzled even those who were very attentive as to whether they had been fooled by such actions. But he could not trick the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which arrested him for being a judaizing Jew [*judío judaizante*] on the 11th of August, 1635.²⁹

The claim that these numerous acts of Catholic piety were simply a façade for secret Jewish rituals and beliefs, of course, could never be disproven. What is most interesting, however, is that Montesinos admits that most Spanish observers were “dazzled” and deceived by the works of Catholic piety performed by the *patrão* of the Portuguese merchant community in

²⁷ Manuel TEJADO FERNÁNDEZ, *Aspectos de la Vida Social en Cartagena de Indias durante el Seiscientos*, Sevilla, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1954, 342.

²⁸ Enriqueta VILA VILAR, “Extranjeros en Cartagena (1593-1630),” *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 16 (1979), 164; AGI, Escribanía 589B, pieza 26, f. 22r.

²⁹ Fernando de MONTESINOS, *Auto de la fe celebrado en Lima a 23 de enero de 1639*, Madrid, Imprenta del Reyno, 1640, f. 23r.

Lima. Taking away the judgmental bias of the author, this passage ironically affirms the efficacy of these Portuguese strategies of performative piety in convincing their Spanish neighbors that they were faithful members of the Catholic Church. Although the example of Manuel Bautista Pérez is an extreme one, Portuguese from all social classes sought to establish their orthodoxy through similar means: participation in the sacramental life of the Church, works of charity and devotion, and membership in local religious brotherhoods.

The Question of Foreignness

Perhaps the most straightforward way for Spaniards to establish the “otherness” of the Portuguese was through the legal categorization of the Portuguese as “*extranjeros*.” Along these lines, the city council of Cartagena complained to the king in 1626 that “ecclesiastical offices and privileges,” which belonged by right to the “native sons of the land,” were instead being given by the Crown to “the Portuguese and the sons of the Portuguese and [other] foreigners.”³⁰ Given that the matter at hand concerned Catholic ecclesiastical offices and benefits, one could imagine that this would have been an excellent opportunity to use religious rhetoric in denouncing the Portuguese interlopers as secret Jews, subverting the Church from within. However, the city council did not adopt that rhetorical strategy, focusing instead on the Portuguese as foreigners. In contrast to the periodic ambiguity on the precise status of the Aragonese and especially the Basques within the kingdoms of Castile, the Portuguese were consistently classified as foreigners. In this way, they were deemed to be similar to other foreign vassals of the Habsburgs, such as Neapolitans or Flemings. Despite these legal pronouncements, however, most contemporary observers rightly understood that the Portuguese were not simply one more group of foreign vassals among many. The long, intertwined history of Portugal and Castile, combined with the geographical and cultural proximity of the two kingdoms, simply had no analogue in Flanders or Naples. As was true regarding the Basques and Catalans, the question of Portuguese “foreignness” was intimately tied to the perennial issue of what “Spain” meant and how it was to be properly understood. Thus, as the differences between the Castilians and the Portuguese were

³⁰ AGI, Santa Fe, 63, N.60, f. 1r.

being minimized or expanded, the very notion of “Spain” itself was being simultaneously constructed.

Ideas about “Spain” (*Hispania*; *España*) had ancient geographical and cultural roots. First and foremost, the term served as a geographic designation. For example, sailors returning to all parts of the Iberian Peninsula, including Portugal, would rejoice upon seeing “Spain” once again.³¹ Yet, even as a geographic label, “Spain” was rather ambiguous, as can be evidenced from a line in Las Casas’s *Brevísima relación*: “As for the vast mainland, which is ten times larger than all Spain, even including Aragon and Portugal,” which indicated that it was not uncommon at the time to use “Spain” to refer to only Castile.³² Indeed, this seemed to be the accustomed usage of the term by the Pope and other Italians, which drew a correction from Philip II in 1585, who insisted upon a much broader construction.³³ This geographical dimension was complemented by a consciousness in elite circles of *Hispania* as a historic-cultural entity, beginning in Roman times and continuing down the centuries.³⁴ Throughout the Middle Ages, various authors wrote defenses of the inherent virtues of “Spain,” known as “*laudes Hispaniae*.” For instance, the thirteenth-century canon lawyer, Vincentius Hispanus, declared, “Who, indeed, Spain, can reckon thy glories? Spain, wealthy in horses, celebrated for food, and shining with gold; steadfast and wise, the envy of all, and skilled in the law and standing high on sublime pillars.”³⁵ Such defenses would continue to be taken up in the early modern period by writers such as Francisco de Quevedo and Benito de Peñalosa y Mondragón.³⁶ For scholars at the courts of Alfonso X of Castile (r. 1252-84) and John II of Aragon (r. 1458-1479), the idea of “*Hispania*”

³¹ J.H. ELLIOTT, *Imperial Spain, 1469-1716*, London, Penguin, 1963, 19; James LOCKHART, *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560: A Social History* [1968], 2nd ed., Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, 1994, 146.

³² Bartolomé de LAS CASAS, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* [1552], trans. Herma Briffault, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974, 30.

³³ M.J. RODRÍGUEZ-SALGADO, “Christians, Civilised and Spanish: Multiple Identities in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 8 (1998), 235.

³⁴ Cf. Josep R. LLOBERA, *The God of Modernity: The Development of Nationalism in Western Europe*, Oxford, Berg, 1994, 70-80.

³⁵ Quoted in Helmut KOENIGSBERGER, “Spain,” in *National Consciousness, History, & Political Culture in Early-Modern Europe*, ed. Orest Ranum, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975, 145.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 145; Xavier GIL, “One King, One Faith, Many Nations: *Patria* and Nation in Spain, 16th-17th Centuries,” in ‘*Patria*’ und ‘*Patrioten*’ vor dem Patriotismus: Pflichten, Rechte, Glauben und die Rekonfigurierung europäischer Gemeinwesen im 17. Jahrhundert, ed. Robert von Friedeburg, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2005, 118.

resonated powerfully.³⁷ More than one Iberian prince dreamed of the day when all of “Spain” (or alternatively, “the Spains”) could be united under his rule. Interestingly, for the Aragonese Martin Carrillo, writing in 1620, it was Philip II, not Ferdinand and Isabella, who had finally realized this long-cherished dream of being the “first king and master of all of Spain,” because it was only under the Prudent King that Portugal had been joined with the rest of *España*.³⁸ Without Portugal, it could not be said that all of “Spain” was united.

Legal constructions of difference set the stage for a wide variety of clashes, but they did not determine them. As the Portuguese were deemed to be foreigners to the Spanish Indies, royal investigations into illegal residence (*composiciones*) were carried out with some regularity, and individual foreigners sometimes sought recourse to the Crown in the form of *cartas de naturaleza*. Furthermore, expulsion orders were periodically given, especially against foreigners residing in port cities throughout the circum-Caribbean. In all of these instances, Castilian and Portuguese protagonists on all sides made use of contemporary understandings of what it meant to be “foreign” or “native,” “Castilian” or “Portuguese.” These thorny questions, however, were typically answered not so much through erudite abstractions, but through the quotidian testimony regarding a person’s behavior and reputation, encompassing such diverse variables as language, comportment, dress, marital status, social and commercial partnerships, and civic participation. Nativeness and foreignness (as well as the other dualities examined in this essay, loyalty/duplicity and orthodoxy/apostasy) were ultimately embodied realities that were realized as they were being performed.³⁹ Thus, the true native was one who behaved like a native, and in so doing, an individual could transcend even such weighty criteria as foreign birthplace and questionable ancestry.

Even the basic task of determining where someone was originally from proved quite perplexing at times. For example, charges were brought in a 1620 *composición* against Juan Calvo, accusing him of being Portuguese

³⁷ ELLIOTT, *op. cit.*, 19; Roberto J. GONZÁLEZ-CASANOVA, “Alfonso X’s Concept of Hispania: Cultural Politics in the Histories,” in *Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. Simon Forde, Lesley Johnson, and Alan V. Murray, Leeds, University of Leeds, 1995, 155-70.

³⁸ Quoted in Tamar HERZOG, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 2015, 57.

³⁹ My arguments in this section owe much to Tamar HERZOG, *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2003, especially chs. 4-5.

and residing illegally in the Indies. In his confession, Calvo stated that he was not Portuguese, but a “native of the town of Almonte in the kingdoms of Castile, eight leagues from Sanlúcar de Barrameda.”⁴⁰ It is impossible to know whether Calvo was telling the truth in his testimony. As Almonte is very close to the border with Portugal, it is entirely possible that Calvo’s accent or dialect sounded “Portuguese” to some. Alternatively, since it was a very common practice at the time for Portuguese to lie about their origins, perhaps Calvo was actually from Portugal, but managed to pass as Castilian.⁴¹ In any case, Calvo was able to collect multiple witnesses, including a priest and a self-described “*hidalgo*,” who confirmed that he was born in Almonte, as he had stated previously.⁴² In the end, the investigator judging the case found that the *fiscal* had “not proved his accusation,” and declared Calvo to be absolved of all charges.⁴³

In considering whether a person should be rightly considered Portuguese or Castilian, the seemingly more “objective” criteria of birthplace and ancestry could be outweighed by “subjective” factors, such as reputation and public behavior. In this way, the Portuguese merchant Jorge Gramajo admitted that he was “an *extranjero* of the Portuguese nation,” but nonetheless appealed to the king to recognize his true Castilian *naturaleza*, since he “has established himself in this city [Cartagena] with [his] wife and children” and was “reputed as a *natural* of these kingdoms [the Castilian Indies], which Your Majesty must declare as such.”⁴⁴ Gramajo was the nephew of Jorge Fernández Gramajo, one of the most famous Portuguese merchants in the entire New World, and his Portuguese background

⁴⁰ AGI, Escribanía, 589A, pieza 11, f. 7r.

⁴¹ Cf. Pablo E. PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, *Spain’s Men of the Sea: Daily Life on the Indies Fleets in the Sixteenth Century* [1992], trans. Carla Rahn Phillips, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, 57-60.

⁴² AGI, Escribanía, 589A, pieza 11, ff. 16r-18r.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, f. 23r. Beyond the *composiciones*, one can easily find further evidence of confusion over whether a person was truly Portuguese or not. For example, in a 1619 letter, the inquisitors at Cartagena reported that “a young man, [either] Galician or Portuguese,” was arrested and put in the inquisitorial jail for showing “little respect during the procession of the Most Holy Sacrament” and for saying “some obscene words.” ARCHIVO HISTÓRICO NACIONAL [AHN], Inquisición, L.1009, f. 30r. As Tamar Herzog has argued, these sorts of classifications were anything but “self-evident,” as Castilians tried to define “Spanishness according to Castilian standards,” which often led to Galicians and Catalans being accused of being Portuguese and French, respectively. Tamar HERZOG, “A Stranger in a Strange Land: The Conversion of Foreigners into Members in Colonial Latin America,” in *Constructing Collective Identities and Shaping Public Spheres: Latin American Paths*, eds. Luis Roniger and Mario Sznajder, Brighton, Sussex Academic Press, 1998, 49.

⁴⁴ AGI, Escribanía, 589B, pieza 32, f. 17r.

was impossible to hide. Nonetheless, Gramajo could argue that he was “reputed” to be a native of the Castilian kingdoms of the New World, due to a combination of public behavior and social standing, which he argued outweighed any disadvantage brought about by his Portuguese birthplace and ancestry.⁴⁵

A similar case was that of Juan Gutiérrez Román, an *alférez* in Cartagena who sought a *carta de naturaleza* from the Crown in the mid-1640s. Gutiérrez’s autobiographical statements, together with the character testimonies that he obtained from some of the most elite members of local Cartagena society, reveal that Gutiérrez sought to portray himself as *already being* Castilian – due not to birthplace, but to his public image and behavior over many years. Like Gramajo, Gutiérrez simply wanted the king to ratify an already present reality. To this end, the *contador* for the Cartagena Inquisition testified that Gutiérrez, being the “son of a Castilian father” and connected to the “leading persons” of Cartagena, was “commonly reputed among everyone” to be Castilian himself.⁴⁶ According to another witness, part of the reason for this reputation as a Castilian had to do with Gutiérrez’s “speech and good comportment.”⁴⁷ Although Gutiérrez’s Castilian ancestry was an important factor, it was hardly the only one, complemented as it was by such variables as speech, comportment, and social connections. To this list, another reason was added by Diego de Matute, a Castilian witness who argued that Gutiérrez was “loved and esteemed by all for the regard and goodwill he has always shown to the Castilian people joining them in friendship and association.”⁴⁸

⁴⁵ These fluid understandings of what constituted nativeness/foreignness did not apply only to the Portuguese. For example, in 1620, Cristóbal Ferrer was accused of being a Genoese foreigner to the Indies, to which he responded with a multi-part defense. First, he claimed that he was a native of Barcelona and therefore, a “native vassal of [Philip IV’s] kingdoms, even in the Crown of Castile.” Second, Ferrer claimed that he was “reputed” by others to be a Spaniard, arising out of his many years of service as an “infantryman for more than twenty-two years in the city of Milan,” a position that Ferrer claimed was only given to “natives of the kingdoms of Spain.” Several years earlier, another Genoese in Cartagena, Fabricio Viacava, was described by the local city council as being “a noble man” who was “more of a native than a foreigner,” due to the many years that he had previously spent in Granada and Seville. As with those Portuguese examined earlier, these two Genoese were able to utilize the inherent flexibility and fluidity of the early modern concepts of “native” and “foreigner,” in order to establish their genuine *naturaliza*. For Ferrer, see: AGI, Escribanía 589B, pieza 34, ff. 13r-13v; for Viacava: AGI, Santa Fe 62, N.98, f. 1r, as well as AGI, Escribanía 589B, pieza 21.

⁴⁶ AGI, Contratación, 50A, fol. 28v.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. 32r.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 25r.

In his testimony, Matute maintained that Gutiérrez's disposition towards Castilians reflected his true Castilian *naturaleza*, despite his Portuguese origins. By stressing this connection, Matute challenged the determinative nature of a person's birthplace, but also subtly reinforced the stereotyped linkage between Portuguese *naturaleza* and anti-Castilian sentiment. If Gutiérrez was found to be lacking the latter, then, according to Matute, it could be safely deduced that Gutiérrez also lacked the former.

By implicitly relating anti-Castilian animus to Portuguese *naturaleza*, Matute was tapping into a quite controversial question. Certainly it was not hard to find Castilian authors who believed that the Portuguese were inherently hostile to Castile and her interests. For example, according to officials of the Casa de Contratación in Seville, "The Portuguese [...] in Cartagena and other parts of the Indies are more numerous than the Castilians, and most are *conversos* [*i.e.*, Jews⁴⁹], people who by religion and nature [*naturaleza*] have so much hatred for Castile."⁵⁰ For these officials, since anti-Castilian animus ran in the blood of most Portuguese, there could be no hope of conversion or reconciliation. Foreign observers were also quick to point out the depth of anti-Castilian sentiments not just in Portugal, but in other Iberian provinces as well. One French traveler in the opening years of the seventeenth century commented how

the Aragonese, the Valencians, the Catalans, the Basques, the Galicians, the Portuguese bait each other, throwing in each others' faces the vices and failings of their provinces; but should a Castilian appear among them, then see how at one they are in launching themselves upon him all together, as bulldogs upon a wolf.⁵¹

A primary cause of these strained relations was the patently unequal nature of the partnership between Castile and Portugal during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Indeed, many Castilians proudly touted Castile as the "head" of the Spanish Monarchy, raising the sensitive question of

⁴⁹ Despite the reality that countless numbers of *conversos* were ordinary Catholics, indistinguishable from their Old Christian neighbors, it is clear that the authors of this letter use "*conversos*" here to mean "Jews," given the emphasis on "religion" and "nature" as distinguishing characteristics.

⁵⁰ AGI, Contratación, 5171, f. 181v.

⁵¹ Quoted in I.A.A. THOMPSON, "Castile, Spain, and the Monarchy: The Political Community from *patria natural* to *patria nacional*," in *Spain, Europe, and the Atlantic World: Essays in Honour of John H. Elliott*, eds. Richard L. Kagan and Geoffrey Parker, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, 133 n.23.

how the head was to relate to its members.⁵² Such a dynamic inevitably bred resentment from the less “privileged” members of the body.⁵³ Continued Castilian policies of exclusion directed towards the Portuguese in Spanish America only exacerbated the hard feelings.

In light of these factors, it is hardly surprising that those writers desirous of a greater pan-Iberian unity repeatedly emphasized how all the peninsular kingdoms, including Portugal, were equally “Spanish.”⁵⁴ For example, in 1581, a Castilian Jesuit, Pedro de Rivadeneira, wrote that any war between Castile and Portugal would be a conflict of “Christians against Christians, Catholics against Catholics, and Spaniards against Spaniards.”⁵⁵ A year prior, the bishop of Coria argued that the Portuguese were so similar to the Castilians that to separate them into different nations could only be done out of malice.⁵⁶ The views put forward by these ecclesiastics were affirmed in the strongest terms by the king himself. Writing shortly before he was to assume the throne of Portugal, Philip II argued that the Portuguese were just as Spanish as the Castilians, and since the two “differ so little in language, behavior, and customs,” only a “vain and false man” would argue otherwise.⁵⁷ These words should not be read as merely a rhetorical ploy on the part of Philip, although there was certainly an element of this. The king’s words described a basic reality that Castile had benefited from for decades. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, lacking sufficient numbers of settlers in its distant colonies, Castile had repeatedly turned to the Portuguese to help fill in the gaps, whether in Cuba, Jamaica, or Florida.⁵⁸ No other foreign group was relied upon by Castile as much as the Portuguese in populating the dispersed lands that

⁵² For examples of the metaphor of Castile as the “head” of the Monarchy, see: J.H. ELLIOTT, *The Revolt of the Catalans: A Study in the Decline of Spain (1598-1640)*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1963, 310; Xavier TORRES SANS, *Naciones sin nacionalismo: Cataluña en la monarquía hispánica*, Valencia, Universitat de València, 2008, 189; Erin ROWE, *Saint and Nation: Santiago, Teresa of Avila, and Plural Identities in Early Modern Spain*, University Park, PA, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011, 139.

⁵³ Resentments could go the other direction as well, as some Castilians felt that the other parts of the Spanish Monarchy were parasites on Castile. Thompson, art. cit., 141-45.

⁵⁴ Pedro CARDIM, *Portugal unido y separado: Felipe II, la unión de territorios y el debate sobre la condición política del reino de Portugal*, Valladolid, Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2014, 193-207.

⁵⁵ HERZOG, op. cit., 57.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁵⁷ Fernando DÍAZ-PLAJA (ed.), *Historia de España en sus documentos: Siglo XVI*, Madrid, Cátedra, 1988, 494.

⁵⁸ Three examples among many others: AGI, Santo Domingo, 1121, L.1, ff. 78v-79v; AGI, Santo Domingo, 1121, L.2, f. 33v; AGI, Indiferente, 426, L.25, ff. 242v-243v.

had come under Castilian rule. Of course, geographical proximity was an important factor, but ultimately, the Portuguese were the obvious choice for the Habsburgs, precisely because of those factors outlined by Philip II – *viz.*, close parallels in language, behavior, and customs. Even as Castilian law continued to uphold the foreignness of the Portuguese, the actions of Castile’s rulers tacitly affirmed the fundamental cultural similarities of the two Iberian kingdoms.

Others argued that resentment towards Castile was not so much a Portuguese trait *per se*, but a feature of some subset of the Portuguese population. Of course, Portuguese *conversos* were perennial targets, but they were not the only ones. Class divisions also played a prominent role, as the lower classes in Portugal were the targets of a great deal of scorn and criticism. In contrast to the more magnanimous nobility, Portuguese commoners were accused of harboring ill will against their Castilian neighbors. The Portuguese writer, Diogo do Couto, gave voice to this idea in his *O Soldado Prático*, during an exchange between two Portuguese, a common soldier and a *fidalgo*. The soldier asks about “the ancient strife that has always existed between us and the Castilians,” to which the *fidalgo* responds, “This hatred only exists among commoners [*gente baixa*], and with the nobility, it is a very different thing.”⁵⁹ For his part, the Spanish dramatist, Damián Salustio del Poyo, maintained that the “plebeian ranks” (*la gente plebeya*) in Portugal were “eternal enemies of the Castilian nation.”⁶⁰ Along the same lines, the Portuguese nobleman, Cristovão de Moura, confessed that the greatest obstacle to Habsburg rule in Portugal was the “natural and ancient hatred that the common people have towards the Castilians.”⁶¹ Finally, Philip II also echoed these ideas when he wrote that hostility to Castile was rooted in “popular ignorance” and encouraged by persons “incapable of rational discourse and driven by private interests.”⁶²

Of course, these notions reflect the elite biases of these authors, and supporters and detractors of the Habsburgs could be found across the socioeconomic spectrum in Portugal. Nevertheless, what is pertinent here is

⁵⁹ Diogo do COUTO, *O Soldado Prático*, ed. Reis Brasil, Mem Martins, Publicações Europa-América, 1988, 131.

⁶⁰ C.R. BOXER, “Spaniards and Portuguese in the Iberian Colonial World: Aspects of an Ambivalent Relationship, 1580-1640,” in *Liber Amicorum Salvador de Madariaga*, eds. H. Brugmans and R. Martínez Nadal, Bruges, De Tempel, 1966, 241.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 241.

⁶² DÍAZ-PLAJA, *op. cit.*, 494.

how closely the elite families of Castile and Portugal were, in fact, connected by intermarriage and shared cultural markers of nobility, such as personal honorifics and participation in military orders.⁶³ These commonalities allowed for a much easier integration of Portuguese elites into the upper echelons of colonial society. One prominent New World example was Don Vicente de Villalobos, a successful merchant in Antioquia, who was able to marry into one of the most prominent families of the region and eventually became a *regidor* and *alguacil mayor* in Cartagena. A man of high aspirations, Villalobos was lauded by four different city councils throughout New Granada in 1609 for being a “person of valor, understanding, and virtue.”⁶⁴ These letters of approbation reflect the strength of public reputation and decorous behavior to transcend those impediments that could be incurred by Portuguese *naturaleza*.

However, this is not to say that Villalobos simply tried to disavow his Portuguese background. In fact, he utilized it to his advantage in a most intriguing way. In a 1611 *probanza*, Villalobos asked a series of character witnesses about whether “the nobility of his person” was known and respected not only by Castilians, but also “in particular [by] his fellow countrymen.”⁶⁵ It appears that Villalobos believed that testimony about his standing among his fellow Portuguese would increase his standing in the eyes of local Castilian elites. Some witnesses did not answer this part of the questionnaire at all, no doubt because they did not know how the Portuguese viewed Villalobos’s “nobility.” Others, however, went into great detail. One witness, a Portuguese resident in Zaragoza (Antioquia), claimed to know Villalobos’s family in Portugal, which included “*alcaldes* and *regidores*,” who faithfully served the king with their “horses and arms” in the city of Lagos. All the Portuguese who knew Villalobos, it was said, held “much respect and estimation” for him, because they knew his “birth and quality.”⁶⁶ For Villalobos explicitly to ask for testimony about local Portuguese opinion suggests that Castilian persons of importance held such opinions in some regard. Indeed, judging from Villalobos’s strategy in this *probanza*, the idea of Portuguese individuals with pure and honorable

⁶³ Mafalda Soares da CUNHA, “The Marriage of João de Alarcão and Margarida Soares and the Creation of a Transnational Portuguese-Spanish Nobility,” in *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*, eds. Joan-Lluís Palos and Magdalena S. Sánchez, Burlington, Ashgate, 2016, 139-61.

⁶⁴ AGI, Santa Fe, 66, N.72, f. 1r.

⁶⁵ AGI, Santa Fe, 99, N.45, f. 93r.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 115v-116r.

lineage was hardly the kind of oxymoron that it becomes if Spanish perceptions of Portuguese “impurity” or “taintedness” are exaggerated, for example, by a disproportionate emphasis on the stereotype of Portuguese as secret Jews. These negative stereotypes and attitudes must be understood within their larger context, which included many fundamental cultural similarities that blurred the dividing lines between Castilians and Portuguese – or as some writers understood it, between “*españoles castellanos*” and “*españoles portugueses*.”⁶⁷

The Question of Disloyalty

A final means by which some Castilians attempted to create distance between themselves and the Portuguese was through accusations of treasonous activities, which became commonplace from the mid-sixteenth century. Such accusations usually were directed towards “wicked” individuals or certain groups (especially Portuguese pilots). In contrast to the later condemnations of the perfidy of the “Portuguese Nation,” it was relatively uncommon in the sixteenth century for the Portuguese to be collectively accused of being disloyal, in part due to the presence of Spanish renegades among the corsairs, as well as the continual violence done to Portuguese interests by pirates throughout the Atlantic world. After 1580, the geo-political landscape notably altered with the emergence of the Portuguese pretender, Dom António, whose partnerships with Francis Drake and other English pirates heightened Spanish anxieties regarding the possible duplicity of their Portuguese neighbors. Nevertheless, even in times of genuine crisis, Portuguese residents in Spanish America proved adept at demonstrating their loyalty and were commonly rewarded as such by local officials.

Throughout the sixteenth century, the Spanish were plagued by corsair activity by the French and later from the English. One of the most important early losses was the 1555 capture of Havana by a band of French corsairs led by Jacques de Sores. As Kris Lane notes, this was “no mere pirate sortie, but rather a full-scale military assault.”⁶⁸ Sores demanded an impossible ransom of 30,000 pesos, combined with several thousand

⁶⁷ Cf. Lorenzo de MENDOZA, *Suplicación a Su Magestad... en defensa de los portugueses* [1630]. Biblioteca Nacional de España [BNE], R/11868(3).

⁶⁸ Kris LANE, *Pillaging the Empire: Piracy in the Americas, 1500-1750*, Armonk, NY, M.E. Sharpe, 1998, 25; cf. Alejandro de la FUENTE, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2008, 1-2.

pounds of bread and meat, to which the city leaders responded with an offer of just over 4,000 pesos. The corsair laughingly dismissed this proposal by declaring that “he did not know that there were crazies outside France.”⁶⁹ Soon a counterattack was planned by Havana’s governor, a lawyer with no experience in military matters. Unfortunately for the city, the governor’s 300-man force, composed mostly of Indians and Africans, failed spectacularly. Before leaving, the French burned Havana to the ground, devastating the city so thoroughly that, according to one witness, “the Greeks did not leave Troy worse.”⁷⁰

Sores was a Huguenot corsair who employed a local Portuguese renegade, Pero Bras, as his pilot. A native of the Azores, Bras had been a resident in Havana for around a year. Captured by the French while traveling with other Portuguese from Nombre de Dios to Santo Domingo, Bras offered to pilot Sores and his men to Havana. The French accepted Bras’s offer, and the rest of the Portuguese on board the captured ship were taken prisoner and forced to accompany the French to Havana.⁷¹ With Bras’s knowledge and skill as a pilot, the French entered Havana effortlessly and lay siege to the city’s fortress. Denounced invariably as a “traitor” who “sold out this land,” Bras appeared eager to help the French in whatever way he could.⁷² While in Havana, Sores was considering an attack on Santo Domingo, and he asked the *alcaide* of Havana about the best entry point into that city. The *alcaide* protested that Santo Domingo was a heavily armed and well-defended port, which would “not be as easily taken as Havana was.” Completely contradicting the *alcaide*, Bras told the French that Santo Domingo was actually quite sparsely defended and could be easily taken by Sores and his men.⁷³ It is no wonder that one report decried Bras as a man “who was more cruel and of more evil counsels than the captain [Sores] himself.”⁷⁴ From all accounts, Bras seems to have served the French freely, motivated either by monetary rewards or perhaps by an antipathy to Spain or the Catholic Church. Unfortunately, none of the contemporary accounts attempt to explain Bras’s motivations.

⁶⁹ *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar (Segunda serie)*, Madrid, Est. Tipográfico “Sucesores de Rivadeneyra,” 1891, VI.369.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, VI.436.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, VI.384-85.

⁷² *Ibid.*, VI.422.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, VI.422-23.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, VI.373.

In general, Castilian responses to Portuguese renegades during the sixteenth century were based on what the specific individuals did, not on their nationality or descent. In the multiple accounts of the sack of Havana, nowhere was Bras ever condemned for being part of the “Portuguese nation.” The pilot’s actions in assisting the French capture Havana were always depicted as deriving from his own evil will, not from his “blood” or his “nation.” One basic reason for this is that during this period, a number of Spanish renegades also collaborated with the French. Indeed, Bras was not the only traitor to betray Havana; a young man named Juan del Plano also participated in Sores’s designs to capture the city. According to one account, Plano claimed to be an “*español*,” and “from his speech, so it seems.” Yet, there was some uncertainty on this point, as another witness claims that Plano was a “*mozo extranjero*.” A third source labels Plano as a “*navarro*,” which would explain the ambiguity in identification.⁷⁵ Despite their differences in background, both men were equally condemned in the strongest terms: “from [these men], the Frenchman [Sores] came well-informed and advised how the fortress was worthless, without men or any resistance with which to defend itself. [...] Like robbers of a house, these two traitors and spies caused all the harm of this land.”⁷⁶ None of the eyewitness accounts attempt to draw a broader lesson from this betrayal by castigating the Portuguese or the Navarrese as being a race of traitors or a nation of spies. Instead, the guilt was always seen to rest individually with these two men, not collectively with their respective nations.

This unwillingness to assign blame too broadly can be explained, in part, from the fact that the Portuguese were more often the victims of French or English predations rather than co-conspirators. From the beginning, corsairs paid little attention to whether a merchant ship flew under a Spanish or a Portuguese flag; both were frequent targets. In 1545, Charles V’s ambassador to France, Jean de Saint-Mauris, wrote back to Spain informing the Emperor that “the French seize every Portuguese vessel they encounter, and their judges invariably declare them good prizes. The men on board are sent to the galleys and those who are worth it are held to ransom.”⁷⁷ Throughout most of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese routinely suffered both robbery and imprisonment at the hands of the

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, VI.373, 395, 384.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, VI.395.

⁷⁷ Martin A.S. HUME (ed.), *Calendar of Letters, Dispatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain preserved in the Archives of Simancas, Vienna, Brussels, and Elsewhere*, vol. 8, *Henry VIII, 1545-1546*, London, Mackie and Co., 1904, 81.

French. Unfortunately for those Portuguese captured by Sores, the governor's reckless counter-attack, while failing in its larger aim, did succeed in killing Sores's uncle. Seeking immediate retribution, Sores ordered his men to stab all of his Castilian and Portuguese prisoners to death.⁷⁸ Given the ubiquity of Portuguese residents and merchant ships in the Spanish Caribbean throughout the sixteenth century, the vexations perpetrated by French corsairs against Portuguese settlers and traders throughout the Caribbean would not have been lost on the Spanish.

However, some Spaniards did argue that Portuguese pilots were collectively suspect – and frequently culpable – of treasonous alliances with the French and English. Such criticisms were common, especially starting in the 1570s and 1580s. One such complaint was leveled against this conspicuous subgroup of Portuguese by the president of the Council of the Indies, Antonio de Padilla, on the eve of the Union of the Crowns in 1579: “All the pilots who go in these English and French armadas are Portuguese. For this and a hundred thousand other reasons, it would be fitting that Your Majesty should become the King and Sovereign of those countries.”⁷⁹ Three decades later, officials from the Casa de Contratación expressed similar unhappiness with pilots from Portugal, lamenting that one of the “very great difficulties” that had resulted from so many Portuguese residing in the Spanish Indies was that “in times of war with England or France or Holland, the pilots that bring these nations to [the Indies] were Portuguese.”⁸⁰ Maritime occupations generally carried little social esteem, and pilots were only marginally more respected than common sailors.⁸¹ As an inherently mobile group, pilots also violated the cultural norms of stability and rootedness that were highly valued in respectable Spanish society.⁸² Foreign pilots were thus in a doubly disadvantageous situation, and it is unsurprising that they attracted scorn and suspicion as a group, especially as attacks from French and English corsairs increased over the course of the century.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that Portuguese pilots were universally despised or distrusted by Spanish officials. Pilots from Portugal had long been renowned for their skill in oceanic navigation, and in

⁷⁸ *Colección de documentos inéditos*, VI.374, 383. The local military commander only escaped execution, thanks to a ransom of 2,200 pesos.

⁷⁹ NUTTALL, *op. cit.*, 402.

⁸⁰ AGI, Contratación, 5171, f. 181v.

⁸¹ PÉREZ-MALLAÍNA, *op. cit.*, 35-45.

⁸² Cf. STUDNICKI-GIZBERT, *op. cit.*, 45-46, 152.

the face of a continual shortage of qualified pilots and mariners in Castile, it proved impossible for Spanish officials to enforce their restrictions concerning foreigners on Spanish ships.⁸³ From the beginnings of Spanish imperialism in the New World, the Crown gave licenses to scores of Portuguese pilots, and of course, many more obtained permission through fraudulent means. Despite the restrictive regulations and long-standing fears about the treachery of Portuguese pilots, some Spanish officials remarked favorably on their service to Spain. For example, in 1593, Rodrigo Zamorano, the *piloto mayor* of the Casa de Contratación, offered this positive assessment to the Council of the Indies:

I am of the opinion when some pilot from Tavira or another part of that kingdom [of Portugal] offers himself [...] because it is Your Majesty's kingdom, and having seen on this [Indies] route many good seamen from there, I do not think it inconvenient to admit such types to the aforesaid examination, having seen the lack of pilots that there are, and with this it can be assured that they will not leave [these kingdoms] to serve in other parts, which at times, because of not being admitted as pilots in Seville [...] they seek other paths where they make themselves useful.⁸⁴

While some officials argued that Portuguese defections to other European powers demonstrated that the Portuguese could not be trusted, Zamorano made the opposite argument. He claimed instead that by employing greater numbers of Portuguese pilots and mariners, the number of defectors would decrease. Zamorano maintained that, instead of being motivated by religious belief or hatred of Castile, Portuguese renegades were compelled to serve foreign monarchs for a much more mundane reason: to seek employment and a means by which to “make themselves useful.” Although the trend of Portuguese pilots serving other nations was indisputable, as Zamorano's arguments reveal, the motivations behind these pilots' actions were openly disputed, and therefore, what particular policies towards the Portuguese were needed also proved to be a continually unsettled question.

Anxieties regarding the complicity of Portuguese residents rose noticeably after 1580, when the Portuguese pretender to the throne, Dom

⁸³ Portugal also faced shortages, especially on certain routes. See: Amélia POLÓNIA, “Portuguese Seafarers: Informal Agents of Empire-Building,” in *Law, Labour, and Empire: Comparative Perspectives on Seafarers, c. 1500-1800*, eds. Maria Fusaro, et al., Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, 215-35.

⁸⁴ Quoted in Edward COLLINS, “Portuguese Pilots at the Casa de la Contratación and the Exámenes de Pilotos,” *The International Journal of Maritime History* 26 (2014), 191.

António, escaped to England, forming certain friendships of mutual utility with various privateers – including, most especially, Francis Drake. From the beginning of the Portuguese succession crisis, the English and French sought to take advantage of the unstable situation for their own benefit, if not necessarily to help Dom António actually become king. Throughout the 1580s, these circumstances all contributed to the circulation of rumors that Dom António was preparing to sail to the New World with the English. For example, one *consulta* from the Council of the Indies in 1582 claimed that Dom António had left from Isla Terceira with 3,500 men, mostly “Portuguese and Frenchmen.” Although it was suspected that Madeira and Brazil were the main targets, the Council claimed that “with so many men, [Dom António] could be able to carry out another objective,” perhaps an attack on Cartagena. The king was warned that if Dom António’s forces did attack Cartagena, it would cause “much harm, since there were not enough defenses in the city to resist [Dom António].”⁸⁵ Of course, the Spanish Indies had been threatened by pirates for decades, but what the Spanish feared most after 1580 was not simple pillaging from pirates, but the capture and transformation of a Spanish or Portuguese colonial port into a permanent base of operations for both the English and the Portuguese pretender.

Although Dom António never sailed to the West Indies, such rumors were entirely plausible to observers at the time. Indeed, it was not from lack of trying that Dom António did not join Drake’s 1586 expedition, but from the express command of Elizabeth I that he remain in England.⁸⁶ Despite the Portuguese pretender’s absence, many inhabitants of Santo Domingo and Cartagena believed that Drake’s ships were actually led by Dom António. Fleeing from their devastated city, some elite residents of Santo Domingo reported that “from certain indications, we suspect that the commanding officer is Don Antonio of Portugal.”⁸⁷ Likewise, another letter written only days after the attack states that “some say that Don

⁸⁵ AGI, Indiferente, 740, N.99, f. 1r.

⁸⁶ According to Harry Kelsey, “On 7 September the pretender to the Portuguese throne, Dom Antonio, arrived in Plymouth. Drake found room for him at his Buckland estate, along with [Sir Philip] Sidney. Dom Antonio also wanted to go on the voyage [to the West Indies], but some correspondence with the queen soon convinced him that this was impractical, and he left for London with Sidney.” Harry KELSEY, *Sir Francis Drake: The Queen’s Pirate*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998, 242. From Ambassador Mendoza’s account, Elizabeth I “scoffed greatly” at the idea of Dom António accompanying the fleet to the New World. HUME, *op. cit.*, III.550.

⁸⁷ WRIGHT, *op. cit.*, 23.

Antonio is in command of these English.”⁸⁸ Undoubtedly, the specter of Dom António distressed many Spanish imaginations during this period. As Irene Wright aptly expressed it, “Don Antonio haunted the Spanish Indies in these years – reported to be here, there, and everywhere – as restless and intangible as a ghost.”⁸⁹

Within a short time, however, these ghost tales began to fall apart. As the members of the Audiencia of Santo Domingo later testified, “At first it was supposed that the commander of these people was Don Antonio, prior of Crato, but later it was learned that this was not true, that he remains in England at the house of this Captain Francis, by whose hand so much damage has been inflicted.”⁹⁰ Even though the Portuguese pretender was still in faraway England, some Spaniards testified that they saw “Portuguese” at work everywhere. According to one account, when Drake approached Cartagena, he used his Portuguese “vice-admiral” in an act of trickery to weaken the morale of the city:

The day [Drake] reached [Cartagena] a ship came close to the shore and pretended that the gammoning of the main mast had broken, and the vessel dropped back, near a point. A Portuguese struck out for shore, swimming. [...] When he got to land, the people received him and dressed him, and he told them that the English had carried him off by force and that at Santo Domingo they had landed 5,000 musketeers and said they would land 1,000 at Cartagena and another thousand and still other thousands, until they razed the city [...] He so frightened the people that not a man faced the enemy nor raised his head. After the city fell, they saw this man with the English, well attired, and he sails with them – the vice-admiral of their fleet, called Don Francisco the Portuguese!⁹¹

This story, while amusing, is nonetheless certainly spurious. The so-called “Don Francisco the Portuguese” was, in fact, a Spaniard, Don Francisco Maldonado. An eyewitness to the carnage at Santo Domingo, Maldonado sailed to Cartagena three days before Drake arrived, in order to warn the city of how the English had so easily sacked Santo Domingo.⁹² It seems likely that the continual rumors of a fearsome alliance between the English and Portuguese supporters of Dom António led these Spaniards to see Portuguese where there were none, as well as exacerbating tensions

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, xvii.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 30-31.

towards those Portuguese who actually did reside in the region. In the immediate aftermath of Drake's rampages, one leading *vecino* of Havana, Alonso Suárez de Toledo, complained to the king that "all these Portuguese pilots have sold out these Indies, and in these ports there are many in whom little confidence is placed."⁹³ Nevertheless, even at this point, Suárez refrained from condemning all Portuguese settlers in the Spanish Caribbean, instead singling out Portuguese pilots as a group and declaring that "many" (but not all) of these individuals were deemed untrustworthy.

Portuguese spies planted by the English were yet another source of anxiety for the Spanish. Even when a city seemed safe from enemy ships, the danger of informants gathering valuable intelligence about the state of local defenses remained. Captured members of Drake's fleet seemed to confirm these fears. One prisoner, an Indian named Pedro, claimed to have been with Drake for twelve years and testified in great detail about Drake's spy network. One spy was said to have been housed in Cartagena at the home of a Portuguese pharmacist named González,⁹⁴ while two more Portuguese spies, Don Juan and Francisquito, were left at La Margarita. According to Pedro, this Don Juan had sailed to England with Dom António and had quickly become a comrade of Drake's. Yet another of Drake's Portuguese informants, Francisco, had left Cartagena for Nombre de Dios, claiming that he was going on to Panama.⁹⁵ It is unknown whether Pedro was simply telling local Spanish officials what they wanted to hear, or whether there was some truth to his testimony. Regardless, what is important is that witness testimonies like Pedro's added more fuel to the rumors circulating around the Atlantic that the local Portuguese were in the pay of Dom António and the English.

Nonetheless, whatever distrust existed at the time did not impede some Portuguese from serving the Spanish Crown faithfully, even in sensitive military positions, for which they received praise and honor from local residents and royal officials. Perhaps most notable was Blas de Herrera, a resident of Cartagena and captain of artillery. During Drake's attack on the city, Herrera was reported to have urged the governor to give him more men, in order to move the artillery pieces into the necessary positions. According to one witness, "[Herrera] begged the governor to give him what he needed for the artillery," but the governor, Pedro Fernández del Busto,

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁹⁴ Although it is uncertain, this González might have been Andrés González, a *boticario* in Cartagena discussed below.

⁹⁵ AGI, Santa Fe, 37, N.72.

“would not provide or do anything.” Completely exasperated, the Portuguese captain “swore to God that he did not know what to do or say in the face of so great remissness.”⁹⁶ The dedication with which Herrera carried out his duties was seconded a few years later by the testimony of the subsequent governor of Cartagena, Pedro de Lodeña. Declaring that Herrera had served his post with “attentiveness and care,” the governor even went so far as to suspend Herrera’s *composición* on account of the “fidelity” that the Portuguese captain had demonstrated on numerous occasions.⁹⁷ While periods of belligerence between Spain and other European powers did provide opportunities for Portuguese betrayal, it also gave many chances for Portuguese from all ranks and classes to demonstrate their fidelity to the king.

Many Portuguese served in local militias as a means of establishing their loyalty and planting deeper roots in the local community. For example, in his 1611 *composición* trial, Manuel Téllez emphasized how his occupation as a *calderero* was “very useful and necessary in this republic,” and how he had offered frequent services to the Spanish Crown in defense of the city of Cartagena.⁹⁸ To back up his claims, Téllez collected testimonies from some of the leading military and political officials of the city. These men collectively painted a portrait of Téllez as an indispensable and steadfast part of the city’s defenses. Underscored on more than one occasion was the fact that Téllez was the only *calderero* in the city. Moreover, these witnesses insisted that Téllez had repeatedly demonstrated his personal character as a “valiant” soldier, an “honorable man,” and a “good Christian.”⁹⁹ These qualities and habits of behavior, enacted over many years, allowed Téllez to deflect charges of being a foreigner in the Indies, as well as to guard against any suspicions of disloyalty to either the Spanish king or the Catholic faith.

To be sure, local militia companies were not the only vehicles by which Portuguese could establish their loyalty and value to their cities and the king. Medicine was another such route, and significant numbers of Portuguese doctors, surgeons, and pharmacists came to the Indies, seeking to profit from their practice. One interesting case from Cartagena is Andrés González, a Portuguese *boticario*, who was declared to be “one of the most

⁹⁶ WRIGHT, op. cit., 124.

⁹⁷ AGI, Santa Fe, 37, N.107, f. 1v.

⁹⁸ AGI, Escribanía, 589B, pieza 35, f. 77r.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 78r-79v.

useful, necessary, and loyal persons in this land.”¹⁰⁰ Despite being, in his own words, an “old, sick, and very disabled man,” González had lived in Cartagena for nearly five decades and was renowned for his generosity in donating medicine to the monasteries and hospitals of the city, as well as helping to cure the sick and impoverished.¹⁰¹ One witness lauded how González came to the assistance of rich and poor alike, for which he was “honored, favored, and esteemed” by his fellow *vecinos*, and that without his medical services, Cartagena would suffer greatly.¹⁰²

Of course, the numbers of Portuguese in military or medical professions provoked uneasiness and discontent in some quarters. It was a common enough notion that Portuguese doctors and physicians were malevolent New Christians who poisoned their Old Christian patients. Indeed, “truly outlandish allegations and conspiracy theories” concerning Portuguese doctors and surgeons circulated not only in Spain and Spanish America, but in Portugal and Portuguese India as well.¹⁰³ Uneasiness also developed from having Portuguese soldiers stationed in Spanish American military garrisons, which some observers argued carried dangerous risks. Even Philip II complained in a 1575 *cédula* about the “many problems” that occur due to the reliance on “foreigners, especially Portuguese,” to serve as artillerymen on the treasure fleets.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the perpetual needs of both the Crown and local Spanish American towns and cities across the New World opened many doors for the Portuguese, who frequently proved able to demonstrate their own individual loyalties, even in the face of broader suspicion and criticism about the “Portuguese Nation” as a whole.

Each of these dimensions of Portuguese difference reveal how profoundly contested the questions of apostasy, foreignness, and disloyalty were in colonial Spanish America. Instead of simply taking their cues from

¹⁰⁰ AGI, Escríbanía 589B, pieza 23, f. 20v.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, f. 6r.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, f. 20v.

¹⁰³ François SOYER, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal: King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance (1496-7)*, Leiden, Brill, 2007, 292-94; Ines G. ŽUPANOV, *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th Centuries)*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2005, 225-27. In sixteenth-century Spain, such suspicions also extended to *morisco* physicians as well. Stephen HALICZER, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478-1834*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990, 230, 258.

¹⁰⁴ AGI, Indiferente, 1956, L.1, f. 302v; cf. AGI, Indiferente, 1957, L.5, f. 207.

legal categories, popular fears, or perennial stereotypes, both Spaniards and Portuguese sought to define what it meant to be “Portuguese” in Spanish territory, as well as what roles the Portuguese should play in local society. In particular, the rapidly changing circumstances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to fluid attitudes and responses on the part of the Spanish toward their Portuguese neighbors. In moments of crisis, one sometimes finds denunciations of the Portuguese as a singular group, but much more common were narrower condemnations, either against specific subgroups of Portuguese or against specific Portuguese renegades. This reluctance to stereotype all Portuguese as Jews or as traitors can even be seen in the actions of the Holy Office. For example, even in the midst of a multi-year crackdown against the Portuguese (1636-42), the Cartagena Inquisition granted two Portuguese the privilege of serving as *familiares*.¹⁰⁵ Additionally, during the 1638 auto that served as the ceremonial climax to this “*complicidad*,” two additional Portuguese were given prestigious roles within the procession and ceremony.¹⁰⁶ It is clear that even with fears of a Portuguese “complicity” circulating around the city, the Cartagena Holy Office refused to tar all Portuguese with the same brush.

For their part, most Portuguese were equally determined to assert themselves as faithful vassals of the king and faithful members of the Catholic Church. Some went even further and declared themselves to be genuine “Spaniards.” These assertions were not merely rhetorical, but were embodied in countless quotidian actions that served to build a public reputation among their neighbors. Most meaningful in this regard were demonstrations of Catholic piety (e.g., attendance at Mass, charitable giving, cofradía membership) and public actions that established a genuine rootedness in the local community and a commitment to its well-being (e.g., maintenance of a casa poblada, marriage to a local woman, service in the local militia, patronage of hospitals and monasteries). In contrast to the long-standing scholarly emphases on Portuguese endogamy and sep-

¹⁰⁵ These two men were Lorenzo Álvarez Barbosa, a resident of Santa Fe de Bogotá, and Pablo Ferrera, a resident of Cartagena. For the former, see: AHN, Inquisición, 1575, N.793; AHN, Inquisición, 1506, N.7. For the latter: AHN, Inquisición, 1339, N.14.

¹⁰⁶ One was Luis de Rocha, a *regidor* in the city, who helped to carry the large “standard of the faith” in the procession to the cathedral. The other man was Fernando Díaz Pereira, who was of Portuguese descent and related to Luis Gómez Barreto, who was arrested in 1636 on charges of judaizing. As the *arcediano* of the city’s cathedral chapter, Díaz Pereira was the celebrant for the Mass that was held as part of the *auto de fe*. Anna María SPLENDIANI, et. al. (eds.), *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, 1610-1660*, 4 vols., Bogota, Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1997, III.38.

aratism, these types of local practices help to broaden our understandings of how Portuguese residents in Spanish America – from the wealthiest trans-Atlantic merchant down to the humblest shoemaker – participated in the expansion and maintenance of Spanish imperialism in the New World, even in the face of perennial resistance and prejudice from certain sectors of Spanish society.

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Chaotic, effeminate and promiscuous “bodies” in John Huyghen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario*

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Resumo

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

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

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Abstract

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

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

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Chaotic, effeminate and promiscuous “bodies” in John Huyghen van Linschoten’s *Itinerario*

Ana L. Méndez-Oliver

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ J.H.L., op. cit., p. lii.

exposes in his itinerary a particular optic of an outsider⁴, a Dutch with his own personal and semi-nationalistic propaganda that observes both the European colonizer and the colonized native under the same scope.⁵ In this manner, the author throughout his text aims at a Dutch audience, a nation that was at this moment preparing itself to explore Asian maritime routes, and conjures an exotic, superstitious, chaotic, sensual and exceptionally rich India with its spices, textiles and jewels. Thus, India appears in the text as a territory fertile for European trade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Linschoten's background

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

⁷ J.H.L., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

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

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

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

⁸ Arun SALDANHA, "The Itineraries of Geography: Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* and Dutch Expeditions to the Indian Ocean, 1594-1602", *Annals of the Association American Geographers*, Vol. 101, N°1 (2011), p. 153.

⁹ Charles MCKNEW PARR, *Jan Huygen van Linschoten: The Dutch Marco Polo*, New York, Crowell, 1962. p. 165.

¹⁰ A. SALDANHA, art. cit., p. 150.

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

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

Socio-political context of the Portuguese Empire in Asia

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

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

¹² Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, "Holding the World in Balance: The Connected Histories of the Iberian Overseas Empires, 1500-1640", *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 112, N° 5 (2009), p. 1.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Linschoten's depiction of Goa

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

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

¹⁷ M. N. PEARSON, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

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

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

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

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

¹⁹ J.H.L., op. cit., p. 165.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰ J.H.L., op. cit., p. 193.

²¹ M. N. PEARSON, op. cit., p. 95.

²² M. N. PEARSON, op. cit., pp. 95-96.



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

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

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

²³ J.H.L., op. cit., pp. 208-209.

²⁴ J.H.L., op. cit., p. 206.

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

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

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

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

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

²⁸ J.H.L., op. cit., p. 184.

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

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

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

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

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

³⁰ J.H.L., op. cit., p. 185.



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

³³ F. de VITORIA, op. cit., Question 1, Articulo 2.

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

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

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Prophetical hopes, New World experiences and imperial expectations: Menasseh Ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Fifth-Monarchy Men, and the millenarian connections in the seventeenth-century Atlantic

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Resumo

Este artigo pretende analisar as relações e circulações entre diferentes interpretações da Quinta Monarquia e o papel do Novo Mundo no Último Reino na Terra. Nesta rede milenarista, a comunidade judaico-portuguesa de Amsterdã aparece como um possível eixo articulador das esperanças escatológicas e dos interesses coloniais para os impérios português e inglês. Ao considerar esse mundo conectado de expectativas proféticas, pretende-se aproximar esferas que, em geral, são vistas em separado na historiografia. Para tanto, traçar-se-ão as conexões entre o rabino Menasseh Ben Israel e grupos de ambos os lados da Cristandade.

Palavras-chave: Milenarismo, Novo Mundo, Menasseh ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Homens da Quinta Monarquia

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Abstract

This article analyzes the relations and circulations among seventeenth century Fifth-Monarchy interpretations and the role of the New World in the Last Reign of the World. In this millenarian network, the Portuguese Jewish Community in Amsterdam emerges as a possible axis which articulated the eschatological hopes and colonial interests in the Portuguese and English empires. Considering this entangled world of prophetical expectations, it seeks to bring together sides that were held at bay from each other by scholarship. In order to do that, it traces the connections among the Portuguese-Dutch rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel and groups of both sides of Christianity.

Keywords: Millenarianism, New World, Menasseh ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Fifth Monarchy Men

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Prophetical Hopes, New World Experiences and Imperial Expectations: Menasseh Ben Israel, Antônio Vieira, Fifth-Monarchy Men, and the millenarian connections in the seventeenth-century Atlantic

Luís Filipe Silvério Lima

The historiography concerning seventeenth century prophetical and millenarian movements has usually tended to analyze Jewish-Christian relations, especially in regard to the Portuguese Jewish community in the Netherlands, according to the Christendom division into Protestants and Catholics. It has either stressed the links (or conflicts) among the Portuguese Jewry in Amsterdam and Dutch Pernambuco, in Northeast Brazil, and the Restored Portugal, and the Jewish origins and relations with Portuguese messianism; or it has outlined the bonds established by Protestant millenarians in Revolutionary England with Jewish heritage, in more practical terms through a project of resettling a Jewish community in

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London¹. Although often treated as worlds apart, both sides shared in the very core of their nets a common link: the Amsterdam Portuguese Synagogue and, more specifically, one of its famous rabbi, Menasseh Ben Israel. Ben Israel exchanged letters and communicated with the Braganza Dynasty's supporters and the English millenarians as well. His works were read by the Marquis of Niza, ambassador of John IV of Portugal in France, or the Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Antônio Vieira, royal preacher and king's counselor, but also by John Dury, clergyman from Scottish origin close to Cromwell, or Henry Jessey, an English preacher who rallied for the readmission of the Jews. All of them, in one way or another, contacted, corresponded or parleyed with the rabbi.

In this article, therefore, I will try to bring together these sides that had usually been held at bay from each other by scholarship. I will discuss the possible communications among people, groups, and faiths which would not tolerate one another at first. However, it is not my intention to track down tolerant practices, and less so, to advocate a generalized idea of

¹ See, among others: Antônio José SARAIVA, "Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império", in *História e utopia* (Lisbon: ICALP, 1992), 75-107; Anita NOVINSKY, "Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico", in *Sobre as naus da iniciação*, C. A. Iannone et al., ed. (São Paulo: EdUnesp, 1998), 73ss; Florence LÉVY, "La prophétie et le pouvoir politico-religieux au XVIIIe siècle au Portugal et en Hollande: Vieira et Menasseh Ben Israel", in *La prophétie comme arme de guerre et des pouvoirs*, Augustin Redondo, ed. (Paris: Presses de La Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2000); Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "O Brasil nas profecias de um judeu sebastianista: os "Aforismos" de Manoel Bocarro Francês/Jacob Rosales", in *Os judeus no Brasil*, Keila Grinberg, ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2005), 113-135; Sandra Neves SILVA, "Criptojudáismo e profetismo no Portugal de seiscientos: o caso de Manoel Bocarro Francês alias Jacob Rosales" *Estudos orientais*, VIII (2003):169-183; Natalia MUCHNIK, "Antonio Vieira y la diáspora sefardí en el siglo XVII", in *Antônio Vieira, Roma e o universalismo das monarquias portuguesa e espanhola*. Pedro Cardim and Gaetano Sabatini, ed. (Lisbon: CHAM, 2011), 97-120; Benjamin SCHMIDT, "The Hope of the Netherlands: Menasseh ben Israel and the Dutch Idea of America," in *The Jews and the Expansion of Europe to the West, 1450 to 1800*, Paolo Bernardini and Norman Fiering ed. (Oxford and New York, 2001), 86-107; Richard POPKIN, "The rise and fall of the Jewish Indian Theory", in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world* (Leiden: Brill, 1989), 62ss.; Peter TOON, "The question of Jewish Immigration", in *Puritans, the Millennium and the future of Israel*, Peter Toon, ed. (Cambridge: James Clark, 2002 [1970]), 115-125; Ariel HESSAYON, "Jews and crypto-Jews in sixteenth and seventeenth century England", *Cromohs*, 16 (2011), URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/16_2011/hessayon_jews.html; Richard POPKIN, "Hartlib, Dury and the Jews", in *Samuel Hartlib and universal reformation*, M. Greengrass et al., ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 125-6; Benjamin BRAUDE, "Les contes persans de Menasseh Ben Israël". *Annales*. 49.5 (1994):1107-1138; E.G.E. VAN DER WALL, "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his "The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel"", in *Sceptics, millenarians and Jews*, David Katz and Jonathan. Israel, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 166-168.

tolerance tied to early modern millenarian beliefs.² Although sometimes the notion of a “Marrano theology” may seem appealing to explain these connections,³ I will avoid assuming any principle that could lead to an identitarian explanation or to the assumption of a receptive and accommodating essence that plastically embraces, adapts, and mixes different religions and cultures.⁴

For certain, there are many configurations by which these links could have been traced. The cases that I will discuss, in one way or another, were part of nets that had some of their roots in the Iberian messianism and its widespread and varied manifestations. Within the Iberian realms and its European and overseas dominions, for example, the contacts among different millenarianist or messianic traditions produced many prophetic social-political events: From the “Encobierito” upheaval in the “Germanías” to the long-lasting phenomenon of Sebastianism; From the utopian Franciscan Indigenous cities in New Spain to the “Santidades” of Jaguaripe in sixteenth-century Bahia. Most of the linkages and communications within Iberian millenarianism have already been traced by the historiography. Several authors have indeed pointed out the centrality of providentialism in the building of early modern empires and the conquest of the New World, or its role in the formation of Spanish, Portuguese, and

² Stuart Schwartz showed that if we can identify several everyday practices of tolerance in the early modern Iberian world yet it is difficult to talk about toleration in broader – and specially from a more official perspective– terms in the Seventeenth Century. Stuart B. SCHWARTZ, *All Can Be Saved: Religious Tolerance and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New York and London: Yale University Press, 2008).

³ Nachtan WACHTEL, “Théologies marranes : Une configuration millénariste”, in *Des Archives aux Terrains. Essais d’anthropologie historique* (Paris: Seuil/Gallimard, 2014), 465-505. See also Anita NOVINSKY, “Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico”.

⁴ I am following Adma MUHANA’S position in her *Uriel da Costa e a nação portuguesa* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2016)..

Iberian American cultures.⁵ Nevertheless, there is room for one's seeking for other possible communication vessels, particularly if one is looking for exchanges beyond the borders of the Iberian Empires. In this sense, the Amsterdam Portuguese Jewish community can be described as an intersection point or even a hub for the Catholic and Protestant millenarian expectations, in addition to the economic aspects of those entanglements, already highlighted by the historiography.⁶

What interests me to stress is how the seventeenth-century millenarian hopes translated into distinct political programs – sometimes even implying the elimination of the other; but, all the same, how they had the same eschatological principle, the principle of Hope,⁷ and shared more traceable links that one might initially assume.⁸ While I am emphasizing the existence of a common millenarian ground in the seventeenth-century

⁵ For a summary of Spanish, Portuguese and Iberian America millenarianisms, see: Alain MILHOU, “Panorama de la prophétie messianique en Espagne (1482-1614)”, in *La prophétie comme arme de guerre des pouvoirs, XVe-XVIIe siècles*, ed. Augustin Redondo (Paris: Presses Sorbonne Nouvelle, 2001); Teófanés EGIDIO, “Historiografía del Mesianismo en España”, in *Política y Cultura en la Época Moderna (Cambios dinásticos, Milenarismos, Mesianismos y Utopías)*, Alfredo Alvar et al., ed. (Universidad de Alcalá, 2000), 461-474; María V. JORDÁN ARROYO, *Soñar la Historia. Riesgo, creatividad y religión en las profecías de Lucrecia de León* (Madrid: Siglo XXI, 2007), chap. 3; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA and Ana Paula TORRES MEGIANI, “An Introduction to the Messianisms and Millenarianisms of Early Modern Iberian America, Spain, and Portugal”, in *Visions, prophecies, and divinations: early modern Messianism and Millenarianism in Iberian America, Spain and Portugal*, Luís Filipe Silvério Lima and Ana Paula Torres Megiani, ed. (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016), 1-39; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, “Between the New and the Old World: Iberian Prophecies and Imperial Projects in the Colonisation of the Early Modern Spanish and Portuguese Americas”, in *Prophecy and Eschatology in the Transatlantic World, 1550-1800*, Andrew Crome, ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2016), 33-64. For a critical perspective of messianism centrality in the Portuguese expansion, see: FRANCISCO BETHENCOURT, “Le millénarisme : idéologie de l'impérialisme eurasiatique?”, *AHSS*. 57:1 (2002), 189-194.

⁶ See, among others: Jonathan I. ISRAEL, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (3rd ed., Oxford: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 1998); Jonathan I. ISRAEL, ed., *Diasporas Within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires (1540-1740)* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); Jessica ROITMAN, *The Same but Different? Inter-cultural Trade and the Sephardim, 1595-1640* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011).

⁷ For the concept of Hope as a human principle, see: Ernst BLOCH, *The principle of Hope*.

⁸ About these connections, see: Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, “Sixteenth-Century Millenarianism from the Tagus to the Ganges”, in *Explorations in connected history: from the Tagus to the Ganges* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Serge GRUZINSKI, *Las cuatro partes del mundo* (México: FCE, 2010); Michele OLIVARI, “Milenarismo y política a fines del quinientos: notas sobre algunos complots y conjuras en la monarquía hispánica”, in *En pos del tercer milenio*, Adeline Rucquoi et al., ed. (Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad Salamanca, 1999); Matt GOLDISH, *The sabbatean prophets* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), chap. 1 a 2; Brandon MARRIOTT, *Transnational networks and cross-religious exchange in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds: Sabbatai Sevi and the lost Tribes of Israel* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, [2015]).

Europe and Americas, I am not claiming that this was merely only another manifestation of a pervasive apocalyptic language trans-historically shared by Jewish-Christian cultures and religions. On the contrary, I do want to address the historical specificity of these movements and their interactions for which that language had clearly been the first common tongue, but then it gained particular contours to deal with new situations. Eventually, seventeenth-century millenarianists had to actualize and mold the existent prophetic grammar in order to answer the problems faced by them.

I propose considering these prophetic bonds that have permeated millenarian projects as “horizons of expectations” thought from dynamic “spaces of experience” and vice-versa.⁹ These expectations and experiences needed to be molded to a changing world. They had to account, on the one hand, for the expansion of the then known world; and, on the other hand, for the division of the Western Christendom between Protestants and Catholics. They also had to grapple with converting large – and unheard of – population groups to the Christian faith. In the New World, there were the heathens to be Christianized. In the Old World, the Iberian Jewish population had been massively converted to Christianity (often against their will); and elsewhere in Europe, large numbers of practicing Christians had to be re-educated into the new forms of religious doctrines and practices, whether Catholic or Protestants, in what has been called “confessionalization” process.¹⁰

More specifically, I will focus on the mid-seventeenth-century circulation of Christian and Jewish millenarian proposals based on Fifth Monarchy ideas, i.e., the prophetic-political formulations derived from the interpretations of the Book of Daniel’s dreams. Steeped in a common biblical tradition, the formulators of these prophetic hopes had to deal with the various early modern models of monarchy, empire, and republic, and their jurisdictions upon peoples and nations. At the same time, it was necessary to insert the New World and the new peoples into the existing eschatological system. Several early modern religious and political groups

⁹ Reinhart KOSELLECK, “‘Space of Experience’ and ‘Horizon of Expectation’: Two Historical Categories”, in *Futures past: on the semantics of historical time* (New York: Columbia University Press, c2004), 255-275.

¹⁰ Ute LOTZ-HEUMANN, “The Concept of ‘Confessionalization’: a Historiographical Paradigm in Dispute”, *Memoria y Civilización*, 4, 2001, 93-114; Ute Lotz-Heumann “Confessionalization”, in *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation*, Alexandra Bamji et al., ed. (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2013); Federico PALOMO, *A Contra-Reforma em Portugal, 1540-1700* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 2006).

and thinkers dealt with these questions. Due to the links connecting them and to the centrality of the “Jewish Question” and the Americas role, I will analyze three cases. The first is the supporters of the new Portuguese dynasty, the Braganza, who tried, with the end of the Iberian Union in 1640 and during the Restoration Wars (1640-1668), to sustain Portugal’s independence from Spain and to establish the new king John IV (and his descendants) as the legitimate and promised ruler of the Portuguese Empire. The second case is the messianic “New Jews”¹¹ from several places, but especially around the Amsterdam synagogue, where Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel’s role is highlighted. The third is the English millenarians and Fifth-Monarchy Men, who had been active from the end of the Second Civil War (1649) to the beginning of Stuart Restoration (1661), and had connections with the Puritan and Independent communities of New England.

All these groups shared a common starting point: the dreams of the *Book of Daniel* about the Five Reigns of the world¹². The *Book of Daniel’s* dream visions – the statue dreamt by Nabucodonosor and interpreted by the prophet (Dn 2), and the vision of the four beasts seen by Daniel and

¹¹ “New Jews” is a term coined by Yosef Kaplan, and refers to individuals of Iberian Jewish communities who had (or their ancestors had) converted to Christianity, and then re-adopted Judaism. As explained by Kaplan: “The communities of Amsterdam, Leghorn, Hamburg, London, and small settlements which developed around them, and later also in Bayonne and Bordeaux, created an organizational network binding themselves together and allowing them to view themselves as part of a single socio-cultural entity. These communities were founded by former New Christians who had lived cut off from Jewish sources for many generations. Their Jewish education was shallow and the first Jewish community which they knew was generally the one which they themselves had created.” But they weren’t a homogeneous group, since: “One of the greatest threats to the integrity of the communities of these ‘New Jews’ was the presence of New Christians from among the *Nação* who, after leaving the countries of Iberia, preferred to equivocate and refused, for various reasons, to identify themselves unequivocally as Jews and to behave accordingly.” Yosef KAPLAN, “Wayward New Christians and Stubborn New Jews: The Shaping of a Jewish Identity”, *Jewish History*, Vol. 8, no. 1-2 (1994), 27. See also: Yosef KAPLAN, *Judíos Nuevos en Amsterdam. Estudios sobre la historia social e intelectual del judaísmo sefardí en el siglo XVII* (Barcelona: Gedisa, 1996). Other expressions that will be used are the early modern terms “Gente de Nação” and “conversos”. More specifically for the Amsterdam community, another possible expression is “Portuguese Nation”. For a general view on the “Gente de Nação”, see: Miriam BODIAN, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1999).

¹² About Fifth Monarchy interpretations, see: Silvano PELOSO, “*Ut libri prophetici melius intelligantur, omnium temporum historia complectenda est*: o Quinto Império do António Vieira e o debate europeu nos séculos XVI e XVII”, in *Vieira escritor*, Margarida Vieira Mendes et al., ed. (Lisbon: Cosmos, 1997), 182-4; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, *Império dos sonhos. Narrativas proféticas, Sebastianismo e Messianismo Brigantino* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2010), esp. chap. 5; Maria Ana VALDEZ, *Historical interpretations of the “fifth empire”* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

revealed by an angel (Dn 7) – narrated the sequence of earthly reigns and foretold a last reign: a stone that would destroy the multi-metal statue, in Nabucodonosor’s oneiric revelation; the Son of the Man who would defeat the beasts and the small horn, in Daniel’s dream. The millenarianist interpretation was that the last reign of which the dreams had spoken of would be on Earth. The Lutheran, Calvinist and Catholic more orthodox positions, by contrast, opposed those interpretations and the idea of an earthly final kingdom. Specially after the Münster episodes (ca. 1535), from the Protestant side, and after Trent, from Rome’s perspective, the mainstream doctrines reaffirmed Augustine’s reading under which the “last monarchy” of Christ would only happen in Heaven, and disavowed beliefs of an earthly millenarian kingdom. In spite of this official disapproval, examples of Christian fifth-monarchist interpretations were abundant, varying in degree, impact and effectiveness in the places where they occurred. More than mere delusional visions, some of these resulted in theoretical-ideological proposals and justifications for power, guiding concrete actions and political activism at times.¹³

In short, what I propose is to consider the relationships and circulations of ideas in the mid-seventeenth century among different hopes for the Fifth Monarchy’s coming, which developed out of divergent religious perspectives, and in local and regional contexts. More important than comparisons or the awareness of a generalized millenarianism, I intend to map the connections (even if they are subtle) among these movements and groups, to understand the role played by the “Jewish question”, and to discuss whether the New World was a crucial element in their hopes.

In order to do that, I will first address the relationships among some “conversos” and “New Jews” during the Portuguese Restoration, particularly Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel, and Braganza millenarianists such as Father Antônio Vieira, Manuel Fernandes Vila Real, and others from the Marquis of Niza’s circle. Both sides were interested in weakening the Holy Office in order to bring together New Christians and “New Jews”,

¹³ For a broader discussion of millenarianism from the Middle Ages to Early Modern times, see, among others: Norman COHN, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (2nd revised edition: Oxford University Press, 1970); Marjorie REEVES, *The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in Joachimism* (3rd edition, Notre Dame, USA: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994). A good summary of early modern messianism, addressing Jewish, Christian and Muslim prophetic beliefs, can be found in Matt GOLDISH, *The sabbatean prophets*, chap. 1, and in Alexandre Y. HARAN, *Le Lys et le Globe. Messianism Dynastique et Rêve Imperial en France à L’Aube des Temps Modernes* (Seysssel, France: Champ Vallon, 2000), chap. 2.

although for different reasons. They were also longing for the rise of a dynasty capable of facing the Spanish Monarchy and of changing the power balance amongst the Seaborn Empires – all events understood as signs of the coming of a Final Kingdom. Secondly, I will deal with the shift of Menasseh’s hope from Portugal to Revolutionary and Cromwellian England, by highlighting the “philo-semitic”¹⁴ reception of the rabbi’s works in London. I will also try to compare the different hopes towards the future and the New World, expressed in Menasseh’s, Vieira’s, and the Fifth Monarchy Men’s writings, stressing some differences between the effects and circulation of millenarian and “philo-semitic” ideas in England and Portugal. Thirdly, I will discuss the anti-Fifth Monarchists discourses and controversies, and show circuits of common readings (and controversies) that seem to unite opposite sides of the debate. Finally, in a few concluding remarks, I will return to some of the issues about the prophetic expectations and the effect of the New World experience upon them.

Antônio Vieira, Braganza’s Supporters, Menasseh Ben Israel: New Christians’ and Jews’ role in a New World of expectations

In 1686, at the end of his life, the Luso-Brazilian Jesuit Antônio Vieira wrote a letter known as the “Carta Apologética” (Apologetic Letter).¹⁵ Written in Salvador, Bahia, in the then State of Brazil, it was addressed to the Provincial of Andalusia, Jacomo Iquazafigo, as a response to the accusations made against Vieira that he was heretical and had defamed the Dominicans. All these allegations were derived from a letter against the Dominicans wrongfully attributed to Vieira, written in the 1660s, which indeed attacked the Dominicans and was full of heterodox statements. Later, this manuscript raised a reply from an Escoto Patavino, a pseudonym, in the 1680s.¹⁶ It was an attack on the Jesuits probably from a Dominican pen. Patavino’s tract, as it seems, repeated arguments from the Inquisitorial

¹⁴ For the idea of “Philo-semitism” in the seventeenth century, although mostly referring to England, see: David KATZ, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

¹⁵ Antônio VIEIRA, “Carta apologética ao padre Jácome Iquazafigo”, in *Cartas*, J. Lúcio de Azevedo, comp. (São Paulo: Globo, 2009), 571-611. First printed, in censored versions, in *Todos sus sermones y obras diferentes que de su original Portuguêz se han traducido em Castellano* (Madrid: 1734, 2nd ed. Barcelona: 1752), and in Portuguese in *Ecco das vozes saudosas* (Lisbon: 1757).

¹⁶ Enrique MARTÍNEZ, “Vieira em Espanha: los monopantos y el esterotipo del jesuita demonizado”, in *Vieira escritor*; 205-216; Joaquín GIL, “La sinceridad de Fray Alonso de Santo Tomás, Obispo de Málaga, cuestionada por Antoine Arnaul”, *Baetica*, 28 (2006):419ss.

trial suffered by Vieira (1663-7), but also falsely asserted that Vieira had been condemned to death by burning at the stake and accused him of being a Judaizing New Christian.¹⁷ Those letters reverberated strongly in Spain, to the point that the Andalusian Provincial asked for explanations from the rector of the Jesuit College's in Bahia, where Vieira was. As soon as Vieira was aware of it, he wrote the "Carta Apologética" replying point by point. He started by denying his authorship of the 1660's attack against the Dominicans and emphasized that none of his proposals were against the Catholic faith or the Jesuit doctrine. To some extent Vieira used arguments present in his "Defesa ou Apologia da *Clavis*" and "Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício", manuscripts produced during the Inquisitorial trial, and later printed in his "Sermão de Ação de Graças pelo Nascimento do Príncipe D. João" (1688, 1690).¹⁸ For such a short text, the Apologetic letter abounds in references and authorities, arranged to demonstrate beyond any doubt that Vieira's Fifth Empire plan followed the Catholic doctrine. Furthermore, it was written after Vieira had consulted countless libraries, during his long stay in Rome, and had composed a considerable part of his prophetic work. The "Carta Apologética" therefore suffices as a good summary of the repertoire Vieira mobilized to build up his Fifth Empire theory; and, for having been composed at the end of the century, it can serve as a starting point as well as an overview (from the Catholic and Jesuit sides, at least) of the sources, debates and controversies around those themes.

Apparently echoing some of the Inquisitors' accusations, Escoto Patavino's arguments against Vieira were partially based on the Jesuit's use of the *Troças de Bandarra*, a set of well-known but controversial prophetic quatrains composed by sixteenth century Portuguese cobbler Gonçalo Annes Bandarra. Briefly repeating arguments present in his other writings, such as "Esperanças de Portugal" (1659), Vieira tried to prove that

¹⁷ I have been unable to read Escoto Patavino's letter, but it is possible to guess some of its arguments by reading not only the "Carta apologética" but also the *Respuesta monopantica*, an anonymous pamphlet written in Vieira's defense. In a passage of *Respuesta*, the author refers to the accusation of Vieira's being Jewish, and he replies to it by saying that this was impossible due to the rigorous Portuguese laws about "Purity of blood". [Juan Cortés Ossorio] *Respuesta monopantica, dirigida à Don Frisfris de la Borra...* [1686?], 5 [Available in Google Books].

¹⁸ Antônio VIEIRA, "Defesa do livro intitulado 'Quinto Império'", in *Obras escolhidas* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa, 1952), v. VI; Antônio VIEIRA, *Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício*. Lisboa: IN/CM, 2008, 2v.; Antônio VIEIRA, "Sermão de Açam de Graças pelo Nascimento do Príncipe D. João, Primogenito de SS. Magestades, que Deos guarde", in *Palavra de deus empenhada e desempenhada* (Lisbon: Miguel Deslandes, 1690).

Bandarra was indeed a true prophet, and that he had prophesied the Fifth Empire's inevitable coming. With this objection addressed, Vieira then had to dispose of the rest of Patavino's attacks, showing not only that they were wrong but also that Vieira himself had been deliberately misinterpreted. Some of the controversies related to the notion that a final kingdom was arriving while others dealt more specifically with the problems of conversion of the world and the "Jewish question". Escoto Patavino apparently argued that there would be no basis for affirming that a Christian prince (the Desired or Hidden king) would come to find the Fifth and Last Empire which would have jurisdiction over all the globe, following which the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel would be rediscovered and all the Jews and heathens would be converted to Christian faith.¹⁹ In order to prove his arguments, Vieira quoted several biblical passages, Church Fathers, Divines, and innumerable prophecies.²⁰

More interestingly, he mobilized seventeenth-century authors who had discussed the theme of the Universal Monarchy as well as the discovery of the Lost Tribes in the Americas. Above all, Vieira quoted two of these authors: the Benedictine Friar Juan de Salazar, and the New Christian astrologer, physician, and mathematician Manoel Bocarro Francês, alias Jacob Rosales. In 1619, Salazar had written a treatise showing the Catholic grounds for the *Política de España* ("Politics of Spain"), with a chapter devoted to the Universal Monarchy headed by Spain and the Papacy, a necessary result of the Catholic Monarchy project designed by Charles V. In Salazar's view, in its quest to become the Final Kingdom on Earth, the Spanish Empire led by Phillip III would convert the heathens throughout the world as well as defeat the Ottomans, reconquer Jerusalem, expelling the Muslims and Jews, and purify Spain from the presence of the Judaizer and "Morisco" New Christians.²¹ In contrast to Salazar, Bocarro's *Anotações Astrológicas*, and his 1624 poem *Anacefaleosis da Monarquia Lusitana* foretold that the last Monarchy on Earth would indeed come out of the Iberian Peninsula, but instead of the Spanish crown, it would come from a Portuguese king from the House of Braganza – at the time, the most

¹⁹ For a general view about the Ten Lost Tribes history, see: Ben-Dor BENITE, *The Ten Lost Tribes*.

²⁰ About the importance of prophetic compendiums, see: João Carlos SERAFIM, "Eremitismo, profecia e poder: o caso do *Libellus* do 'pseudo-eremita' Telésfora de Cosenza". *Via Spiritus*, 9 (2002):61-82; Jennifer BRITNELL, Derek STUBBS, "The *Mirabilis Liber*: Its Compilation and Influence". *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 49 (1986):126-149.

²¹ Juan de SALAZAR, *Política Española* (Logroño: Por Diego Mares, 1619).

important noble house in Hapsburg Portugal.²² According to Bocarro's prophetic interpretation, the Duke of Braganza, D. Teodósio, would lead the Iberian kingdoms to the Fifth Monarchy, inverting the Dual Crowns regime, headed by Madrid since 1580. Teodósio would not only defeat all the enemies of Christendom and conquer the globe, but also – unlike Salazar's vision – he would welcome the Jewish people in the new and final kingdom. Both Salazar and Bocarro wrote of the Final Empire's imminent arrival and its foundations in the Iberian Peninsula, although the former defended the Castilian supremacy and the expulsion of the New Christians, and the latter foresaw the rise of a new Portuguese dynasty and the incorporation of the Jewish people. Nevertheless, and despite all the differences, Vieira used them equally as authorities for justifying the validity of his argument. What really mattered was the prophetic interpretation that announced the coming of a Fifth Monarchy from the Iberian Peninsula. However, the preacher was closer to Bocarro's version, and not only because of Portugal's election as the new chosen people, but also because Vieira saw an important role for the Jewish people in the final kingdom to come.

In the “Carta Apologética” when Vieira addressed the Jewish people's role in this last Empire, he mentioned that he had met some Jews from Amsterdam, in the 1640s, and that he had debated there with Rabbi Menasseh Ben Israel about the “Jewish sect” and their hopes for the last reign.²³ According to Vieira, these meetings had been important not only to fully understand the Jewish beliefs and hopes about the coming of the Messiah (which he of course considered erroneous), but, more importantly, to clarify his position that the Jews could and would be converted

²² Manuel Bocarro FRANCÉS, *Anacephaleosis da Monarchia Lusitana* (Lisbon: Antonio Álvares, 1624).

²³ However, the first editions of the letter, printed in Spain, did not bring the eleventh proposition, in which Vieira had mentioned his encounters with Menasseh. It is likely that this proposition had been censored in these editions. Antônio VIEIRA, *Todos sus sermones y obras diferentes que de su original Portuguès se han traducido em Castellano*. About Vieira's meetings with Menasseh and the “Gente de Nação”, see: António José SARAIVA, “Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império”, in *História e utopia* (Lisbon: ICALP, 1992), 75-107; Anita NOVINSKY, “Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico”, 73ss; Florence LÉVY, “La prophétie et le pouvoir politico-religieux au XVIIe siècle au Portugal et en Hollande: Vieira et Menasseh Ben Israel”; Adriana ROMEIRO, *Um visionário na corte de D. João IV* (Belo Horizonte: EdUFMG, 2001), 118-137; Valmir MURARO, *Padre Antônio Vieira. Retórica e Utopia* (Florianópolis: Insular, 2003), chap. 4; Nachman FALBEL, “Menasseh Ben Israel e o Brasil”, in *Judeus no Brasil: estudos e notas* (São Paulo: Humanitas, 2008), 121-133.

to Catholicism in the forthcoming event of the Last Empire and the return of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Let us leave Salazar aside for the time being, and pay some attention to Bocarro and particularly Menasseh. Bocarro and Menasseh were born in Portugal and came from New Christian families who quite probably never completely abandoned the Jewish faith. During the Iberian Union, members of both families were prosecuted by the Inquisition and some, like many other New Christians, ran away from Portugal due to the increasing persecution against crypto-Jews. Menasseh Ben Israel, also called by his Portuguese-Christian name Manuel Dias Soeiro, went as a child with his family to La Rochelle, France, and, after that, in the 1610's, to the Netherlands. In Amsterdam, he became a rabbi and in 1639 helped to find the town's Sephardic unified religious congregation named Talmud Torah, but usually referred to as "the Portuguese Synagogue", due to the origin of most of its members.²⁴ Bocarro, by comparison, grew up in Lisbon, went to medical school, and became a renowned physician in Portugal. In 1625, aware that his brother had denounced him as a Judaizer, he fled to Italy, escaping from both the Inquisition and the Hapsburg crown persecution because of the political implications of his writing, *Anacephaleosis*. There he adopted his ancestor's Jewish surname Rosales, starting his (re)conversion to Judaism. After spending a few years in Rome, he went briefly through Amsterdam (where he met Menasseh), and established his residence in Hamburg where he publicly assumed his Jewish origins under the name of Jacob Rosales. As a prominent member of the Hamburger Jewish community as well as a former Christian with connections to the Iberian Peninsula, he surprisingly managed to work as a commercial agent on behalf of Spain and the Hapsburgs in the 1640-50s, even after the Portuguese Restoration. Eventually his services were no longer required

²⁴ For Menasseh's biography, see: Cecil ROTH, *A life of Menasseh Ben Israel* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934); For general aspects: Yosef KAPLAN et al. (ed.), *Menasseh Ben Israel and his World*.

while his reputation declined, and after another sojourn in Amsterdam he returned to Italy, more precisely to Livorno, where his sister lived.²⁵

From his contact with Menasseh, Bocarro wrote a laudatory poem dedicated to him, which was printed in Menasseh's work, *De Termino Vitae* (1639).²⁶ Menasseh, in his tract *Esperança de Israel* (1650), quoted a letter from Bocarro stating that there were white and blond people in the Americas, who were presumed Jews.²⁷ When writing to Cromwell in 1655 about how the Jewish nation could be profitable for the Christian states, Menasseh gave Bocarro as an example of someone who had been ennobled by the Hapsburg Emperor and had received the Honor of the Palatine Count in Hamburg because of his services in trade.²⁸ This exchange of favors, homage and quoting was common in the Early Modern circles of the Republic of Letters, but in Bocarro's case and especially, in Menasseh's, it gained wider significance because they were part of a larger network of correspondents (and readers) who were not only from Jewish religion or descent, but also Christians, Protestants and Catholics, many times mediated by these "New Jews".

Menasseh Ben Israel was respected, both by Protestants from different denominations and by Catholics (like Vieira), for his biblical knowledge and considered an authority regarding Jewish theological matters, especially about apocalypticism. Among the leaders of Talmud Torah synagogue community, however, Menasseh did not feel duly

²⁵ See: Jacqueline HERMANN, *No reino do desejado* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1998), 209-19; Sandra Neves SILVA, "Criptojudaísmo e profetismo no Portugal de seiscentos: o caso de Manoel Bocarro Francês *alias* Jacob Rosales"; Florbela FRADE and Sandra SILVA, "Medicina e política em dois físicos judeus portugueses de Hamburgo: Rodrigo de Castro e o *Medicus Politicus* (1614), e Manuel Bocarro Rosales e o *Status Astrologicus* (1644)" *Sefarad*, 71.1 (2011):51-94; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "O Brasil nas profecias de um judeu sebastianista: os "Aforismos" de Manoel Bocarro Francês/Jacob Rosales", in *Os judeus no Brasil: inquisição, imigração e identidade*, Keila Grinberg, ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Record, 2005), 113-135; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "Jacob Rosales/Manoel Bocarro Francês: judaísmo, sebastianismo, medicina e ciência na vida intelectual de um médico judeu português do século XVII", Ph.D Dissertation, University of São Paulo, 2011; Francisco Moreno CARVALHO, "A Portuguese Jewish Agent of the Philips and a Sebastianist: The Strange Case of Rosales/Manuel Bocarro", in *Visions, Divinations and Prophecies*, Megiani 161-178.

²⁶ Jacob ROSALES, "Panegyricus in laudem eximii, & praestantissimi Sapiens, nobilis, q. viri, Menasseh Ben Israel", in Menasseh Ben Israel, *De termino vitae: libri tres* (Amsterdam: Typis et sumptibus authoris, 1639). About Menasseh-Bocarro relationship, see: António José SARAIVA, "Bocarro-Rosales and the messianism of the Sixteenth Century", in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world*, 241-242.

²⁷ Menasseh BEN ISRAEL, *Miqveh Israel, esto es, Esperança de Israel* (Amsterdam: Semvel Ben Israel Socero, 5410 [1650]), 36-7.

²⁸ In *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell* (ed. Lucien Wolf) (London: Macmillan, 1901), LXXX, 89.

acknowledged in terms of positions and remuneration. As a result of this lack of prestige and monetary reward, he searched for other means of accumulating wealth, whether through overseas trade (in Dutch Brazil) or through a printing house, neither of which too much successful. This press was the one by which the majority of his texts were disseminated, many of them containing a prophetic tone. His books circulated widely, especially his *Conciliador*. With this work, the rabbi sought to reconcile the conflicting parts of the Scriptures using rabbinic as well as patristic authorities while trying to avoid any dispute or controversy between Jewish and Christian faiths. Printed in four volumes between 1632 and 1651, the *Conciliador* was written in Spanish and had Latin translations. In the “Epístola Dedicatória” of his second volume (1641), Menasseh made a very positive reference to the Portuguese Restoration, mentioning his Portuguese origin, and with vows that peace between Portugal and the Low Countries would be sealed with the Portuguese separation from the Castilian crown, and that the war in both Brazil and in the overseas territories would cease as well.²⁹ As one can see from his “Dedicatory Epistle”, Menasseh regarded with interest the progress of the Braganza Dynasty, in particular its effects in Brazil, – where he had family ties and business in Dutch Pernambuco, and even applied for a position as a rabbi in Recife’s newly inaugurated synagogue. More than that, he kept contact and correspondence with several Catholic Portuguese – New and Old Christians. Some of them, like Vieira, were on diplomatic missions attracting support for the new dynasty.

It is notable that Menasseh aroused great interest from people close to the circle of Vasco Luís da Gama. Count of Vidigueira and after 1646 First Marquis of Niza, Gama was one the strongest promoters of John IV of Braganza’s cause and towards that goal, stayed in France as Portuguese ambassador between 1642 and 1649. There, he tried to gain assistance and aid from the French court against Castile, but also created a network of supporters which sought to diminish the Inquisition’s power against the “conversos” and, thereby, to attract “New Jews” capital for the Braganza cause. Gama’s book dealer in Rome, the Portuguese Friar Vicente Nogueira, bought several Hebrew and Jewish religious books from Menasseh to the Marquis’ library in Paris. Self-exiled in Rome after being condemned by the Inquisition for sodomy, Nogueira commented upon the Jewish rituals and preachings he attended in Italy (although

²⁹ Menasseh BEN ISRAEL, *Conciliador o de la conveniencia de los lugares de la S. Escritura* (Amsterdam: Nicolaus de Ravesteyn, 5041 [1641]).

sometimes with disdain), the Roman reactions to the news from Portugal and about the Lisbon Inquisition, and mentioned the rabbi in his letters to Gama several times. Far from being an unequivocal admirer of the Jewish people and lore,³⁰ Nogueira went beyond the simple book trade remarks in his correspondence with Menasseh, whom he called “o Principal de todos os rabinos” [“The foremost of all the rabbis”]. Nogueira also talked with the rabbi about the Portuguese New Christians’ and Jews’ situation and their possible role in the Restoration, as well as the negative impact of inquisitorial actions on the community of New Christian and New Jews merchants. Although the letters themselves have not survived, the Portuguese friar narrated this correspondence exchange and even transcribed part of it in a letter sent to Gama, the Marquis of Niza in 1648.³¹ According to Nogueira’s transcription, Menasseh had commented that Portugal was running the risk of losing everything by not accepting the Jews and allowing the Inquisition to persecute the New Christians.³² Below the transcription of Menasseh’s letter, Nogueira suggested to the Marquis that it should be read to the king, but if he “judge[d] the letter unworthy of the King’s ears” [“se V.A. julgar que não é digna a carta das orelhas de El-Rei”], that it be shown to Vieira instead – which seemed to have been done. If Vieira really read Menasseh’s letter, it might have added some points to his pleas to John IV. Throughout the 1640’s Vieira had written to the King pointing out the need to diminish the Inquisition’s powers (which he partially obtained in 1648) and even proposing that Portugal

³⁰ “Só com D. Quixote, e com o *Tesouro dos dinim* [by Menasseh], e ou cerimónias judaicas, me sucedeu finir-me de riso a primeira vez que os li”, in *Um diálogo epistolar: D. Vicente Nogueira e o Marquês de Niza (1615-1654)*, João Carlos Serafim, ed. (Porto: CITCEM/Afrontamento, 2011), 130.

³¹ Biblioteca da Ajuda. MS 51-X-16, f. 203-203v. Cf.: “De D. Vicente Nogueira para o Marquês de Niza, Roma, 11 de Maio de 1648”, in *Um diálogo epistolar: D. Vicente Nogueira e o Marquês de Niza (1615-1654)*, 173-4; *Cartas de D. Vicente Nogueira*, A.J. Lopes da Silva, ed. (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929), 57.

³² “se bem vejo que aquele Reino que podia, dando-nos a liberdade da consciência, que o Papa nos dá em Roma, ser o mais opulento do mundo, se vai arruinando com suas próprias mãos, pois prossegue a Inquisição de tal sorte que hão preso de poucos dias a esta parte Duarte da Silva, com outras pessoas de qualidade” Biblioteca da Ajuda. MS 51-X-16, f. 203v. (the letter is transcribed and commented by Arlindo CORREA in: <http://www.arlindo-correia.com/200307.html>).

accept merchants from the “Gente de Nação” [People of Nation], as the Iberian Jews were called.³³

Another member of the Marquis’s circle was Manuel Fernandes de Vila Real, a Portuguese New Christian captain and merchant who carried out several diplomatic and business missions in France and in the Netherlands and published several texts defending the Restoration and John IV. In the attempt to gain the favor of the French court for the Portuguese cause, he published a panegyric to Cardinal Richelieu, but in it he also quite subtly criticized the inquisitorial procedures and argued that they shall be changed, in particular to stop the confiscation of New Christians’ possessions.³⁴ Published in Spanish in 1642, possibly in Paris, the book was quickly translated into French and Italian, and later German. Even if subtle, such an attack did not go unnoticed by the Inquisition. As soon as Vila Real returned to Portugal in April 1649, the Inquisition promptly started to build a case against him, and arrested him in October. One piece of evidence against him collected through the investigation was a Menasseh letter, one of the many that Vila Real and the rabbi had apparently exchanged between 1648 and 1649. Vila Real was writing a universal chronology, worried about the calculation of the age of the Earth and the end of the world, and Gama had suggested that Menasseh could help him out. Also, during his “contra-ditas” deposition, Vila Real declared that he had read Menasseh’s *Conciliador* (perhaps the volume containing references to John IV and the Restoration) and *Termino Vitae* (with Bocarro’s laudatory verses). By his testimony we also know of Vila Real’s intense debates with Vieira about the role of the Jews for the Portuguese monarchy and about the possible selling of Pernambuco to the Dutch (to which

³³ See: Ronaldo VAINFAS, *Jerusalém colonial* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2010), chap. V; Jonathan ISRAEL, “Dutch Sephardi Jewry, Millenarian Politics and the Struggle for Brazil, 1650-54”, in *Conflicts of Empire: Spain, the Low Countries and The Struggle For World Supremacy. 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon, 1997); Natalia MUCHNIK, “Antonio Vieira and la diáspora sefardí en el siglo XVII”, in *António Vieira, Roma e o universalismo das monarquias portuguesa e espanhola*. Pedro Cardim and Gaetano Sabatini, ed. (Lisbon: CHAM, 2011), 97-120. For the term “Gente de nação”, see footnote 11.

³⁴ *El politico christianissimo ò discursos políticos sobre algunas acciones de la vida del eminentísimo señor cardenal duque de Richelieu* (1642). Cf. *Epítome genealógico del eminentísimo cardenal duque de Richelieu y discursos políticos sobre algunas acciones de su vida* (1641). See: José RAMOS-COELHO, *Manuel Fernandes Vila Real e o seu processo na Inquisição de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Empresa do “Occidente”, 1894); António José SARAIVA, *The Marrano Factory: The Portuguese Inquisition and Its New Christians 1536-1765* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 86-95.

Vila Real claimed to oppose).³⁵ The process did not end well for Vila Real, principally due to his Jewish ancestry and the accusations of judaizing, and he was condemned to death, in 1652.

The contact with the “New Jews” united these House of Braganza supporters who also attentively observed the events of their times from an eschatological point of view – or at least, had openly promoted those interpretations. Vila Real counted the world’s time and age to foresee its end, consulting with the Amsterdam rabbi. Vieira preached political sermons based on prophecies in which he defended the new dynasty and the glorious destiny of the Portuguese kingdom, and he was likely to have debated with the same rabbi about the Fifth Empire, the Lost Tribes and the Jewish universal conversion. Gama, the Marquis of Niza, was interested in Menasseh’s works and Jewish lore, and bought books in Hebrew and about Jewish theology from the rabbi, through Nogueira’s intermediation. At the same time, he was a patron for the messianic interpretation of the Portuguese Restoration. Gama sponsored the printing of the Bandarra’s *Trovas* first complete edition, in 1644, with a prefatory letter and an afterword supporting an interpretation favorable to the new king’s role in Portugal’s glorious future predicted in those prophetic verses.³⁶

These advocates of John IV’s cause shared two fields of action, which should not be read separately, under a risk of creating anachronistic ruptures and false conundrums in historical agency. On the one hand, they argued for the need to restrict Inquisitorial action, while at the same time to attract the capital of the “Gente de Nação”³⁷ – and, for this reason, the necessity to establish and maintain contact with the Amsterdam Jews.

³⁵ “Declaração que faço eu Manuel Fernandes Villa Real, preso n’este carcere do santo officio” e “Contradictas”, in *Summario de varia historia*, J. Ribeiro Guimarães (s/l: Rolland & Semiond, 1875), v. 5, 90-119. In the same volume, Menasseh’s letter Ben Israel to Vila Real (p. 142-3). For the letter in English, see: E.N. ADLER, “A letter of Menasseh ben Israel” *Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. V (1908):174-183.

³⁶ *Trovas de Bandarra...* (Nantes: por Guillermo de Munier, 1644). The author of the paratexts of 1644 *Trovas* edition was Manuel Homem, who also wrote a Portuguese Restoration millenarian defense entitled *Ressurreição de Portugal, morte fatal de Castela*. In *Ressurreição*, Homem commented upon the *Trovas*, and several prophecies, presages and astrological foresight, in which he indicated Portugal’s role as a universal monarchy. Both *Trovas* and *Ressurreição* were printed by the same publishing house in Nantes, by Guillaume Le Monnier, royal printer. The former edition was sponsored by Vasco Luís da Gama; and the latter, dedicated to him, still as Count of Vidigueira. [Manuel Homem], *Ressurreçam de Portugal, e morte fatal de Castella...* (Nantes: Por Guillermo de Monnier, [1645]). See also: José V. D. BESSELAAR, “As ‘Trovas’ do Bandarra”, *Revista ICALP*, 4 (1986).

³⁷ Antônio VIEIRA, “Proposta que se fez ao serenissimo rei D. João IV a favor da gente de nação” (1646), In *Obras escolhidas*, v. IV, 48-9. Cf. ISRAEL. “Dutch Sephardi Jewry”, 153.

On the other, they read the political and natural events through a providential key. The Portuguese Restoration itself was read and explained from this perspective, as were the events and the war in the Dutch Brazil and even the conquest of the Americas.³⁸ Capital and prophecy were two sides of the same coin,³⁹ and so the “philo-semitism” of these Brigantine supporters added both economic and political interests to the providential and imperial expectations, and vice-versa. The intensification of the war in Pernambuco and the resulting arrests of Jews in Brazil, some of them eventually prosecuted as New Christians by the Inquisition, did not facilitate the Portuguese millenarians’ negotiations with the “New Jews”, and, as their correspondence shows, were not seen as very positive signs for their objectives. As can be read in Menasseh’s letter to Vila Real or even in passages from some of the rabbi’s works, the threat of losing commerce in Brazil, together with the inquisitorial trials of the “Gente da Nação” contributed to a diminishing of the initial excitement with the Restoration as a meaningful event of the Hebrew final redemption.⁴⁰

In this environment in which overseas trade, imperial expansion, fight for independence, revolts and rebellions, religious disputes, Messianic prophecies and Fifth Monarchy projections would mix (and would reinforce each other), it becomes easier to understand how the possibility of the indigenous people descending from the Hebrews or of finding the Lost Tribes in America gained momentum in the writings of many Christians, as we will see.⁴¹ Menasseh played a central role in this debate. However, he was no longer looking at Brazil and Portugal with hope. Maybe disappointed at the unfolding of the Dutch-Portuguese war in Brazil, and at the intensification of Inquisitorial activities in Portugal, or, at last, when perhaps he realized that Braganza supporters’ promises of a safe harbor

³⁸ See: LUÍS REIS TORGAL, *Ideologia política e teoria do Estado na Restauração* (Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade, 1981-1982), vol. 1, chap. 3; Eduardo D’OLIVEIRA FRANÇA, *Portugal na época da Restauração* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997), pt. 3, chap. 1; Lauri TÄHTINEN, “The Intellectual Construction of the Fifth Empire: Legitimizing the Braganza Restoration,” *History of European Ideas*, 38:3 (2012), 413-425; Luís Filipe SILVÉRIO LIMA, “Between the New and the Old World: Iberian Prophecies and Imperial Projects in the Colonisation of the Early Modern Spanish and Portuguese Americas”, 46-54.

³⁹ Alcir PÉCORÁ, “Vieira, a inquisição e o capital”. *Topoi*, 1(1) (2000), 178-196. <https://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2237-101X001001005>.

⁴⁰ See: Nachman FALBEL, “Menasseh Ben Israel e o Brasil”; Vainfas, *Jerusalém colonial*, chap. 4-5.

⁴¹ For news circulation and prophetic interpretations about the Lost Ten Tribes being Amerindians, see: Florentino GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ, “La Autoridad de 4 Esdras y el Origen Judío de los Indios Americanos”, *Fortenatae*, 22 (2011), 41-54.

for Jews and New Christians in the restored Portugal were crumbling, he decided to turn towards England.

Menasseh Ben Israel's Hope and the shift of Millenarian expectations

In 1650, Menasseh Ben Israel printed in Amsterdam his *Esperança de Israel*, in Spanish and with a Latin edition, *Spes Isrealis*⁴². There he commented upon the report from *converso* Antonio de Montesinos' (or Arão Levi)⁴³ about an encounter in the then Peruvian Amazon⁴⁴ with what Montesinos claimed to be one of the Ten Lost Tribes, that of Reuben⁴⁵. Menasseh had attended the 1644 session in which Montesinos presented his discovery of Reuben's tribe before the Talmud Torah synagogue. The novelty, if true, would have great implications for it would be an evident sign of the Messiah's kingdom, in which the Lost Tribes would be reunited. The news about the discovery circulated. However, it took on greater importance when it reached some Christians' ears, particularly those of the English millenarianists. In the midst of the English Revolution and filled with providential expectations, they were also in an uproar over the claims that some Protestant missionaries had allegedly found Jews from the Lost

⁴² For more details, see: Cecil ROTH, *A life...*, chap. IX-XI; Maria Ana T. VALDEZ, "The *Esperança de Israel*: A Mission to Cromwell", in *In the name of God: the Bible in the colonial discourse of empire*. Carly L. Crouch and Jonathan Stökl, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 63-84; Henry Méchoulan; Gérard Nahon "Introduction", in Menasseh Ben Israel *The hope of Israel* (Oxford/New York: Published for the Littman Library by Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁴³ See: Jonathan SCHORSCH, *Atlantic World* (Boston: Brill, 2009), chap. 9; Ronnie Perelis, "'These Indians Are Jews!' Lost Tribes, Crypto-Jews, and Jewish Self-Fashioning in Antonio de Montezino's *Relation* of 1644", in *Atlantic diasporas: Jews, conversos, and crypto-Jews in the age of mercantilism, 1500-1800*, Richard L. Kagan; Philip D. Morgan, ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 195-211; Ronnie PERELIS, "Dialectics of Travel: Reading the Journey in Antonio de Montezinos's *Relación* (1644)", *Studies in American Jewish Literature*, 33, 1, (2014): 13-34.

⁴⁴ According to Grant Underwood, Montesinos went to what is today the Colombian part of Amazon Forest. Grant Underwood, "The *Hope of Israel* in Early Modern Ethnography/Eschatology", in *Hebrew and the Bible in America*, Shalom GOLDMAN, ed. (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1993), 92.

⁴⁵ Saraiva identified here an evidence that Montesinos had read Bandarra. The cobbler in his *Trovvas* mentioned that people from the Tribe of Reuben would come with the Hidden King. However, as pointed out by Schorsch, this was a recurrent Jewish messianic topic. David Reubeni, for instance, claimed to descend from Reuben's Tribe. Even raising such demurs, Schorsch accepts Saraiva's hypothesis as plausible. António José SARAIVA, "António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel e o Quinto Império"; Schorsch, *Atlantic World*, 420-6.

Tribes among indigenous people in North America or at very least suspected of their Jewish origin after the first contacts with them.⁴⁶

Impressed by this news, especially that coming from New England, the English Presbyterian minister Thomas Thorowgood wrote a text entitled *The Jewes of America* in which he defended the Jewish origin of the Native Americans and encouraged the “promoting and propagating [among the indigenous population] the Gospell of Iesus Christ in New-England”⁴⁷. He had gathered information from several New England ministers and missionaries, such as John Eliot and Roger Williams, with whom he had exchanged letters about the possible origins of Native American peoples and the progress of the Gospel⁴⁸. Besides New England sources, he was also influenced by the discussions and news about South America indigenous people and their conversion, which he had read through English and Latin versions of “accounts written by Spanish missionaries (...) particularly José de Acosta’s *Historia Natural y Moral de las Indias*; ... [and] travel narratives such as Jean de Léry’s *Histoire d’un voyage fait en la terre de Bresil*”⁴⁹.

As Thorowgood explained later in the 1661’s second part of *The Jewes of America*, his tract was initially planned to be published between 1648-1649, and would have been dedicated to Charles I. However, with the king’s imprisonment and eventual beheading, Thorowgood decided to hold the printing and not to publish “The Epistle Dedicatory” to the Stuart monarch.⁵⁰ In the meantime, he showed his manuscript to John

⁴⁶ See: Richard POPKIN, “The rise and fall of the Jewish Indian Theory”, in *Menasseh Ben Israel and his world*, 62ss.; Peter TOON, “The question of Jewish Immigration”, in *Puritans, the Millennium and the future of Israel*, Peter Toon, ed. (Cambridge: James Clark, 2002 [1970]), 115-125; David KATZ, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England*; Grant UNDERWOOD, “The Hope of Israel in Early Modern Ethnography and Eschatology”; Ariel HESSAYON, *‘Gold Tried in the Fire’: The prophet Theaurau John Tany and the English Revolution* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Ariel HESSAYON, “Jews and crypto-Jews in sixteenth and seventeenth century England”, *Cromohs*, 16 (2011), URL: http://www.cromohs.unifi.it/16_2011/hessayon_jews.html; Andrew CROME. “English National Identity and the Readmission of the Jews, 1650-1656.” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 66, 2 (2015): 280-301, Andrew CROME. “Politics and Eschatology: Reassessing the Appeal of the ‘Jewish Indian’ Theory in England and New England in the 1650s”, *Journal of Religious History*, 40 (2016): 326–346. doi: 10.1111/1467-9809.12301.

⁴⁷ Thomas THOROWGOOD, *Jewes in America* (London: Slater, 1650), n.p. (“The Epistle Dedicatory”).

⁴⁸ Thomas THOROWGOOD, *Jewes in America*, 3, 6, 79 (cf. 2nd Part of *Jewes in America*, 1660).

⁴⁹ Richard W. COGLEY, “The Ancestry of the American Indians: Thomas Thorowgood’s *Jewes in America* (1650) and *Jewes in America* (1660)”, *English Literary Renaissance*, 35, 2 (2005): 306-7.

⁵⁰ He would do it later, in the second part of his book. See 2nd part (3rd edition) of *Jewes in America* (1660).

Dury, an Irenist preacher of Scottish origin, and asked him to write a foreword, perhaps to replace the former dedication. Dury, who circulated a lot between London and Amsterdam, had heard about Montesinos' report, and thrilled at the possible millenarian implications involved, wrote to Menasseh asking for further explanation. Part of this correspondence was translated and published in his preface to Thorowgood's book, eventually released in 1650. In this "Epistolical Discourse", Dury also announced that Menasseh, encouraged by the correspondence, had decided to write a small tract dealing with the topic.⁵¹ Although in his own text Thorowgood did not analyze or even mention Montesino's case or Menasseh's possible interpretation,⁵² he – or the editors – attached to his book the first translation into English of Montesino's report as a proof of the possible Jewish origin of the Amerindians. The translation was based on a French version of the account sent by Menasseh to Dury in November 1649, after Dury's enthusiastic inquire, and aroused a great deal of interest (and controversy) among English readers – perhaps greater than Thorowgood's book itself.

However, Dury was not the only one who had written to Menasseh and *Jews of America* wasn't the first printed mention to the 'discovery' of the Lost Tribes in South America. Another millenarian, the Independent divine Nathaniel Homes, also sent letters at the same time asking about Montesinos's news. As he was aware of the conversion of indigenous populations in New England and the possibility of them being of Jewish origin, Homes was wondering about the further impact of the discovery of the Lost Tribes in the Americas on the coming of the Millennial kingdom. Other frequent English correspondent was John Sadler, who met Menasseh when visiting Amsterdam in the late 1640s. Afterwards, Menasseh referred him to Dury, saying that he could help in the matter of the dedication of his work to-come. Even before the translation's publication in Thorowgood's book, news about Montesino's report and about Menasseh's commentaries was already circulating in England and in New England, and raising commentaries and discussion. The 'pilgrim father' Edward Winslow, who returned to the Old World to support Parliamentarian efforts, mentioned that 'a godly Minister' in London (probably Dury) discussed with Menasseh about the Lost Tribes in the Americas.⁵³

⁵¹ John DURY, "An Epistolical Discourse..." to *Jewes in America*, by Thomas Thorowgood (London: Slater, 1650), cf. Popkin, "The rise and fall...", 67-8.

⁵² He would do it later, in the 1660 second part of his book.

⁵³ For a very precise account of the letter exchange about the Lost Tribes among Menasseh, Dury, Homes and other millenarians, see: Ariel HESSAYON, 'Gold tried in the Fire', 141-149.

Winslow wrote that in his dedication to the Parliament and Council of England of *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians of New England*, printed in 1649. Part of what later was known as Eliot Tracts, *The Glorious Progress* brought letters and accounts of North America about the success of the conversion of Indigenous populations by the Puritans from Massachusetts. Quoting the “great Dr. of the Jews” (Menasseh), Winslow was also reaffirming the signs that were in the Eliot Tracts about the Jewish origin of the ‘Indians’, and reassuring, at the same time, the importance of the Puritan efforts and mission in New England, and of the critical period of history that England was facing.⁵⁴

Upon observing such interest, Menasseh spent the final days of 1649 finishing his manuscript, having printed it in the following year. The Spanish version, *Esperança de Israel*, was dedicated to the “*Parnassim*” (trustees) of the Talmud Torah synagogue in Amsterdam, and the one in Latin, *Spes Israelis*, to the English Parliament and the State Council.⁵⁵ In both editions, the title was presented as a translation of the Hebrew expression “Miqveh Israel”, from Jeremiah 17:13: “O Lord, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, and they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the Lord the fountaine of living waters.”⁵⁶ The rabbi did not proceed to an interpretation of the verse, but its meaning fitted the intended message: the true People of Israel should maintain their hope and trust (another meaning for *Miqveh*)⁵⁷ and those who had not waited for or trusted in God should be

⁵⁴ Edward WINSLOW, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649) In: *The Eliot Tracts*, Michael Clark, ed. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 145.

⁵⁵ See, among others: ROTH, *A life of Menasseh...*, 183ss; Richard POPKIN, “Hartlib, Dury and the Jews”, in *Samuel Hartlib and universal reformation*, M. GREENGRASS et al., ed. (Cambridge: CUP, 1994), 125-6; Benjamin BRAUDE, “Les contes persans de Menasseh Ben Israël”. *Annales*. 49.5 (1994):1107-1138; Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell,” 63-84, Henry MÉCHOULAN; Gérard NAHON “Introduction”. There has been a great debate, since Kayserling, whether the Latin text was Menasseh’s (and if it was the first to be written) or whether it was a mere translation. Mechoulán and Nahon emphatically argued that *Spes Israelis* was derived from the Spanish original text, and insisted that it had not even been rendered into Latin by Menasseh, but by a Christian Latinist. Regardless of the translation authorship, what matters here is that the Latin version has been written for a Christian and Protestant audience, by all accounts sensitive to the “philo-semitic” arguments connected to the news about the Lost Tribes.

⁵⁶ King James Bible, (1611). In the Geneva Bible (1599): “O LORD, the hope of Israel, all that forsake thee shall be ashamed, [and] they that depart from me shall be written in the earth, because they have forsaken the LORD, the fountain of living waters.”

⁵⁷ Francisco Moreno reminded me that *Miqveh* could also be related to water (it may suggest a ritual bath), and this may mean a possible reference to the mythical river Sabbation, which the Lost Tribes would have crossed in their peregrination and eventual exile.

abandoned. But the exegetical interpretations and implications from the Amazon “Lost Tribe” discovery and its allegedly belonging to the Chosen People could vary considerably in a text aimed at both a Jewish audience in Amsterdam (the Jewish “Portuguese Nation”, who read Spanish) and a Christian audience (who read Latin, the English, and perhaps Dutch, Protestants).

As some scholars have pointed out, the two editions were two texts with different programs and goals which were mirrored in their addressees, the Jewish-Portuguese community leaders in Amsterdam, and the ruling institutions in Commonwealth England.⁵⁸ On the one hand, *Esperança* was to provide some relief for Iberian Jews’ messianic faith, once fed by the economic success of the “New Jews” mercantile networks, but now affected by the discouraging news coming from both Dutch Brazil and Lisbon. On the other hand, *Spes* was to explore English Protestants’ millenarianist fervor, as well as a broad “philo-semitic” climate in the Dutch and British Christian circles, in order to stimulate the debate about the official readmission of Jews in England. The differences were not limited to the dedications, but also appeared in textual and editorial choices. Omitted or added parts, modified references, examples closer to Christians or to Jews are some of the variations which indicate conscious and divergent solutions more than mere translation and version problems⁵⁹. Even Menasseh’s position toward the veracity of Montesinos’ report and the Hebrew origin of the Amerindians appears more emphatically in *Spes* than in *Esperança*. In the Spanish version, Menasseh stated that he considered seemingly verisimilar (“cosa mas verissimil”) Montesinos’ report about his discovery in the Amazon and accepted as most probable (“mas prouable”) the news of some amongst the Lost Tribes’ descendants being in the Americas. But he did not support the hypothesis (already contested by Jesuits, such as Acosta) that indigenous populations had their origins directly from the Hebrew Tribes. One of the Tribes could be in the Americas, but they most certainly would also inhabit other places in the globe, as the Rabbi had read in the writings by the Jesuit Matteo Ricci about

⁵⁸ Benjamin BRAUDE, “Les contes...”. Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell”. Braude’s article rejects Ismar Schorsch’s view, to whom Menasseh had neither political nor migratory motivations when he wrote the pamphlet: Ismar Schorsch, “From Messianism to Realpolitik: Menasseh Ben Israel and the Readmission of the Jews to England”. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 45 (1978):187-208.

⁵⁹ As pointed out by Ana Valdez, there is still room for a more systematic comparison (or even a commented edition) among *Esperança/Spes* various versions. Ana VALDEZ, “The Esperança de Israel: a Mission to Cromwell”.

China. This reference is missing from the text addressed to the Protestants (who, one should notice, would regard the Jesuits as the epitome of Papism), and in the Latin version (as in Dury's preface to *Jews in America*) Menasseh's appraisal of Montesinos' report veracity was more positive and assertive at the conclusion.⁶⁰ Even the decision to translate *Miqveh* as *Esperança* and especially *Spes* (and then *Hope*) can be another hint of this move toward Protestant ears. The Vulgate Bible version brings "Expectatio Israhel Domine" instead of "Spes Israelis", more akin to the King James or Geneva versions, "O Lord, the hoope of Israel", since "Expectatio" should be translated more properly as "Expectation" than as "Hope", according to a sixteenth century English-Latin dictionary.⁶¹

Considering that the Latin version was a simpler edition, possibly a small circulation printing to be distributed and not sold, it is impressive to observe the interest it aroused. Besides Dury and Holmes, there is evidence that other readers were moved by the arguments in *Spes Israelis*. Among them was the Baptist preacher (and perhaps for a short-time, Fifth-Monarchist) Henry Jessey. The rabbi had sent him an autographed copy of *Spes Israelis*, motivated by their previous correspondence; and Jessey's copy has survived full of notes and comments showing not only that he read it, but also that he agreed with some aspects of it.⁶² Like many millenarianists at the time, Jessey made a connection between his interest in the Jews and the advent of the end of times. In the same year 1650, Jessey published a book entitled *The Glory and salvation of Jehuda and Israel* in which he defended the harmony between Jews and Christians as a sign of the imminence of Christ's earthly and visible reign. The 1653 Dutch translation of Jessey's book was dedicated to the Jewish nation and, in particular, to Menasseh Ben Israel. One year after reading *Spes Israelis*, Jessey wrote the preface to Fifth-Monarchist visionary Mary Cary's prophecies, in which he stated again his great expectation for the new and glori-

⁶⁰ Compare the different terms used to qualify Montesinos' report veracity in each version's conclusion: *Esperança de Israel* – "cosa mas probable" (p. 116); *Spes Israelis* – "ut verissimam" (p. 101); *Hope of Israel* – "as most true" (p. 160, of Méchoulan and Nahon edition). About differences between editions, namely the Spanish and English, see also: Menasseh BEN ISRAEL, *The hope of Israel*, Henry Méchoulan and Gérard Nahon, ed. (Portland: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2004).

⁶¹ *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae*, 1587: "Expectatio, Expectatio, nis, f.g. verb. Expectation, desire of things looked for, longing, hope, feare of things to come". See LEME (Lexicons of Early Modern English) <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca>.

⁶² David KATZ, *Philo-semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England*, 11.

ous Jerusalem that would exist on Earth.⁶³ However, the greatest indicator of *Spes'* success is that it was soon translated into English and published in three editions between 1650 and 1652. Its editors were Hannah and Livewell Chapman, a couple who owned a small bookshop at a moment of ample profusion of pamphlets, treaties and printings about the end of times in England.⁶⁴ Chapman, a Fifth Monarchy Man himself, was later characterized as the bookseller of works about the Fifth Monarchy.⁶⁵

In short, what impelled Menasseh to produce this tract was, in great part, the English millenarians' interest in the theme. But its impact may well extend beyond England (or New England): some scholars have suggested that Vieira's letter, "Esperanças de Portugal", may be connected in some way with Menasseh's tract.⁶⁶ It is unclear whether the Jesuit had read the Rabbi's pamphlet, but in addition to the striking resemblance between the titles – "Esperanças de Portugal" (Hopes of Portugal) and *Esperança de Israel* – one can identify some convergent millenarian aspects among their arguments. Vieira wrote his letter in April 1659, a decade after the meeting with Menasseh, while the Jesuit was in a mission in the Amazon forest. It was addressed to the queen's confessor, the Bishop of Japan, to be read to the Portuguese Queen Regent, Luisa de Guzmán. In it, Vieira explained that the late John IV (deceased in 1656) must rise from the dead in order to fulfill all the future Portuguese greatness promised in several prophecies – Biblical, visions of saints, and above all, the *Trovas* of Bandarra. By interpreting Bandarra's verses, the Jesuit tried to prove the logical necessity of John IV's resurrection, since he was the Chosen

⁶³ E.G.E. VAN DER WALL, "A Philo-Semitic Millenarian on the Reconciliation of Jews and Christians: Henry Jessey and his 'The Glory and Salvation of Jehudah and Israel'", in *Sceptics, millenarians and Jews*, David Katz and Jonathan Israel, ed. (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 166-168.

⁶⁴ Mauren BELL, "Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51". *Publishing History*, 26 (1989):5-66; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley: Hannah Allen, Livewell Chapman e a disseminação de panfletos radicais durante a Revolução Inglesa (1646-1665)*, M.A. Thesis, Unifesp, 2016, chap. 2, 3.

⁶⁵ Leona ROSTENBERG, *Literary, political, scientific, religious and legal publishing, printing and bookselling in England, 1551-1700* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1965), v. 1, 203-236; Bernard CAPP, *The Fifth-monarchy Men* (London: Faber and Faber, 2008[1972]), 106-7, 129, 245, *passim*; Bernard CAPP, "A door of hope Re-opened: The Fifth Monarchy, King Charles and King Jesus" *Journal of Religious History*, Vol.32, Issue 1 (2008), 16-30; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*.

⁶⁶ Antônio José SARAIVA "Antônio Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel..." , 101; HERMANN, *No reino do desejado*, 237-8; NOVINSKY, "Sebastianismo, Vieira e o messianismo judaico", 73-77; Lúcia Helena COSTIGAN, "Judeus e Cristãos-novos nos escritos de letrados do Barroco espanhol e de Antônio Vieira e Menasseh Ben Israel", in *Diálogos da conversão* (Campinas: Ed.Uni-camp, 2005), 141; Vainfas, *Jerusalém*, 325.

and Hidden King of the prophecies, elected by God himself to guide the Portuguese nation in its mission to bring all the world under Christ's faith and rule. This king would then find and reunite all the Lost Tribes of Israel, which would give him endless treasures, and the Jews would be finally converted to Christianity. Eventually the letter reached the Lisbon Inquisition, and in 1663 Vieira was summoned to explain his propositions under the suspicion of heresy and of judaizing. During a four-year-long trial, Vieira repeatedly replied and counter-argued that his letter had been merely an attempt to give "hopes" to a mourning widow, the queen, and that his Fifth Empire project was neither millenarianist nor Judaic, but on the contrary, was strictly consistent with the Catholic doctrine.⁶⁷

In addition to the suggestions based on similarities in the title between Vieira's letter and Menasseh's, António Saraiva has gone further, raising the hypothesis that the plural "Hopes" in Vieira's letter meant the Hope of both Portuguese and Jewish peoples, reunited in the Fifth Empire to come.⁶⁸ We do not have evidence that Vieira actually had access to Menasseh's *Esperança de Israel*; or even that this work had circulated in seventeenth century Portugal or Portuguese America. But we do know that Vieira was importing books with "words written in Hebrew", from the Netherlands in 1650's according to denouncements made against him to the Inquisition.⁶⁹ Inconclusive as that may be, it shows a continuous interest in the Jewish question, that perhaps helped him re-formulate his version of the meeting with Menasseh when convened by the Inquisition in the 1660s, or when years later in the "Carta Apologética", he had to reply to Escoto Patavino's accusations. However, if Menasseh's pamphlet had actually influenced Vieira's letter, it is ironic to think that the "Hopes of Portugal" could owe its origin to Protestant demands. Moreover, it is even more striking if we consider that Vieira's "Esperanças" was one of the pieces of evidence that started the inquisition trial against him. The inquisitors could not imagine or have any information about this possible "double" heresy, but they questioned Vieira about his contacts with

⁶⁷ Adma Fadul MUDANA (ed.), *Os autos do processo de Vieira na Inquisição* (2nd ed., São Paulo: Edusp, 2008). About the letter, see: José VAN DEN BESSELAAR, *Antônio Vieira: profecia e polémica* (Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2002); Thomas COHEN, *The Fire of Tongues* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 122-133; Ana VALDEZ, *Historical interpretations of the 'Fifth Empire'*, 229-243.

⁶⁸ António José SARAIVA "António Vieira, Menasseh ben Israel...".

⁶⁹ ANTT- Inq. Lisboa, Promotor, livro 242, fls. 47-47v. I would like to thank António Vitor Ribeiro for recommending this source to me, and also for sharing with me his notes and an unpublished text about Vieira.

Amsterdam Jews⁷⁰. As he would do later in the “Carta Apologética”, he replied that he had only sought to convert Menasseh and as many Jewish people as possible and stated that he had shown the rabbi the errors in Jewish beliefs⁷¹.

The relationship with Menasseh had more serious consequences in the 1649-52 Inquisitorial trial of Vila Real. Added to his New Christian origin, among other accusations, Vila Real’s correspondence with Menasseh was one more piece of evidence that eventually condemned him to the fire. In other words, contact with the rabbi and his connection with Portuguese millenarian ideas (concrete evidence of letters and an admission of having read Menasseh’s works, for Vila Real; a possible relationship between the “Hopes”, for Vieira) culminated in two Brigantine supporters being condemned, one to be burnt and the other to silence. They were condemned by the same Inquisition against which they had struggled, among other reasons, to bring the “New Jews” back to Portugal. It was the same Inquisition whose actions had contributed to Menasseh having turned his eyes upon England as a chosen place for the Jewish community – instead of Restored Portugal. As the prophecies told that the Messiah would come when the Jews were in the last of lands, Menasseh had transferred his bets from what he named “finis terrae” – Portugal – to what he termed (in a doubtful etymology) the “angle of the Earth” (Angleterre/England).⁷²

Following the impact of *Hope of Israel* in London, Menasseh became known not only to English Millenarians and Irenists, but he gained attention from some Parliament members, as well as from the Council of State in a moment in which prophecy was also discussed in political fora. This was broadly helped by the sponsorship of Holmes and Dury, who were well connected with English political leaders. It was probably through their intervention that one possible objective inherent to Menasseh’s tract – the public readmission of Jews and their freedom of worship – reached Crom-

⁷⁰ See: Vanderlei MARINHO COSTA. “Apontamento para uma (longa) história das prescrições e proscições em torno da apocalíptica (judaico-)cristã: o caso do processo contra Antônio Vieira” *Revista de História*, 1.2 (2009):3-17; José Pedro PAIVA. “Vieira e a Inquisição: o processo e a segunda estadia em Roma”, in *Antônio Vieira, Roma e o universalismo...*, 121-143.

⁷¹ *Os autos do processo de Vieira na Inquisição*, 93-4. His statement repeated what was in general terms in “Carta apologética” and “Defesa” (171ss). This reinforces Muhana’s and Silva’s hypothesis about the relationship between Vieira’s prophetic project and his trial. Cf. Adma MUHANA, “Introdução” to *Os autos...*; Adma MUHANA, “O processo inquisitorial de Vieira: aspectos profético-argumentativos”, *Semear*, 2 (1997); Jacqueson SILVA, *Arquitetura do Quinto Império* (Phd. Diss., Unicamp, 2007).

⁷² H.P. SALOMON “Introdução” to *Tratado da verdade da lei de Moisés*, by Saul Levi Mortera (Coimbra: BGUC, 1988), LXXIX.

well's ears. Cromwell became Lord Protector in 1653 and was interested in admitting Menasseh for a hearing. The prospect of receiving well-connected Jewish leaders and discussing the possible Jewish settlement in England met both English providential and financial expectations regarding future and practical plans for the Republic maintenance and expansion. Moreover, this happened when Cromwell was molding an imperial strategy for the Commonwealth – and his Protectorate.⁷³ Although some authors have contested the imperial(ist) dimension of the Cromwellian Protectorate,⁷⁴ it seems to me that Cromwell's entertaining the notion of the Jewish readmission was part of a millenarianist milieu infused by imperial expectations as well as a more practical interest in the Dutch-Jewish merchant capital to secure English overseas trade. From this viewpoint, his intentions – at one time, financial, pragmatic, imperial and providential – would be not completely far from Vieira's and the Braganza supporters', to whom Jews and New Christians could mean simultaneously capital influx and messianic redemption within an imperial design.⁷⁵

In 1655, Menasseh finally succeeded in getting a visa to cross the channel and present his case, supported by the demands of a few other Portuguese Jews who were already in London. He wrote a letter addressed to Lord Protector explaining why it would be profitable to transform the British Isles and its colonies into a place where Jews could hold public worship and have synagogues, which had been prohibited since the thirteenth century. In spite of Cromwell's receptiveness and his friends' and his own efforts, Menasseh did not succeed in having a public hearing, but he had his petition analyzed by a noteworthy commission, in a meeting at Whitehall.⁷⁶ One of the participants was Henry Jessey, the attentive reader of *Spes*, and he wrote a report of what had happened in the conference,

⁷³ David ARMITAGE, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire", *The Historical Journal*, 35, 3 (1992): 531-555.

⁷⁴ Arthur H. WILLIAMSON, "An Empire to End Empire: The Dynamic of Early Modern British Expansion", *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68, 1-2 (2005): 246-251.

⁷⁵ I disagree with Williamson's opinion that "it is hard to imagine two more dissimilar figures than Oliver Cromwell and (...) Antonio Vieira" based exclusively on the assumption that Cromwell was anti-imperialistic and Vieira, imperialistic. Notwithstanding this strong remark, Williamson lists several aspects and viewpoints common to both trajectories and lives – their encounters with Menasseh, their philo-semitism, their plans for eliminating Inquisition, their economic and trade views etc. They seem to me more than enough to contradict or at least weaken Williamson's own statement, even more if one adds the connections showed in this article. Arthur H. WILLIAMSON, "An Empire to End Empire", 249-250.

⁷⁶ See: *Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell*.

which was published by Livewell Chapman in 1656.⁷⁷ Although the Whitehall conference did not reject the proposal, the result was not the one Menasseh anticipated because it did not reach a final verdict. There was no defeat, but there was no victory either. However, Menasseh's presence in London and, above all, the Whitehall debates injected new life into the debates on the Lost Tribes, as well as on the conversion of Jews and their role in history. And Menasseh and his pamphlet became recognized on these topics.

His fame endured after his death in 1657 and even after the Stuart Restoration. In 1661, a pamphlet called *Door of Hope* was printed as the manifesto for an unsuccessful Fifth-Monarchist uprising against Charles II led by cooper Thomas Venner. Not only did the title invoke the word Hope but it also quoted Menasseh's *Hope of Israel* as one of the works which supported its claim of the Millenarian Kingdom's coming, the Fifth Monarchy ruled by Christ and his Saints. The expression "Door of Hope" is a quotation from another prophetic book, Hosea (2:15),⁷⁸ through which the People of God would be helped by God to overcome any difficulty in their journey. The pamphlet implied the necessity of deliberate action to go through the doorway in order to reach the Kingdom of Christ.⁷⁹

However, neither was the reception of Menasseh's work always positive, nor all of his English readers accepted him as an authoritative source to quote, as the *Door of Hope's* anonymous author did. In particular,

⁷⁷ [Henry JESSEY], *A narrative of the late proceeds at White-Hall, concerning the Jews* (London: L. Chapman, 1656).

⁷⁸ King James Bible: "And I wil giue her, her vineyards from thence, and the valley of Achor for a doore of hope, and she shall sing there, as in the dayes of her youth, and as in the day when she came vp out of the land of Egypt."

⁷⁹ Years before, the expression had already been used by Oliver Cromwell while attacking the same Fifth Monarchy Men and the radical millenarian Saints members of parliament. In his first address as Lord Protector to a newly composed Parliament, in 1654, Cromwell stated that the "door of hope opened by God" to the English nation would unveil a time of prosperity and peace, after "so many changes and turnings which this nation hath labored under". The Lord Protector hoped that "the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy" would be replaced by a reign of Christ "in our hearts by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there". Oliver Cromwell, *His Highness the Lord Protector's two speeches to the Parliament in the Painted Chamber the one on Monday the 4. of September; the other on Tuesday the 12. of September, 1654. Taken by one who stood very near him, and published to prevent mistakes* ([Leith]: Printed at London, and re-printed at Leith, 1654), 3, 7. Could the use of "Door of Hope" in Venner's uprising manifesto of 1661 be a late response to a traitor and tyrant from the past, Cromwell, and, therefore, an analogy with the new despot, Charles II, and even perhaps a reminder of what happens when one fights against the Saints? Maybe, but anyhow and more important it is that the use of the expression shows us common vocabulary – biblical, religious and political as well.

regarding the issue of the Jews' readmission in England, there was a huge controversy around the figure of the "Rabbi of Amsterdam". One of the most contentious antagonists who argued against Menasseh's proposals was William Prynne. In 1656, he published *Short Demurrer to the Jews long-discontinued Remitter into England*⁸⁰, in which he put himself against the return of Jews. Prynne was a Puritan lawyer, prolific polemist, and then a royalist pamphleteer, albeit he had formerly been on the Parliamentary side in the 1640s, mostly putting himself against the Laudian reform.⁸¹ He was neither a millenarian nor did he support the government of the Saints (as religious radicals called themselves), and the lawyer also disagreed with the hypothesis about the Lost Tribes or the Hebrew origin of the Native-Americans. On the Millenarian side, but yet royalist, one could also find some disagreement with Menasseh's works and especially the interpretations derived from them. The Welsh prophet Arise (or Rhys) Evans⁸² wrote that after reading and reflecting a lot upon *Hope of Israel*, he had the opportunity of talking to Menasseh in London. Evans had spoken of his prophetic visions, in which Charles II would come back to England, by divine hand and would guide the Lost Tribes to Jerusalem, defeating the Turkish Empire. The Jewish people would then recognize Christ as their Messiah and King, and Charles as Christ's viceroy, just as Joseph had been to the Pharaoh. Evans said that he had written down all his ideas and an account of his talks with Menasseh on paper in 1656, under the suggestive title of *Light for the Jews*, and had planned to have it printed immediately in English, at his own expenses. He would also have searched for a translator into Latin, so that the rabbi would be able to read his arguments and soften his "tough heart" to the truth. Despite his alleged intentions, the English text only appeared in 1664, during the third year of Charles II's reign, though with the year of 1656 listed as the printing year on the cover page.⁸³ It was a convenient signal that the *Light of the Jew* represented a fulfilled prophecy of the Restoration, and at same

⁸⁰ William PRYNNE, *A short demurrer to the Jewes long discontinued barred remitter into England...* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656); *The second part of a Short demurrer* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656).

⁸¹ For a portrait of this complex and multifaceted character, see: William M. LAMONT, *Marginal Prynne* (London: Routledge, 1963).

⁸² About Arise/Rhys Evans, see: "Evans, Arise (b. c.1607, d. in or after 1660)," Thomas N. Corns in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford: OUP, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8975> (accessed January 6, 2016).

⁸³ Arise EVANS, *Light for the Jews; or, the means to convert them, in answer to a book ... called the Hope of Israel ... by Manasseh Ben Israel...* (London: 1664).

time proof of the imminent coming of the Fifth Monarchy – but under the Stuarts. The Latin translation, as far as it is known, was never done.

Against the Fifth Monarchy and the “Jesuit” connections: from the end of the world to the angle of the Earth, and back again

Both Arise Evans and William Prynne raised controversial issues against the Fifth Monarchists too. More than that, they attacked some millenarian authors published by the *Esperança/Spes* English translation’s editor, Fifth-Monarchy-Men Livewell Chapman.⁸⁴ Evans contested *A Brief Description of Fifth Monarchy*, a pamphlet written in 1653 by William Aspinwall, one of the Fifth Monarchists who produced the largest number of texts, most of which published and marketed by Chapman.⁸⁵ *A Brief Description* shows the foundations of what the Fifth Monarchy would look like, indicating that it was the kingdom prophesied in the dreams from the Book of Daniel, and which would occur on Earth with Christ himself as Absolute Monarch. The kingdom would be administered by the chosen ones, the Saints, as viceroys, who would first prepare the ground for the coming of Jesus. His government and administration, established in diverse “offices” containing degrees and hierarchies, would be based on the divine “supreme authority”, a unique and sovereign power, and they would follow both the biblical law and Jesus’s teachings, the true Legislative Power. Aspinwall’s proposal of a “Legislative Power” based on Christ came from English America, specifically from Boston, from sermons and writings by the Puritan religious leader John Cotton. Aspinwall had lived in New England between 1630 and 1652, and there he read Cotton’s work and heard him preach.⁸⁶ At the same time, some of the newly-founded New England communities experimented with new organizational arrangements, partly inspired by biblical teachings, especially

⁸⁴ Prynne would even accuse Chapman in 1659 of printing apocryphal texts under his name. William Prynne, *The new cheaters forgeries, detected, disclaimed; by Will. Prynne Esq; a bencher of Lincolns Inne* (London: Printed for Edward Thomas at the Adam and Eve in Little Brittain, 1659).

⁸⁵ William ASPINWALL *A brief description of the Fifth Monarchy* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1653).

⁸⁶ J. F. MACLEAR, ‘New England and the Fifth Monarchy’, *William and Mary Quarterly*, 32 (1975), 223–60; Stephen Lee Robbins. *Manifold Afflictions: the life and writings of William Aspinwall, 1605-1662* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Oklahoma State University, 1988); Verônica CALSONI LIMA. “A cronologia das bestas e o cumprimento das profecias: o conhecimento histórico nas obras pentamonarquistas de William Aspinwall (1653-1657)”. *Vozes, Pretérito & Devir*, 3, (2014): 75-93.

from the Hebrew Judges, and Aspinwall was involved in some of these experiments of building new political-religious social systems.⁸⁷ Driven by Cotton's work and by his own colonial experience, Aspinwall transferred Cotton's legislative plan to the Fifth Monarchist expectations.⁸⁸ It thus comes as no surprise to find mention in *Brief Description* – albeit brief ones – of the overseas colonies and the importance of converting other nations and particularly Jews to Christianity. Aspinwall affirmed that the Saints would organize expeditions to conquer all parts of the world, defeating their enemies and converting all nations, and the godly among the Jews would adopt the Christian faith when the Fifth Monarchy arrived. For Aspinwall, this moment was imminent, and had started with the judgment against and decapitation of Charles I, the “small horn” of Daniel's vision.⁸⁹

Arise Evans, who attributed a Messianic role to the Stuarts, obviously could not agree with Aspinwall's understanding of the Fifth Monarchy. In 1653, Evans declared that Charles II would be Christ's viceroy in the Ultimate Monarchy. Using arguments similar to the ones he wrote later in his 1656/1654 response to Menasseh, Evans stated that the executive power derived from Jesus' legislative power would be given to the royals thus maintaining the principle of the divine right of kings.⁹⁰ Championing the Stuart's and Church of England's cause, Evans apparently had no sponsor or patron during the Commonwealth and Protectorate years. He most probably supported his own editions and, as stated in the imprints, ordered them directly from the printers. It was a different situation from Aspinwall's, who was linked to the emerging Fifth Monarchists group, and actually had their own bookseller/editor, Livewell Chapman.

Chapman was one of those responsible for disseminating and spreading the millenarian debates through printed texts during the turbulent years of 1650's. He and his wife, Hanna, belonged to a group of booksellers and printers that published the pamphlets that fed the millenarian and

⁸⁷ Jeffrey JUE, *Heaven upon Earth* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), chap. 9.

⁸⁸ See, for example: John COTTON, *An abstract of laws and government ... collected and digested ... by John Cotton ...; and now published after his death by William Aspinwall* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1655).

⁸⁹ William ASPINWALL, *A brief description...*

⁹⁰ Arise EVANS, *The bloody vision of John Farly interpreted by Arise Evans (...). Also a refutation of a Pamphlet, lately publish by one Aspinwall, called a Brief discription of the fifth Monarchy* (London: 1653).

radical debates from the streets to the Parliament.⁹¹ Unlike Portugal and its possessions, 1640's and 1650's England (and partially New England) had a more favorable environment for controversies through printed texts. In the case of the millenarianist supporters of the Braganza dynasty, or any other form of prophetism in the Portuguese domains, the spreading of prophetic ideas in the written culture was made mainly through means of manuscripts or by a few printed texts published abroad. In the English case, by contrast, the written debate was carried out through pamphlets and books printed in London. The weakening of prior-restraint – almost nonexistent, in practical terms, during the revolutionary years – was in itself a great advantage for the use of printed media in mid-seventeenth century England.⁹² Different from that, during the seventeenth century the Portuguese censorship system became more complex, censoring stages multiplied, and a work could require as many as four prior authorizations in order to be printed. Besides censorship, authors of texts about sensitive subjects in terms of orthodoxy could end up in the court of Inquisition – all the same if the texts were written and printed abroad, as in the case of Vila Real. During Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate and the increasing persecutions and imprisonments of many millenarian radicals, Livewell Chapman among them,⁹³ the written debate kept flowing through the printing and book-selling houses. Cromwell's death in 1658, the brief ascent of his son Richard, as Lord Protector, and the reestablishment of the Commonwealth in 1659 gave still more impetus to the discussions. The diverse models of sovereignty and government that had been discussed and experienced during those turbulent years of experimenting were again put under avid review and passionate discussion.

1659 was consequently a year of intense editorial production. Among more than fifty titles edited by Chapman, he published *Mr. Pryn's Good*

⁹¹ Maureen BELL. "Hannah Allen and the Development of a Puritan Publishing Business, 1646-51"; Verônica Calsoni Lima, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*, chap. 2, 3 and 4.

⁹² The strength of printed matter is not only based on literacy (more widespread, as we know, in Protestant regions, and in England); we should remember that in both England and Portugal (as well as in their overseas domains), oral communication, especially through sermons, was still paramount. Many of these individuals were first known and admired for their oratorical capacity, rather than their writings. For a general view about these questions, see: Fernando BOUZA, *Corre manuscrito. Una historia cultural del Siglo de Oro* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2001); N. H. KEEBLE (ed.). *The Cambridge Companion to Writing of the English Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

⁹³ See: Bernard CAPP, *The Fifth-monarchy Men*; Verônica CALSONI LIMA, *Impresso para ser vendido na Crown em Pope's Head Alley*, chap. 4.

Old Cause,⁹⁴ by John Rogers, his former fellow inmate and once a radical Fifth Monarchy Man. It was partially a response to the criticism made by Puritan Divine Richard Baxter to the Fifth Monarchy Men's actions during the Protectorate, but was primarily a reply to William Prynne's suggestion that the execution of Charles I had been a Papist coup and not a divine sign of the beginning of the Saints' Republic.⁹⁵ Prynne counter-replied with *The Re-Republicans and other Spurious Good Old Cause*,⁹⁶ to which Rogers wrote another rejoinder, *Diapoliteia*,⁹⁷ also published by Chapman. In *Diapoliteia*, Rogers vehemently refuted Prynne's conclusion that the Commonwealth and its "Free State" were the result of a plot by Papists and Jesuits.⁹⁸ Rogers not only attacked Prynne's remarks about republican government, but also turned his ammunition against Baxter (once more) and James Harrington, the author of *Oceana* (1656) – also edited by Chapman. The polemic between Rogers and Prynne kept going throughout the year 1659.⁹⁹

According to Prynne's critical vision of the Commonwealth, the republican regime weakened England with the end of the monarchy, and, therefore, would more easily yield to a Spanish guided Catholic Supremacy. To him, the so-called "Free State" was characterized by a proliferation of sects and tiny groups that battled against one another over power and destroyed the government and religious unity, something that could never occur under an absolute monarchy, such as the Stuarts'. Prynne sought to combat the sectarians, such as Quakers and Fifth Monarchy Men, because he believed, as others at his time, that their Commonwealth projects were new renditions of Jesuit, "Papist" attempts and plots designed to divide

⁹⁴ John ROGERS, *Mr. Pryn's good old cause stated and stunted 10 years ago...* (London: Chapman, 1659).

⁹⁵ See: Jaime Fernando dos SANTOS Jr., *John Rogers e a disputa pela Commonwealth: Debates e polémicas com James Harrington, William Prynne e Richard Baxter na Segunda República inglesa* (M.A. Thesis, Unifesp, 2014).

⁹⁶ William PRYNNE, *The re-republicans and others spurious good old cause...* ([London]: 1659).

⁹⁷ John ROGERS, *Diapoliteia. A Christian concertation with Mr. Prin, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Harrington, for the true cause of the Commonwealth...* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1659).

⁹⁸ John ROGERS, *Diapoliteia*, 4. That idea was neither exclusively of Prynne nor was he the first to defend it. The Puritan Baxter, also contested by Rogers, saw in the sectarianism (of the Quakers, for instance) a sign of a Papist plot too. Actually, the link among sectarianism, non-conformism, independentism and 'papism' was a common-place in seventeenth-century England and even in the Protestant countries. One example is the vivid pamphlet *The plot of Jesuits* (London: Spark, 1653) and even the story of the edition and translation of Campanella's messianic works in Protestant parts of Europe.

⁹⁹ William PRYNNE, *A brief necessary vindication of the old and new secluded Members...* (London: Edward Thomas, 1659).

England. He tried to demonstrate this in his reading of *De Monarchia Hispanica*,¹⁰⁰ by Tommaso Campanella, whom Prynne called the “Second Machiavelli”.¹⁰¹ Campanella was not a Jesuit, but rather a Dominican, and even less a Machiavellian – indeed, quite the opposite. But for Prynne, as for many Englishmen and women, calling someone a Jesuit was an insult synonymous with both Papist and Machiavellian. He wrote a preface to Campanella’s text, *De Monarchia Hispanica*, in a 1660 English translation, stating that readers could now, with the Dominican’s treatise in their hands, prove the veracity of his arguments¹⁰². Based also on Daniel, Campanella’s *Monarchy* was one of so many Catholic works which postulated that absolute sovereignty would only be fulfilled with the universal subjection of the world to Rome and the Catholic Monarchies.¹⁰³ In Revolutionary England, as before in other Protestant countries, his proposal was taken as a secret counsel to the Spanish kings by an influential man of cloth – thus ignoring that Campanella had spent almost three decades imprisoned in Hapsburg Naples in the vice-regal and Inquisition jails for rebellion and heresy. His proposal of a Universal Monarchy, guided by the Spanish kings and coordinated by Rome, was understood by his English readers as a plan to be executed in the 1650s, even though it had been written between 1595 and 1600. Most interestingly, Prynne saw in Campanella’s work a substantial overlap with the Fifth Monarchists’ projects. According to him, that proximity indicated not only the reading of the Friar’s work by the sectarian and millenarian Saints, but also that they had followed Campanella’s advice about ruining England, as it had occurred from 1647 on. Therefore, to Prynne, the English Civil Wars and the end of royalty would have been the results of the Fifth Monarchy Men and other sectarian projects, but having a Catholic root in Campanella and his “Jesuit Plot”.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ William PRYNNE, *A true and perfect narrative of what was acted...* (London: 1659), 18-9.

¹⁰¹ In 1648, Prynne had already used the term but for Cromwell and his supporters: *The Machiavilian Cromwellist and Hypocritical perfidious New Statist...* (London: 1648).

¹⁰² Tommaso CAMPANELLA, *Thomas Campanella an Italian friar and second Machiavel* (London: Philemon Stephens, [1660]). Campanella’s text had already been published in 1653, and had aroused some repercussion as corroboration that there was really a Jesuit conspiracy to convert the island into Catholicism. See: *The plot of Jesuits*.

¹⁰³ See: John M. HEADLEY, *Tommaso Campanella and the Transformation of the World* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1997), chap. 5; John MARINO, “An anti-campanellan vision of the Spanish Monarchy and the crisis of 1595”, in *A Renaissance of conflicts: visions and revisions of law and society in Italy and Spain* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004); António VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA, “Da ideia de ‘Império’ na obra do Padre António Vieira S.J.”, in *Celebrazioni Colombiane. Ricerche giuridiche e politiche. Materiali I/2* (Roma, [1997?]).

¹⁰⁴ William PRYNNE, “Premonitory Epistle” to *Thomas Campanella...*; see: *The plot of Jesuits*.

Prynne's reasoning, by which all his adversaries were at the same time Machiavellian, radical, Puritan and Catholic sectarians, does not serve as a very basis for supposing that the Fifth Monarchists had actually read Campanella. However, it indicates some interesting aspects within that debate. On the one hand, it reveals not only the existence of an Anti-Fifth Monarchist discourse, but also a common negative perception of any Millenarian hope. On the other hand, Prynne's writings indicate the reception in England of texts generated in the Iberian sphere of influence,¹⁰⁵ and point out the importance and broader reception of Campanella's treaty in the seventeenth-century political culture.

Heading in the opposite direction, *De Monarchia Hispanica* undergirded another work, the *Política Española* by Juan de Salazar,¹⁰⁶ the one quoted by Antonio Vieira in his "Carta apologética". Salazar, as it seems, knew Campanella and had access to his work, in manuscript form. He used Campanella's arguments (without quoting) to create a Universal Monarchy project from the Iberian crown,¹⁰⁷ involving the two "chosen peoples" (Portuguese and Spanish) and their overseas empires. Salazar anchored his millenarian proposal on the very foundation of Iberian monarchies and their expansion throughout the world, and on an Anti-Machiavellian and Christian "Reason of State". He had written the work in Rome, under the impact of the battle against the Ottomans and wishing for the continuation of the Reconquest war spirit. Consequently, he defended Christian purity of blood and the expulsion of New Christians, Jews and Moors from the Hispanic territories as main goals of the Final and Universal Monarchy.

¹⁰⁵ Another example, Prynne had also read Duarte Nunes Leão and the sebastianist friar José Texeira. William PRYNNE. *The fourth part of The sovereign power of parliaments and kingdoms* (London: Michael Sparke, 1643), 57-8. About the reception of Iberian texts in the English world, see: Jorge CANIZARES-ESGUERRA, *Puritan Conquistadors. Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), esp. chap. 2 and 4; Geoffrey PARKER, "The Place of Tudor England in the Messianic Vision of Philip II of Spain: The Prothero Lecture". *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002): 167-221. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3679344>.

¹⁰⁶ Juan de SALAZAR. *Política Española* (Logroño: Por Diego Mares, 1619). See also: Jesús Lada, "La política española' de Fray Juan de Salazar". *Berceo*, 58-61 (1961). About Vieira's reading: António VASCONCELOS DE SALDANHA. "A dimensão política dos escritos messiânicos do Padre Antônio Vieira", in *Vieira escritor*, 258, 267-8, 273; Leonel Ribeiro SANTOS, "Nacionalismo messiânico e milenarismo universalista: Vieira e a crise de consciência histórica do Barroco", in *Estudos*, Isabel Almeida et al., ed. (Lisbon: FLUL, 2007), 588-9.

¹⁰⁷ Henry MÉCHOULAN, "Juan de Salazar, Lecteur de *La Monarchie Espagnole* de T. Campanella dans *La Politique Espagnole*", *Ethno-psychologie* (March 1973): 103-12; Mireille HADAS-LEBEL and Henry MÉCHOULAN, "Introduction", in *La pierre glorieuse de Nabuchodonosor, ou, la fin de l'histoire au XVIIe siècle*, Menasseh ben Israel (Paris: Vrin, 2007), 35-9; Martim de ALBUQUERQUE, *Campanella e Portugal* (Lisboa: Aletheia, 2009), 50.

I now return to Vieira, who read and avidly used Salazar as one of the foundations for his Fifth Empire ideas. When Vieira was on trial, he quoted Salazar's work to justify a Portuguese Universal Monarchy.¹⁰⁸ In 1686 "Carta Apologética", besides the biblical books and Bandarra, Salazar's *Política Española* appears as the most quoted work, followed closely by Bocarro's texts. Bocarro, the New Christian doctor and astrologer of Portuguese origin, exiled in Hamburg, and Salazar, the Spanish Dominican, Old Christian and defender of the Inquisition, working in South Italy, both serving the Habsburg crown. Both of them were thinking about the imperial dimension, the conquest of the world, and an ultimate (Iberian-headed) kingdom on earth. Both, despite their differences in origin, residence, and whom they supported, were used by Vieira to construct his arguments and defend the construction of his Portuguese Fifth Empire. They are circuits which seem to close here, albeit more as a result of an intended effect of verisimilitude. In a more interesting and richer fashion, these circuits show that, in the seventeenth century, millenarianist expectations and the American, European, Jewish, and Christian experiences arranged themselves in combinations that were at times unexpected and even paradoxical.

Conclusion: The New World, Global Conversion, Absolute Power, and the experiences and expectations about the Fifth Monarchy

These combinations gravitated around a wider discussion about forms of power. If the hypothesis of leading classical scholars such as Charles Tilly – and even, in some way, Braudel – are correct, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries witnessed a clash between structures and diverse institutions of political organization, namely the republics, empires and states.¹⁰⁹ The brief mapping of seventeenth century millenarianists prompted to ask these questions in the face of the institutional crises and rearrangements in European monarchies. However, they looked toward a horizon of expectations in which sovereignty would eventually be established. It would be, *de facto* and *de jure*, absolute. The temporal republics and governments would always be a provisional reflection of

¹⁰⁸ See Antônio VIEIRA, *Representação perante o Tribunal do Santo Ofício* (Lisbon: IN/CM, 2008), vol. II, 35, 67, 157, 163, 191 passim.

¹⁰⁹ See: Charles TILLY, *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990* (Cambridge, Mass., USA: B. Blackwell, 1990); Fernand BRAUDEL, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1995), t. II, chap. IV.

the absolute sovereignty of the Universal Monarchy. The most radical millenarianists, such as the English Fifth Monarchists, considered all monarchies (and churches) to be distorted and perverted images, and, consequently, diabolical and tyrannical institutions to be purged in order to prepare the ground for the rule of the Saints and Christ. Others, such as the Braganza millenarianists, molded the hopes of constructing an earthly kingdom of Christ around the figure of a king (or a dynasty). All of them had the idea of a chosen nation and specific spaces fated to be the head of this new empire, which would fulfill Daniel's prophecy. From a European-centered perspective, these spaces and nations would define the vantage point from which all parts of the world would be re-organized in the final act of world history. Let's recall some of the core characters and stages for these seventeenth century millenarian plots and their desired and expected endings.

First, we have to consider the points of contact between those worlds, usually harbors and commercial cities, and in particular Amsterdam. There are several hypotheses and studies that try to explain the role of seventeenth century Amsterdam in the reception and diffusion of religious ideas. It is enough to recognize that in Amsterdam, although within legal limits and an evident and clear hierarchy fiercely defended by the Calvinist Reformed Church, Protestants from various denominations coexisted, "New Jews" were allowed to express their faith, and, on a smaller scale, even Catholics were tolerated (as long as they were discreet).¹¹⁰ Amsterdam therefore functioned as a convergent hub of millenarian ideas, and, even more importantly, the arrival of news about the signs that would announce the end of the world. Although the Dutch harbor was an exchange point where one could find out about novelties from every corner (and from every religion), I was not able to verify at this point of the research if Amsterdam served as a communications link between Iberian Catholic and Northern Protestant expectations, that is, if it contributed to more direct interactions between Portuguese millenarians and English Fifth Monarchists.

However, it is important to highlight one specific agent and its centrality to the prophetic links, even if, as far as I can tell, it was more a vortex than a spreading point through which different parts became connected. I am referring to the role of the "New Jews" and New Christians of Por-

¹¹⁰ R. Po-Chia HSIA and Henk VAN NIEROP (ed.), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

tuguese origin as intermediaries between the two sides of Christendom, Catholic and Protestant. Manoel Bocarro Francês (alias Jacob Rosales) and Menasseh Ben Israel (alias Manuel Dias Soeiro) exemplify this. The fact that they had known both sides of the confessional world (Catholic, by formation; Protestant, by acquaintanceship) gave Bocarro and Menasseh easier path access to negotiate with both types of Christians. Menasseh, in particular, was the Jewish contact for both Braganza Catholics and English Puritan and Independent Millenarians. He discussed, corresponded and wrote for both sides, interested in and welcoming the “New Jews”. Although “philo-semitic” positions were not generalized in the seventeenth century Christian world (on the contrary),¹¹¹ a judeo-centric perspective was the mortar of these relationships, moved both by Messianic hope and commercial and monetary interests for Christian republics support. In this sense, the Jews (in particular, the ones of New Christian origin) developed a role that would go beyond mediation.

Secondly, for the Christian millenarians, a key question was what to do with the Jewish role in God’s design. More than that, which Jews are involved in it? On the one hand, if news about the Lost Tribes in the Americas was true, it would demand urgency to the debates over the destiny of the Jewish populations in Europe and the Near East. Should they also be converted? Or just the ones from the Lost Tribes coming from the New World? On the other hand, there was still a certain level of esteem for the first “chosen people”, especially among English Puritans, Independents and Non-Conformists, and recognition that the eschatological tradition (with the exception of the Book of Revelations) was rooted primarily in the Old Testament. The Jewish question was thus rather essential for the Fifth Monarchy’s coming, and knowing what to do with the “Gente de Nação” proved to be an important issue. The topic of universal conversion was also under discussion: in the Last Kingdom, would the final redemption of humankind be promoted more by the destruction of God’s enemies or by the missionary task of reclaiming the major part of them to the true faith?

¹¹¹ Noah H. Rosenbloom pointed out the limits of the Dutch Reformed acceptance and tolerance towards Jewish reflected upon in his article about Menasseh’s *Conciliador*. NOAH H. ROSENBLUM, “Discreet Theological Polemics in Menasseh ben Israel’s ‘Conciliador’”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, Vol. 58 (1992), 143-5. For the Catholic world, see, among others: Bruno FEITLER, “O catolicismo como ideal: produção literária antijudaica no mundo português da Idade Moderna”. *Novos estudos CEBRAP*, 72 (2005).

Last but not least, the conquest of America presented challenges to the eschatological and biblical schemes to explain the world. Where could this new land and these new peoples be put in the divine plan? How could they be included in the existing explanations of humanity's development following the Flood? What is their origin and what is the role for the end times? The news about the conversion of Americas' indigenous peoples (from North to South), about the disputes for territory (as in Dutch Brazil), and about the origin of the indigenous peoples (and the possible presence of Hebrew tribes) attracted the attention of Christian (and Jewish) millenarians. It was not only a theoretical role of America, though. Several of the individuals discussed here had, in varied degrees, concrete contacts and, many times, long sojourns in the New World. Beyond Montesinos, Vieira was raised and studied in Brazil and was a missionary in Maranhão; Aspinwall migrated to New England and had contact with Cotton's ideas there; Menasseh kept business in Pernambuco through his relatives. These living experiences increased the growing perception that the Americas were an important piece – essential in some cases – in the game of European powers' balance and maintenance. In short, while the Americas (or rather, the New World) was not the place where Fifth Monarchy's head would be installed – that was still located in the Old World –,¹¹² their “discovery” re-dimensioned the apocalyptic proposals. It transformed the view of the Universal and Ultimate Reign, by enlarging the idea of domain over the whole Earth and of all peoples. That implied rethinking the (absolute) sovereign models. At the same time, this global amplification also meant bigger disputes and battles with the necessary increase of expenses, for which the capital of “Gente de Nação” would present itself as a bountiful and necessary source for the overseas empires.

Summarizing and adapting Koselleck's categories, one can view the role of Jews and the Americas (and their peoples) in sixteenth-century prophecy through the key of expectation and experience. On the one hand, living in the midst of this overseas experience of imperial disputes, the “New Jews” served as mediators, contacts, interlocutors and even repositories of information, and thought their situation facing a world

¹¹² There were, nevertheless, individuals that defended that the Fifth Monarchy would be in the Americas, such as Friar Francisco de La Cruz, in sixteenth-century Peru, and Pedro Rates Hanequim, in eighteenth-century Brazil. For a discussion of both cases, see: Nachtan WACHTEL, “Théologies marranes: Une configuration millénariste”; Luís Filipe Silvério LIMA, “Between the New and the Old World”.

in change.¹¹³ It had a counterpart in the action of some Christians who realized the need to host the New Christians and Jews (especially the “Portuguese Jews”) in their states, and, as a result, to enter political-religious disputes and debates, sometimes with dreadful consequences for them. These experiences were articulated in discussions about the importance of Jews at the end of times, and to what extent the news about the Lost Tribes implied a re-framing of their hopes. On the other hand, the Americas constituted a “space of experience”, not only as a source of news, but also as a concrete place in which living experiences and contacts had implications for the known Christian (and Old) world. If the New World did not necessarily become the chosen or prophesied site for fulfillment of the ultimate divine plan, it modified the “horizons of expectation” of seventeenth-century millenarian discourse. Then, the former historical perception based on longing for a spiritual and Heavenly reign on Earth was enlarged to add an active hope by which humankind should act – politically, religiously, and economically – to speed up the coming of the Fifth Monarchy.

¹¹³ Brandon MARRIOTT, *Transnational networks and cross-religious exchange in the seventeenth-century Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds*, “Introduction”.

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“Siam is the best place in the Indies”. Father Nicola
Cima O.E.S.A. and his memorandum of 1707 for
renewed East Indies trade

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Resumo

O missionário agostinho Nicola Cima redigiu uma ignorada descrição detalhada das Índias Orientais em 1707, destacando Ayutthaya como um reino com interesse para Veneza desenvolver relações comerciais em parceria com a Companhia Dinamarquesa das Índias Orientais. Neste artigo, procuramos relacionar os pormenores da vida de Cima com a sua narrativa textual e questionar até que ponto a descrição, apresentada ao Senado veneziano, se fundamenta em acontecimentos reais do século XVIII ou deriva dos delírios da mente de um missionário.

Palavras-chave: Ordem dos Eremitas de Santo Agostinho, Ayutthaya (Sião), comércio colonial das Índias Orientais, cultura escrita missionária, império veneziano

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Abstract

The Augustinian missionary Nicola Cima wrote a detailed and overlooked survey of the East Indies in 1707, singling out Ayutthaya as a kingdom Venice might like to develop trading links with in conjunction with the Danish East Indies Company. Here we try to map the details of Cima's life on to his textual narrative and enquire to what extent this *relazione*, presented to the Venetian Senate, is grounded in eighteenth-century realities or the delusions of a missionary mind.

Keywords: Augustinian missionary order, Ayutthaya (Siam), colonial East Indies trade, missionary written culture, the Venetian empire

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“Siam is the best place in the Indies”. Father Nicola Cima O.E.S.A. and his memorandum of 1707 for renewed East Indies trade.

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The Augustinian missionary Nicola Agustin Cima’s *Relazione Distinta delli Regni di Siam, China, Tunchino e Cocincina*, a 66 page manuscript completed around 1707, submitted for the consideration of the Venetian Senate, and today kept in the Marciana Library, Venice under the classification Ital Cl. VI. 76 (6036) is both a prescriptive document for the reinvigoration of Venetian long distance maritime commerce put forward for deliberation by the Venetian Senate, and a *tour d’horizon* of the commercial and political possibilities offered in the Orient. One of the underlying themes therein is that Ayutthaya, by which Cima meant Siam, was the best place (*luogo*) for conducting trade in the East, and it is with these ideas in mind that an extract of this text is presented here, accompanied by a critical commentary.

In the existent historiography, Cima is something of an invisible character, appearing only in obscure Italian publications which never made it abroad, or else as an occasional correspondent from the China mission field, that grail of the European missionary career, where the medical attentions he bestowed on the Kangxi emperor were both shortlived, and inconsequential.¹ Cima’s fullest editor, the Genoese historian Francesco Surdich, moreover, does not even allow for Cima’s first-hand experience of Ayutthaya, although this is not matched by the information Cima himself provides in his account, which I have provided a translation of in my forthcoming book *Between Illusions and Reality. Two missionary accounts of Southeast Asia from the late seventeenth century*. While Cima admits to having said mass in Acheh, Sumatra, he then dwells on his rewarding trip to Siam, where amongst other things, he suggests he was invited to discussions with the Barcalon (Phra Khlang, or official responsible for foreign trade and trading communities). He makes an extensive topographical and ethnographic survey, extols the ‘liberty of residence’ there and suggests missionaries

¹ Francesco SURDICH, *Fonti sulla penetrazione europea in Asia : Una variante quattrocentesca della lettera del prete Gianni. L’attività di padre Cristoforo Borri nelle Indie orientali in un resoconto inedito. Le [sic] relazione sulle Indie orientali di un frate agostiniano*, Genova, Studi di storia delle esplorazioni, 1979; Nicolas STANDAERT, *Handbook of Christianity in China*, Leiden/ Boston, Brill, 2001, vol. 1.

could develop a language seminary of the type young Venetians flocked to in Constantinople. Then, 'the year after that invitation [1703] the Danish Company of the Indies, the Governor and Director of Tranquebar, was stimulated to send a vessel to Mergui under the command of Lord Captain Meijar, and I (*sic*) went there [to Mergui] as ambassador and envoy and then he returned with me to Copenhagen'. Section §4 of this article is devoted to the empirical task of demonstrating, or rather confirming this claim. As we shall see, however, the text Cima left behind presents other problems.

1. An imaginary text?

The distraction from any spiritual purpose to this missionary text is disconcerting, but one's suspicions are further aggravated by Cima's fleeting and extremely speculative recommendations, to be interpreted by psychoanalysts as delusional, both in the sense of a personal *delusion de grandeur*, but also with respect to a shocking ignorance of the political realities around him. One is reminded of a bureaucrat in Madrid who commented that those sent on missions were 'not the most lucid' members of their orders.²

We might take as example the sections regarding Cima's supplications to the Siamese Barcalon to concede a 'place' (*piazza*) for future Venetian traders. These are hard to believe in the light of what we would be tempted to describe as the strongly nationalist turn following the Court Revolution of 1688. The kind of frosty response meted out to Guy Tachard S.J., who visited the court of Phetracha in 1699, is what we should expect: he found 'the city of Siam greatly changed. It is little more than a desert, where there is neither merchant, nor commerce, the Christians, the Moors and the other foreigners have almost all left'.³ When Mgr. Quémener visited in 1701 to present French schemes to build a fort at Mergui, raise that at Bangkok, settle old debts and re-establish trade, he was told by the Barcalon that these suggestions were 'very unreasonable' (*très déraisonnable*).⁴ Even if we were to go along with recent historians, who insist that the court was anti-French but not 'nationalistic' in an age prior to nationalism,

² Letter of Fernão de Matos, in P. Zacañas NOVOA, 'El M.R.P. Fr. Melchior de los Angeles, agustino, primer misionero en Persia', in *Archivo Agustiniiano*, Vol. 45, 1951, pp. 268-9.

³ Guy TACHARD, *Relation de voyage dans les Indes par un Père de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1690-9*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Ms. Fr. 19030 (s.d.), 192r.

⁴ See the biography of Quémener provided by the ARCHIVES DES MISSIONS ÉTRANGÈRES DE PARIS, no. 87, <http://archives.mepasie.org/notices/notices-necrologiques/quemener-1644-1704> (URL accessed 25 June 2015).

port movements compiled between 1676-1702 by Remco Raben only confirm this hostile, anti-business atmosphere.⁵ What little trade there was became monopolised by the king and suffered high duties. Visiting merchants had difficulty in selling their cargo, and their products were often forcibly impounded and their owners remunerated at a lower than market price. Erstwhile friendship with the Dutch, as evidenced by the Opperhoofd Johannes Keijts' *missiven* between 1685-8, vanished when the Thai insisted on payment in kind (sappanwood and tin) rather than in cash for Dutch commodities.⁶

Whilst professing to have invested three years of his life in Ayutthaya before his return to Europe (fol. 43r), it is hard to see how Cima so patently overlooks these political realities of the time. Might his actions have been guided by the nostalgia of a political naïf, or was he a delusionist like Guy Tachard S.J., proposing projects of an ilk which had once been popular, but now stood no chance of welcome with the relevant political authorities?⁷ Alongside Cima's readings or misreadings of business opportunity, we also need to set Cima's idealization of Ayutthaya as a haven of heterodoxy marked by freedom of conscience next to the missionary realities as expressed by other men of the cloth working in that mission field at that time. Here again we can only struggle to reconcile Cima's idealization with, say, the letter the Jesuit Jacques Jarossier sent to de Brisacier and Tiberge dated 13 March 1703, which insisted that: 'To be condemned to live in Siam is the greatest sacrifice there is in the missions, there being nothing here other than the disgusting (*dégoûtant*), troubles, fears, and embarrassments which those here feel only too keenly and which those who are not here are not able to see'.⁸ The 'liberty' of worship often ran into or together with the easy-living in Siam, which was indeed the subject of

⁵ Remco RABEN, 'Ayutthaya, King Phetracha and the world: dynamics of Kingship and trade in late seventeenth century Ayutthaya', in Dhiravat na Pombejra ed., *Proceedings of the International Symposium. Crossroads of Thai and Dutch history*, Bangkok, SEAMEO-SPAFA, 2007, 'Annual Register of arriving and departing ships in Ayutthaya, 1676-1702' – Table 2.

⁶ Ramco Raben, op. cit. François Martin reported a letter from Siam where it was written that the 'Dutch no longer enjoyed their earlier status at court. They had been reproached for not having kept the promises they had made to the King. They had not adhered even to a single one, but their commercial operations continued as before', Lotika VARADARAJAN (dir.), *India in the 17th century: (social, economic and political) memoirs of François Martin*, New Delhi, Manohar, 1981-5, vol. 2, pt 2, p. 1380.

⁷ Anthony REID, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 1999, ch. 11. See also DHIRAVAT NA POMPEJRA, 'Ayutthaya at the end of the seventeenth century: was there a shift to isolation?', in Anthony REID ed., *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief*, Ithaca NY & London, 1993, pp. 250-72.

⁸ A.M.E.P. (Paris), file 882, fol. 15.

frequent comment by some observers like the Scottish sea-captain Alexander Hamilton, although other contemporary missionaries like Francesco Maria di San Siro, of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, saw instead of liberty the political instability of the region: how the kingdoms of Pegu, Siam and Tunkin were 'in continuous unrest (*lotta*) amongst themselves', and hence not a place where the Church should seek to build institutional structures.⁹ Cima's dreams of liberty, then, are those of a would-be social tearaway, rather than a missionary intent on harvesting souls.

At this point, I hesitated, thinking that we might here be dealing with a European armchair *compiler*, or else perhaps even a forgery. Might Cima best be assessed in light of the fuss kicked up by David Selbourne's seventeenth-century manuscript purported to have been written by one Jacopo d'Ancona, or the speculation surrounding the *voyage imaginaire* of François LÉGUAT between 1690-98 and the plagiarism bedeviling the *Giro del Mondo* of Gemelli Careri?¹⁰ The detail Cima provides regarding the trades restricted to the King suggests he is well informed, but perhaps Cima errs in his dates, referring to an earlier time period prior to the 1688 court revolution, when as he says, Persian traders were granted export monopolies in the kingdom's products [fol. 31r]. Tumultuous shifts in the political landscape go unmentioned: the new king Prince Sorasak, who took the title of Sanphet VIII (or in Thai, King Süa), acceded to the throne in 1703 following Phetracha's death in February. Presumably, if Cima is accurate in his chronology, his intercession with the Barcalon took place beforehand; otherwise, he would surely have mentioned the change of power and the new ruling administration. Concrete dates do not appear

⁹ Alexander HAMILTON, *A New Account of the East Indies*, London, C. Hitch & A. Millar, 1744, vol. 2, p. 162 ('every one is at Liberty to choose his own Patron or Protector, and worship him according to his own Mind; but none are persecuted for the Opinion of the Way he is to worship'); Pietro DONAZZOLO (dir.) 'Viaggi in Oriente ed in Occidente (Sec. XVII-XVIII) del Fratello Francesco Maria di S. Siro (carmelitano Scalzo, O.C.D.) al secolo Antonio Gorla di Portalbera (Pavia)', *Rivista geografica italiana*, vol. 19, parte II, 1912, p. 434.

¹⁰ David SELBOURNE, *The City of Light*, New York, Citadel, 2000. For a survey of the controversy, see David ABULAFIA 'An amazing journey – or just a hoax', in *The Times*, 1 December 1997, p. 22. Henri DEHÉRAIN, 'Le voyage de François LÉGUAT dans l'Océan Indien: est-il imaginaire?', Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1928; Geoffroy ATKINSON, 'A French desert island novel', *PMLA*, 36, 4, December 1921, pp. 509-28 ; cf. the recent synopsis by Marcel DUCASSE, 'Le voyage de François LÉGUAT dans l'Océan Indien', in *Revue Historique des Armées*, 1, March 1996, pp. 12-20. For Careri, see Alberto MAGNAGHI, *Il Viaggiatore Gemelli Careri (secolo XVII) e il suo 'Giro del Mondo'*, Bergamo, Stabilimento Tipografico Alessandro e fratelli Cattaneo, 1900, and Philippe de VARGAS, 'Le Giro del Mondo de Gemelli Careri, en particulier le récit du séjour en Chine. Roman ou Vérité', in *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte*, V, 4, 1955, pp. 417-451. Selbourne has failed to convince the historical community, but Careri and LÉGUAT are fully vindicated.

frequently in Cima's texts, and the nomenclature he adopts is often unclear. I have been unable to resolve with any great certainty, for example, some of Cima's Southeast Asian place names like 'Lochius' (f. 38r) or 'Porto di Ciaija' (f. 42r), and external reviewers of the book manuscript have suggested Cima may have been using obsolete information plagiarised from earlier European writers. Other details he relates, however, relating to the French agency house in Canton and the officer responsible there (f. 44v), or the seizure of homeward-bound East Indiamen at Saint Helena (f. 5v), do hold up after careful and detailed historical corroboration. China scholars have been able to reconstitute his failed mission to the Kang'xi Emperor, and I have personally gone through his letters to the order in the Fondo degli Agostiniani Scalzi di Gesù e Maria al Corso in Rome.

2. A missionary with a business orientation

Further difficulties arise if only because Cima's memorandum is so devoid of any great religious reflection or sense. At first glance, priestly discourse seems at best to be a rhetorical flourish, though he does propose some useful institutions like a language school for prospective China missionaries in Siam [top fol. 33v], that in Taiwan having been dismantled, and appears to have a realistic grasp of the struggle in converting Thai. The whole text is otherwise basically a business proposition to the Venetian Republic at a time when that Republic's energies were both dissipated, and increasingly localised. Davide Scruzzi's arguments about Venice replacing its world-leading economic position by becoming at least a centre of map-making and cosmographical reflection is of interest here.¹¹ The Accademia Cosmografica degli Argonauti was, of course, set up in 1684, although even this phase seems to have come to an end with the eclipse of its leading light Vincenzo Coronelli's career in 1704 and his suspension from the Franciscan religious order by order of the Pope: we are reminded how, 'within a generation, he [Coronelli] had been almost forgotten'.¹² Thereafter, eighteenth-century Venice became increasingly a centre of lavish partying and self-indulgence, the Venice of *fasti*, much commented upon and indeed the reason for attracting foreigners on the Grand Tour.¹³

¹¹ Davide SCRUZZI, *Eine Stadt denkt sich die Welt : Wahrnehmung geographischer Räume und Globalisierung in Venedig von 1490 bis um 1600*, Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 2010.

¹² Helen WALLIS, 'Coronelli's Libro dei Globi', in *Der Globusfreund* [Wien], 18-20 May 1970, p. 128.

¹³ Giulio LORENZETTI, *Feste e Maschere veneziane*, Venice, C. Ferrari, 1937.

For art historians, the eighteenth-century is the age in which Venice 'acquired, alongside Paris, the rank of artistic capital', a perspective celebrated in the rich collections of the Ca' Rezzonico and Fondazione Querini Stampalia.¹⁴ Scruzzi's argument is that increasingly Venetians were only duping themselves of their position in world politics and trade.

Some sense might be made of Cima's business orientation from the context of his Order. The Abbé Carré had been scandalised by the Augustinian mission in Persia during his journey of 1672-4 where he accused the priests, on the arrival of the Portuguese Indies fleet, of receiving the sailors 'as one would in France in an academy (*académie*) or a games hall (*berlan*), where they spent whole days practising things little conducive to the respect and modesty owing in a religious establishment'. In Isfahan, the Augustinian Residence had become a dissolute place, described in one document at the turn of the eighteenth century as 'a tavern and a place of business (*un lieu de négoce*)' partly as a result of debts which the Order had incurred.¹⁵ It was precisely through this mission that Cima had travelled, and forced to linger in the midst of *eorumque tribulationum*, although not for a whole year as the 'Lett. ad Ill.mum Car. Aug. Fabroni', dated Foochow-Fu, 15 September 1699, suggests.¹⁶ As an Order, the Augustinians were suffering the ultimate disgrace in the Middle East by way of renegade priests (Father António de Jesus, Father Manuel de Santa Maria), and in Thailand remained a controversial presence, thought by the Portuguese community there to be 'harmful' to the common peace, whilst there were fears triggered by their proximity to Phaulkon and jealousies that they might be selected to make an embassy to Portugal.¹⁷ They were isolated by the Missions Étrangères de Paris for refusing to take the Oath of Submission to the new French Vicars Apostolic, but were actively involved in worthwhile social institutions like hospices dedicated to the

¹⁴ Roberto LONGHI, *Viatico per cinque secoli di pittura veneziana*, Firenze, Sansoni, 1946; see also the exhibition catalogue *Il Settecento Italiano*, Venezia, Carlo Ferrari, 1929.

¹⁵ The Carré quote is taken from VAN DER CRUYSE, *Le noble désir de courir le monde: voyager en Asia au XVII^e siècle*, Paris, Fayard, 2002, p. 315. For some context, see Fortunato de ALMEIDA, *História da Igreja em Portugal*, Coimbra: Imprensa Academica, 1919-30, vol. III/1, pp. 758-62; cf. the edition produced at Porto, Portucalense, 1967-71, vol. III, pp. 295-6.

¹⁶ Anastasius VAN DEN WYNGAERT e Georgius MENSAERT (dir.), *Sinica Franciscana*, here *Relationes et epistolae illmi D. Fr. Bernardini della Chiesa, O.F.M.* vol. V, Rome, Collegium S. Antonii, 1954.

¹⁷ Francis RICHARD, 'Un Augustin Portugais Renegat Apologiste de l'Islam Chiite au Début du XVIII^e Siècle', in *Moyen Orient et Ocean Indien*, 1, 1984, pp. 73-85; for the Augustinians in Ayutthaya, Stefan HALIKOWSKI SMITH, *Creeolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies. The Social World of Ayutthaya, 1640-1720*, Leiden Brill, 2011, pp. 164-168.

True Cross. Perhaps their most powerful heartland was in Bengal, where substantial numbers of converts were being made via charismatic preachers like António da Rozário, a convert son of a Bengali raja who was kidnapped as a child, and in which mission field the Augustinians forced the Jesuits into a very secondary role and ultimately, in 1746, retraction.¹⁸ It proves hard, however, as with Morelli, to understand how some of the minor orders, like the Discalced Augustinians, to which Cima belonged, managed their missions, particularly the blurring of the role and identity of the various fractions of the Order, their chrism, rules and habits.¹⁹ These fractions, for example, were referred to sometimes as O.F.E.D.S.A, sometimes O.E.D.S.A., or else O.S.A.D., O.E.E.S.A. or O.A.D., and French, Spanish, Portuguese and Italian congregations remained separate. This does not seem, however, to have prevented movements across communities. One of the Augustinian documents uncovered in Rome, a letter, begins ‘Qui stiamo con la speranza della Manila’, which only betrays the excitement and impatience missionaries languishing in that holding cell of Macao must have felt at the prospect of being sent on to that robust and politically secure community of Spanish Augustinians in the Philippines.²⁰

¹⁸ ROZÁRIO was not just charismatic, but also responsible for an important reflective text on western missiology, *Argument and Dispute Upon the Law between a Roman Catholic and a Braman* (writt. before 1680, published at Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1937). See also HALIKOWSKI SMITH, ‘The Catholic mission in Bengal prior to the nineteenth century’, <http://www.colonialvoyage.com/the-catholic-mission-in-bengal/> [URL accessed 25 June 2015]. Outside observers like Fr. Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho from the Augustinian congregation in Goa often fixated on ritualistic aspects like the ‘Mysteries of the Rosary’, which I cannot but believe to be peripheral to Rozário’s recipe for success. Sushanta Sarker, ‘Dom António’, in *Banglapedia. National Encyclopedia of Bangladesh*, Dhaka, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 2003, vol. I, p. 226. For the Augustinian-Jesuit conflict in Bengal, see J.J.A. Campos, *History of the Portuguese in Bengal*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, repr. 1998, pp. 103-9.

¹⁹ See Tara ALBERTS, *Conflict and Conversion. Catholicism in South-East Asia, 1500-1700*, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 30 and Ignazio BARBAGALLO, ‘Agostiniani scalzi’, in Guerrino Pelliccia & Giancarlo Rocca eds., *Dizionario degli istituti di perfezione*, Rome, Edizioni Paoline, 1974-2003, vol. I, pp. 404-415. There are at least two periodicals dedicated to this order, *Archivo Agustiniano*, published in Spain since 1960, with a useful digital Table of Contents at <http://dialnet.unirioja.es/revista/10053/V/84>, and *Analecta Augustiniana*, issuing from Rome since 1905.

²⁰ ‘Letter from Sig. Appiani Missionario Apostolico’, dated Canton 1701, ARCHIVIO DI STATO DI ROMA, Agostiniani Scalzi, 96v. Della Chiesa, ‘Epistola ad Cardinales S.C.’, 22 October 1701, in VAN DEN WYNGAERT e MENSAERT, op.cit., p. 431, note 20. The Philippine mission is covered exhaustively in Isácio RODRÍGUEZ e Jesús ALVÁREZ FERNÁNDEZ eds. *Historia de la Provincia Agustiniana del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Filipinas*, Valladolid, Ediciones Estudio Agustiniano, 1965-94, 22 vols. Volume V deals with the Japan and China missions.

3. A missionary (as many others) aiming for the China mission field

Cima went out to the East as part of an independent group of Italian Discalced Augustinians, sent out with the blessing of the Propaganda Fide. Cima travelled with Giovanni Mancini from the Basilica of SS. Agostino e Monica, in Rome, who proceeded to the Tonkin mission field, where the Augustinians were responsible for the creation of two flourishing districts, Kê-Sât and Kê-Vân.²¹ The overseas missionary enterprise marked a high point of the Discalced Augustinians, when around 2000 priests belonged to the order.²² On the whole they struggled, however, to create their own overseas provinces, causing a lot of rancour and demoralization amongst their priests.²³ Their missions were blocked by both the Padroado authorities as much as the Order's own Province of Portugal, which did not want to cede them too much independence, particularly given the Pope's refusal to recognize the new king João IV. Thus, as John Flannery has recently shown, Goa remained very much the 'mission hub' even after the founding of the Isfahan mission in 1602, and other centres in Tana, Cochín, Chaul, Melaka, Macao, Muscat, Mombassa, Hughli, Baçaim, Damão, Bengal, S. Tomé de Meliapur, Columbo, Basra, Georgia, Negapatnam and Aspão (probably a confusion with Argão, a place six miles from Chaul in Malabar).²⁴

Cima's journey to the Orient left the mother church of Gesù and Maria in Rome on 10 February 1697, and proceeded via Venice, Alexandretta, Aleppo, and Isfahan, to China. He finally arrived in Amoy on 16 October 1698, but only after his ship was wrecked at a latitude comparable to that of Taiwan. On this English merchant vessel from Surat, Cima lost everything, in circumstances related in his co-traveller Giovanni Mancini's letter from Amoy, dated 18 October 1698, and of the religious passengers, Philippus

²¹ Fortunato MARGIOTTI et al (dir.), *Relationes et epistolae fratrum minorum hispanorum in Siniis qui annis 1697-98 missionem ingressi sunt*, Madrid, Sinica Franciscana, vol. IX, 1995, p. 785 and note 19, p. 943; Ignazio BARBAGALLO, 'Le missioni degli Agostiniani scalzi nel Tonchino e nella Cina', *Presenza Agostiniana*, 2-4, 1992, pp. 133-141.

²² BARBAGALLO, 'Agostiniani scalzi', p. 410; cf. 'Discalced Augustinians', in R.G. TIEDEMANN, *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China*, Armonk, M.E. Sharpe, 2009, p. 7.

²³ H.A.G. [Historical Archives of Goa], vol. 2779 [Anon. account of Augustinian affairs, writ. 1747], f. 2r.

²⁴ John M. FLANNERY, *The Missions of the Portuguese Augustinians to Persia and Beyond (1602-1747)*, Leiden: Brill, 2013. For the roster of Augustinian missions, see Manuel de AVE MARIA O.S.A., *Manual Eremético da Congregação da Índia Oriental dos Eremitas de N.P.S. Agostinho*, Biblioteca da Universidade de Coimbra, Codex 1650.

Avril S.J. perished.²⁵ It was not clear that the Chinese government would then allow these missionaries, two Italian Augustinians and two 'riformati', into China.²⁶ Charles Maigrot, Bishop of Fukien, who came into contact with Cima, then lobbied hard, despite the 1659 *Instructions* that missionaries should avoid centres of worldly power and non-priestly activities such as medicine, which was traditionally left to lay brothers, that Cima be sent to the court in Beijing as a medic to the Kang'xi Emperor. This was a rapidly developing sphere of competence and opportunity for western missionaries, although Cima had no formal medical training here.²⁷ He was given a place in the Dongtang, and spent time travelling about in the imperial retinue in the empire's eastern provinces (Nanking and Chekiang).²⁸ He 'took possession' (*cum mandato procurationis pro accipiendo possessione ecclesie cathedralis*) of the cathedral in the name of the Bishop of Peking, Bernardino della Chiesa, on 3 December 1699, but thereafter the relationship started to develop problems.²⁹ Letters reveal 'serious perplexity' on the part of his superiors, while another noted that 'he is not apt as a

²⁵ A.S.R., Agostiniani Scalzi, 156. Cima himself claimed that English mariners stole his goods, and lobbied the Chinese mandarins to impose justice, 'Epistola ad Car. Aug. Fabroni', Aug. 1699, in WYNGAERT e MENSAERT (dir.), op. cit., vol. V, p. 399. These shipwrecks were all too common, cf. the Spanish Jesuit Adriano de las Cortes' account of the shipwreck of the *Nossa Senhora da Guia* on 16 February 1625 in similar circumstances also around 350 kms north-east of Macao, in Pascale GIRARD, *Le Voyage en Chine d'Adriano de las Cortes, S.J.*, Paris, Chandeigne, 2001, or that of the large cargo-carrying Chinese junks being escorted from Formosa to Batavia, 3 October 1646, account of Jürgen Andersen in OLEARIUS, *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen*, Schleswig, J. Holwein, 1669, conveniently reprinted together with that of Volquard Iversen in a more accessible modern reprint of the same *Orientalische Reise-Beschreibungen*, Dieter Lohmeier (dir.), Tübingen, Niemeyer, 1980.

²⁶ 'Letter of Bernardino della Chiesa to the Cardinals of the Sacred Congregation, dated 22 October 1701', repr. in WYNGAERT e MENSAERT (dir.), *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. 5.

²⁷ Beatriz PUENTE-BALLASTEROS, *De París a Pekín, de Pekín a París: La Misión jesuita francesa como interlocutor médico en la China de la era Kangxi (r. 1662- 1722)*, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Tesis Doctoral con grado Europeo, Ciencias Sociosanitarias y Humanidades Médicas, 2009; PUENTE-BALLASTEROS, 'Jesuit Medicine in the Kangxi Court (1662-1722)', in *East Asian Science Technology and Medicine*, 34, 2011, pp. 86-162.

²⁸ 'Epistola ad Car. Aug. Fabroni, Ag. 1699', in WYNGAERT e MENSAERT (dir.), op.cit., vol. V, p. 385, nr. 6, 397 (More generally, see Claudia von COLLANI 'Mission and Medicine in China between canon law, charity and science', in Staf Vloeberghs (dir.), *History of Catechesis in China*, Leuven, Leuven Chinese Studies XVIII, 2008, pp. 37-68.

²⁹ Cima seems to have become a pawn here in the sparring between the Jesuits, who claimed the church for themselves, and the Franciscans, who were sent out to redistribute power in the mission somewhat more equably, and to whom the Jesuits only permitted the use of the church, see 'Epistola ad Cardinales S.C.', Peking, 6 octobris 1700, in WYNGAERT e MENSAERT (dir.) op. cit. vol. V, p. 416, and for more context, Luigi BRESSAN & Michael SMITHIES, *Siam and the Vatican in the Seventeenth Century*, Bangkok, River Books, 2001, p. 77.

result of certain natural conditions to remain alone'.³⁰ Cima himself seems to have understood what the success of his mission depended upon, but protested against the political dominance of the French Jesuits at court, and the pre-emptive interference of the mandarins.³¹ Cima later told Leibniz that he had often taken the Emperor's pulse 'en qualité de Medecin', a dangerous strategy given that this was an area Chinese medicine manifested vast superiority when compared to western medical knowledge. The Kangxi Emperor, whom Cima admired as 'thoroughly (*fort*) enlightened', was himself not convinced of Cima's medical skills, and stopped summoning him, a similar *démarche* to that which had cut short Isidoro Lucci's medical career in 1693.³² In mid-1700, Cima returned to Fukien/Fujian province, and thence left China.

4. Cima's return to Europe

His movements thereafter are a little hazy, and indeed a matter of dispute. Surdich sees Cima returning home via Sumatra (where he preached a *quadragesima* mass in the church of the Franciscani Riformati) and Pondicherry (where he spent 20 months).³³ Surdich's account of proceedings is not, however, matched by the information Cima himself provides in his account. While Cima admits to having said mass in Acheh, Sumatra, he then dwells on a rewarding trip to Siam, where he suggests he was invited to discussions with the Barcalon. Then, 'the year after that invitation [1703] the Danish Company of the Indies, the Governor and Director of Tranquebar, was stimulated to send a vessel to Mergui under the command of Lord Captain Meijar, and I went there as ambassador and

³⁰ See the letter of Bernardino della Chiesa, in WYNGAERT e MENSAERT, op. cit., vol. V, p. 399; the second letter from Della Chiesa to Cardinal Maigrot, 27 September 1700, op. cit., V, p. 415; see also the letter from Cima from the Fondo degli Agostiniani Scalzi di Gesù e Maria al Corso, fasc. 117, 96r, dated Peking 1700, repr. by SURDICH, op. cit. as an Appendix, pp. 199-201.

³¹ 'Letter from Peking, 1700', reproduced in SURDICH, op. cit., pp. 199-201. Allusions to the in-fighting between the different western missionaries is also alluded to after conversations with Cima in Leibniz's letter of 13 December 1707.

³² 'Leibniz to Joachim Bouvet, Hannover, 13 December 1707', Letter no. 69, repr. in Rita WIDMAIER (dir.). *Leibniz korrespondiert mit China: der Briefwechsel mit den Jesuitenmissionaren (1689-1714)*, Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1990, p. 266; Beatriz PUENTE-BALLASTEROS, 'Isidoro Lucci (1661-1719) and J.B. Lima (1659-1733) at the Qing Court: The Physician, the Barber-Surgeon, and the Padroado's Interests in China', in *Archivum historicum societatis Iesu*, vol. 82, fasc. 163 (1), 2013, pp. 165-216.

³³ A 'quadragesima' mass is defined as 'an organic series of preachings, customarily held at Church every day of Lent'.

envoy and then he returned with me to Copenhagen'. So he would have proceeded via Tenasserim to Mergui, and thence to Tranquebar (a little to the south of Pondicherry) and back to Europe. We have been able to trace the Lord Captain of this home journey with some certainty. Initially, it did not seem possible: I had thought to check the Sound toll register, the *Tabeller over skibsfahrt of veretransport*, especially the later 1953 edition produced under the direction of Knut Korst, which is one of the great serial sources for early modern economic history, but is better for enumerating *lasts* of corn than individuals. Danish historians have suggested that 'Meijar' does not concur phonetically with any Danish surnames, and it is more likely to have been a foreigner, perhaps a Dutchman, Meyer. Jaap Bruijn, in his well-known study of eighteenth-century Dutch naval commanders, provides an array of possibilities: Jan Maljaard, Ary van der Meer, George Jakob Meyer, Jan Balthus Meyer, but it turned out that none of these individuals fitted the information we know about 'Meijar'.³⁴ I looked in English records, hot on the trail of one Roger Myers, captain of the *Streatham* (a 350 ton, 70 crew frigate) on two occasions, between 1700-1 and 1702-6. The second long journey, particularly, provides us with an opportunity for paths to have crossed: although neither Tranquebar nor Mergui, nor even Copenhagen, appear in the log-book, which otherwise see the Indies run completed in Erith, in south-east London on 7 March 1707.³⁵ Finally it was the index cards of Kay Larsen (1879-1947) at the Danish National Archive, digitized at the Danish Demographic Database, which resolved these questions. The captain was one Steffen Meyer, whose year of birth is unknown, but worked his way up the shippers' hierarchy in Tranquebar, beginning with his first commission on 26 June 1700. He may have been a brother-in-law or son-in-law of the governor Jørgen Bjørn. In 1703, he was ordered to travel on the ship *Dansborg* to Mergui to effect the release of the Danish East India Company ship, *Elephanten*. With the company's clerk, Arnoldus de Fine, he made a trip to the Siamese court and had *Elephanten*

³⁴ Jaap R. BRUIJN, *Commanders of Dutch East India Ships in the Eighteenth Century*, Woodbridge, Boydell, 2011. 'Meyer' does not return any suggestive individuals from the database of outgoing VOC employees: <http://vocopvarenden.nationaalarchief.nl/search.aspx>. There is, however, mention of a Captain Myers who kept a watchful eye on Captain Lee during his second ever voyage to Batavia on the *Streatham*, §8 'The Company's Captains in 1710', in C.R. WILSON (dir.) *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, being the Bengal public consultations for the first half of the 18th century*, London, W. Thacker, 1895-1911, vol. 1, p. 374.

³⁵ Information in Anthony FARRINGTON, *Catalogue of East India Company ships' journals and logs, 1600-1834*, London, British Library, 1999. Margaret Makepeace of the British Library helped me here to cross-check with the new digital database *Ancestry* (www.ancestry.co.uk).

released. On 21 January 1704, Meyer departed on another expedition from Tranquebar, this time for Tanoor [Tanna, Th na].³⁶ The same year, he became captain of the company ship *Printz Carl*, which was freighted on an expedition to Persia. The ship was wrecked on the north-west coast of India, but all crew were saved and from the Danish lodge at Oddeway Torre [Eddowa, founded 1695/6 on the Malabar coast between Quilon and Anjengo] they were sent to Tranquebar. As there was no work for Meyer at Tranquebar, he left the colony on 24 October 1706 on the ship *Norske Løve*, the 'Norwegian Lion', destined for Copenhagen. His wife travelled with him, and so too, of course, did our friend Nicola Cima.³⁷

Cima's return was a somewhat foreshortened one by the standards of India hands, who tended to spend the rest of their lives in the missions, and Cima had many years ahead of him. His first task was to proceed to Rome on foot, a journey which took him as long as two years, during which time he met many leading ecclesiastics in the Augustinian Order in southern Germany, men like Gelasio Hieber, an Augustinian preacher (*concionator*) in Munich, and Angelus Oickmar (Hoggmair), a prior in Augustinian monasteries at various times in Munich and Regensburg.³⁸ It is thought Cima lobbied here for the reformation of his order, and met the German philosopher Leibniz in Hildesheim in Lower Saxony, who was busy developing his Sinophilic critique of European absolutism.³⁹ Leibniz wrote about his encounter with Cima in a letter of 8 October 1707 to Maturinus Veyssièrè La Croze, the learned Benedictine historian and orientalist, at that time the royal Prussian librarian in Berlin. The letter betrays Leibniz's suspicions that Cima 'had not been in China long enough to acquire knowledge of

³⁶ Sir Richard TEMPLE, *The Diaries of Streynsham Master, 1675-1680*, London, John Murray, 1911, vol. II, p. 66 explains that this place was 40 miles downriver from Hughli, or twenty miles by land. For some understanding of the complex fluvial geography of the various branches of the Ganges at the river's mouth see 'Some notes about the Hooghly', posted by the grandson of Arthur David Linklater, a British imperial pilot and master mariner, see www.quivis.co.uk/dum/Hooghly.html (URL accessed 18 June 2016).

³⁷ This ship is not mentioned in the *Diary and Consultation Book of the Records of Fort St. George*, vols. 37-8, which, while often taking note of 'a Danes Ship', fails to provide their names.

³⁸ Cima, *Oedipus Sphingi* brief attached to *Relatione Distinta delli Regni di Siam, China, Turchino e Cocincina*; Joannes Felix OSSINGER, *Bibliotheca augustianiana historica, critica et chronologica in qua mille quadringenti Augustiniani ordinis scriptores, eorumque opera tam scripta quam typis editis inveniantur, simulque reperitur*, Ingolstadt: Craetz, 1768, pp. 437-8; Thyrso LOPÉZ BARDÓN e Nicolas CRUSENIUS, *Monastici Augustiniani R. P. Fr. N. Crusenii continuatio atque ad illud additamenta, sive Bibliotheca manualis Augustiniana, in qua breviter recensentur Augustinienses ... virtute ... ac meritis insignes ab anno 1620 usque ad 1700*, Vallisoleti, 1890-1913, vol. III (Pars tertia), pp. 307-9.

³⁹ Sergio ZOLI, 'Il Mito Settecentesco della Cina in Europa e la Moderna Storiografia', *Nuova Rivista Storica*, 60 (3-4), 1976, pp. 335-366.

their characters' (he apparently asserted that there were 400 'fundamental characters' which we know to be far too few, 'functional literacy' of Chinese requiring mastery of around 3-4000 characters).⁴⁰ Cima, for his part, besides seeking audiences with the king, Frederick I of Prussia (r. 1701-1713), expressed his desire to return to China, and seems to have been more interested in raising money from this encounter, perhaps for the founding of an Augustinian mission on Taiwan (Formosa), which he evidently dreamt about alongside his suggestions for Siam indicated in the *Relatione*.⁴¹ Despite Leibniz's entreaties to La Croze and the courtly *Leibmedikus* Gundelsheim to 'show him [Cima] favour', in a letter written two months later to Joachim Bouvet, Leibniz suggested that Cima 'was now returning to Italy'.⁴² For his part, Cima wrote a letter to Leibniz on 2 December 1707 explaining that he had been robbed by his servant and unspecified 'Moors' – he appears to thank Leibniz for the money he had given Cima.⁴³ Cima went on, of course, to present his memorandum to the Venetian Senate, and lived on until at least 1719, probably until 1722.⁴⁴

5. Venice in Siam?

The ecclesiastical historian Luigi Bressan has suggested a possible historical precursor to Cima's project of reviving Venetian trading fortunes with the East Indies: a secret mission to Venice which the erstwhile First Minister of Ayutthaya, Constance Phaulkon, entrusted to Fr. Giovan Battista Morelli in 1686. The mission was undertaken ostensibly to intercede with the Senate for his family (we know from Forbin that he still had a brother living in 1695), but Bressan thinks that the real motivation was to promote

⁴⁰ 'Leibniz to Maturinus Veyssièrre La Croze, 8 October 1707', in Ludovic DUTENS (dir.), *Opera Omnia nunc primum collecta, in classes distribute, praefationibus et indicibus exornata, studio Ludovici Dutens*, Geneva, Fratres de Tournes, 1768, vol. 5, pp. 484-5 (letter in French).

⁴¹ Widmaier, op. cit., p. 268. There had been a Spanish colony on the northern tip of Taiwan which was founded in 1625, and was accompanied by a strong, especially Dominican missionary presence, which used the island as a transit point for missionaries en route to and from China and Japan, but it was closed down twenty years later when Manila's economy faltered, parag. 295.

⁴² 'Leibniz to Joachim Bouvet, Hannover, 13 December 1707', repr. in Widmaier, op. cit., Letter no. 69.

⁴³ NIEDERSÄCHSISCHE LANDESBIBLIOTHEK, HANNOVER, Leibniz Briefwechsel 157 Bl. 18-19.

⁴⁴ T. LÓPEZ BARDÓN e N. CRUSENIUS, op. cit. vol. II, p. 591; WYNGAERT e MENSAERT (dir.), op. cit., vol. IV, p. 196, note 23; STANDAERT, op. cit., vol. I, p. 340. Dror believes that Cima died in 1711, the year he switched from the Augustinians to the Discalced Augustians, Adriano di St. Theola, *Opusculum de Sectis Sinenses et Tunkinenses*, ed. Olga Dror, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 2002, p. 24, n. 16.

trade with the Republic, and possibly to encourage merchants to come to Siam.⁴⁵ At any rate, Morelli got only as far as Paris.⁴⁶

Back home in Venice, more general ideas were put forward as to how to revive the trading economy. The trader Simone Giogalli had been asked by the magistrates to provide a brief but considered report on the way to make industry and commerce in Venice flourish again. He reflected on the crushing weight of taxes (*gabelle*), and the excessively high wages crippling the textile industry.⁴⁷ Then on 23 November 1703, in the name of the Diputati al Commercio, the Republic introduced five new members to the body of the Cinque Savi, with the task of 'improving the trade of the Levant, reintroducing that of the West, removing from subjection and from weights the manufactures of this city and the facilitating of success in commerce'.⁴⁸ The current Doge, Alvise II Mocenigo, who had acceded in July 1700, was himself a Constantinople trader, albeit via Marino d'Andria in a company with Nicolò Contarini di Aurelio, and was considered to be lenient and indulgent, rather than rigorous, in his commissions.⁴⁹ It was peacetime, a window of opportunity after the peace of Karlowitz (January 1699), but before renewed conflict with the Ottomans broke out again in 1714. In European politics, Venice had opted for neutrality in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), despite the disgrace that this implied for Venice and the tenacious efforts of Charles Montagu, first Duke of Manchester to win Venice round to joining the Allied cause. Neutrality nevertheless led to devastation on the *terraferma* and corsair incursions on the Adriatic; one of the Doge's *Oselle* (medals) was coined in celebration of the measures taken to avoid the invasion of the state. Many overseas territories,

⁴⁵ BRESSAN e SMITHIES, op. cit., p. 78. Edward W. HUTCHINSON manages to track Phaulkon's precise words: 'Being anxious to send someone to Europe to rebuild the church in which I was baptized and to obtain a favour for my family from the Republic of Venice, I entrusted the commission to a Franciscan from Rome', *Adventurers in Siam in the Seventeenth Century*, London, Royal Asiatic Society, 1940, p. 74. Phaulkon's links to Venice were very tenuous: he started to work as a cabin-boy on English boats from an early age, and as CHOISY reports, spoke rather in Portuguese to the French Abbot, who responded to him in Italian, *Mémoires de l'Abbé de Choisy Habillé en Femme. Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de Louis XIV*, Paris, Mercure de France, 1993, p. 193, entry for 19 November 1685.

⁴⁶ Stefan HALIKOWSKI SMITH, 'Floating' European Clergy in Siam during the Yeats Immediately Prior to the National Revolution of 1688: the Letters of Giovan Battista Morelli, O.F.M.', in *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds: essays in honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri*, Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011, pp. 370-3.

⁴⁷ *Scrittura inedita di Simone Giogalli, negoziante veneto del secolo XVII, intorno la decadenza del commercio di Venezia*, E.A. CICOGNA (dir.), Venezia, G. Antonelli, 1856, especially pp. 16-7.

⁴⁸ MUSEO CIVICO DI VENEZIA. Raccolta Cicogna, ms. 1342 (3242).

⁴⁹ Andrea DA MOSTO, *I Dogi di Venezia*, Firenze, Giunto e Martello, 1977.

Cyprus, then Crete, as far as the Ionian islands were surrendered, but big projects for the better fortification of the Isthmus of Corinth and Castello di Morea were also dreamt up, alongside repopulation and a stimulus to agriculture there. None of this met, however, with any long-lasting success, and Austria openly challenged the Venetian monopoly over the Adriatic as from 1717.⁵⁰

If we turn to shipping records, the Venetian fleet could boast more shipping in 1700 than at any other time in the period between 1670-1797, some 29 sailing vessels, or around 40.000 tons of bottomry. In addition to this, Venice could deploy fifty galleys, more than any other European sea power. Altogether, then, the fleet as a whole rose from around 100 vessels in the middle of the seventeenth century, to more than two hundred in 1720, if you add the merchant fleet with its various categories of shipping from the *navi da punta* down to small *marciliane* with less than 50 *botti* capacity. Only around 1720, when Venice reverted to peace and budgetary constraints started to reduce the state fleet, can we really speak of what Cabanès calls the ‘very long and sometimes very beautiful autumn’.⁵¹ Admittedly, the convoy system had been abandoned by 1684, despite the ever-present risk of depredation by pirates, principally on the basis of cost considerations, and because of the effect that the mass arrival of cargoes had on local market prices. Foreign commentators had also criticised the system whereby mariners were paid by the day ‘how long soever the voyage lasteth’, which diminished the efficiency of the crew.⁵² Overall, however, shipping was not the problem facing the Venetian Republic; what was missing was any idea of commercial striving for the Indies, and finding the crews, who after 1647 were no longer supplied from Venice herself, but from forced labour, captured in the Wars of Morea, amongst Dalmatians, Greeks and Levantine subjects.⁵³

Direct trade with the Indies was a difficult prospect if only because it immediately overturned centuries of trading experience with the countries of the Levant, the traditional intermediaries. Lands like Turkey

⁵⁰ Heinrich KRETSCHMAYR, *Geschichte von Venedig*, Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1905-34, vol. III, p. 368.

⁵¹ Pierre CABANÈS, *Histoire de l'Adriatique*, Paris, Seuil, 2001, p. 366.

⁵² Charles HUGHES (dir.), *Shakespeare's Europe: Unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century*, [originally 1617], London, Sherratt & Hughes, 1903, p. 135.

⁵³ P. CABANÈS, op. cit., deals with the merchant fleet on pp. 376, 382; Fernand BRAUDEL, *Out of Italy, 1450-1650*, Paris, Flammarion, 1991. Gligor STANOJEVIĆ, ‘Jugosloveni u vojnoj službi Venecije na kopnu Italije u XVII vijeku’, in *Istorijski Casopis*, 24, January 1977, pp. 145-60.

continued to trade with the East on the old routes, now increasingly via Armenian intermediaries, and could supply the spices on which top Venetian pharmaceutical products like mithridatum and theriac continued to be made. Turkey produced gold coins and small denomination coinage, but was dependent on the silver flowing in from Spain, which the Venetians could transport to them. Around six ships continued to conduct this trade every year.⁵⁴ East Indian textiles, on the other hand, now came into Venice from the West, often via the neutral ports of Ancona and Ragusa, now frequented by the English and Dutch, after duties on imported cloth were raised by the Senate in 1690 in light of the decline in domestic production.⁵⁵ From 1577, even taxes on spices transported via the Atlantic like pepper were lifted in order to keep the Venetian market supplied.⁵⁶ As Domenico Sella writes, the development of the Atlantic trading routes 'progressively and irreversibly eliminated the Italians'.⁵⁷

The researchers Antonella Viola and Nunziatella Alessandrini have nonetheless been working on the history of joint Luso-Italian business plans relating to the Indies trade at the end of the seventeenth century. The Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali had launched two ships that were promptly seized and confiscated by the Dutch off Batavia in April 1649. A bit less than twenty years later, trading relations were opened between Genoa and the Ottoman Empire, with the idea of providing convoys to sail between Constantinople and Smyrna, but again only one Genoese convoy ever sailed this route between 1666-1667.⁵⁸ In Lisbon, different plans to launch a collaborative Portuguese-Tuscan shipping company between 1671-6 were afoot, as negotiated by the businessman Lorenzo Ginori and his extended family. It, too, had as its key negotiators

⁵⁴ Ludwig BEUTIN, 'Der wirtschaftliche Niedergang Venedigs im 16. Und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, 76, 1958, p. 70.

⁵⁵ BEUTIN, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁵⁶ Cited in Fernand BRAUDEL, *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, Paris, Colin, 1949, p. 434.

⁵⁷ Carlo M. CIPOLLA, *The Economic Decline of Empires*, London, Methuen, 1970, p. 210.

⁵⁸ Thomas KIRK, 'A Little Country in a World of Empires: Genoese Attempts to Penetrate the maritime trading Empires of the Seventeenth Century', in *The Journal of European Economic History*, 25, 2, 1996, p. 417.

men of the cloth, here Padre Almeida.⁵⁹ This project, although grounded on tangible and recorded discussions involving the Portuguese King Pedro, and launched from a realistic hub, which was Lisbon itself, also foundered, for many reasons. Given this track record, and Sella's monitory observation above, Cima's proposal, with its unlikely partnership with the Danish East Indies Company, and grounded in far more challenging logistical realities, can only appear absurd.

Worse was to come in the shape of the next Venetian Doge, Giovanni II Corner, a *religioso* (r. May 1709-August 1722). It is true that at a still later date, the ambassador Andrea Tron had incited the nobles in 1784 to return to sea trade (*di far fiorire il commercio*) using their predecessors' example (an incitation from Paris, published 29 May 1784), and in 1793 an insurance company was founded by the renowned innovator Girolamo Zulian, assuring with 500 stocks of 1000 ducats journeys to the Levant, West, Baltic and America.⁶⁰ But the East Indies were not even selected here as a propitious destination.

6. A Venetian partnership with the Danish East Indies Company?

Then there is the whole issue of the trading alliance which Cima proposes with regard to the Danish East Indies Company. From the memorandum, it is not clear how the partnership would work: were the Danes to teach the Venetians the daily business of running a commercial Indies fleet, and what then would the Venetians offer in return? Or would the Danes merely lease space on their Indies fleets for Venetian freight? At certain points in the text, Cima starts to doubt whether Venice should indeed contemplate a sea journey at all, rather than establish consuls as intermediaries in Suez, Cairo and Alexandria (a very impracticable proposition given

⁵⁹ Antonella VIOLA, 'Lorenzo Ginori: Console della Nazione Fiorentina e agente del Granduca di Toscana in Portogallo (1674-89)', in *Di Buon Effetto e Commercio. Relações Luso-Italianas na Idade Moderna*, Nunziatella Alessandrini (dir.) et al., Lisbon, CHAM, 2012, pp. 163-75. Better on the proposed shipping company is, however, Nunziatella ALESSANDRINI e Antonella VIOLA, 'Genovesi e fiorentini in Portogallo: reti commerciali e strategie politico-diplomatiche (1650-1700)', in *Mediterranea. Ricerche storiche*, no. 28, August 2013, online version at <http://www.storiamediterranea.it/portfolio/agosto-2013-2/>. It has not been established whether this Almeida was D. Juan de Almeida, Master of the Wardrobe, a courtier Christopher of Almeida (sic.) or Pedro de Almeida, presumably the Secretary Dr. Pedro de Amaral. See Fremont d'Albancourt, *Memoirs of the Sieur d'Ablancourt: containing a general history of the court and kingdom of Portugal, from the Pyrenean treaty, to the year 1668*, London, R. Smith, 1703, pp. 47, 157, 186.

⁶⁰ Giovanni TABACCO, *Andrea Tron (1712-1785) e la crisi dell'aristocrazia senatoria a Venezia*, Trieste, Università degli studi di Trieste, 1957, p. 161.

the recent and long-standing conflicts between Ottomans and Venetians). Cima had not thought of European redistribution, which he presumed to run on precedent – German traders coming to load stock at the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* – although the Habsburgs had already experimented with their own *Wiener Orientalische Handelskompagnie* between 1667-83, and from 1719 would open up Trieste and Fiume as free ports (*Freihäfen*) from which new routes like the ‘Triester Straße’ would now run.⁶¹ Then, we might be reminded that Cima seemed to favour Siam as a focus for Venetian trade over China, with which the Danes anyway did not conduct direct trade until the 1730s.

How did Cima get the idea of teaming up with the Danish, of all people? Was he a visionary, who saw the end of the ‘Dutch century’ and a new era of cooperation with Scandinavia opening up? Was he looking forward to the first direct Swedish shipping into the Mediterranean, which emerged from the Swedish Navigation Act (*Produktplakat*) of 1724?⁶² Cima champions the Danes as a ‘loyal, straight and free’ shipping partner (f. 12v). But this only contrasts with contemporary comment from the English. Molesworth’s famous diatribe *An Account of Denmark as it was in the Year 1692* (London 1694), for example, portrayed the Danes as dull slaves to absolutism, whose national character consisted in the cultivation of mediocrity, while John Ovington, in his popular East Indies travelogue, relates Danish unprincipled opportunism in the affairs of the East: how a Danish mercenary force promptly betrayed the King of Anjouan, who had paid them to wage war against the neighbouring island of Mohéli.⁶³ Cima’s ideas could equally never conceivably have been entertained by fellow missionaries such as Giovan Battista Morelli who, just a few years earlier, had cursed the English on whose vessel he returned to Europe.

⁶¹ Herbert HASSINGER, ‘Die erste Wiener Orientalische Handelskompagnie, 1667-83’, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 35, 1942, pp. 1-53; Wilhelm KALTENSTADLER, ‘Der österreichische Seehandel über Triest im 18. Jahrhundert’, *Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 55, 4, 1969, pp. 481-500.

⁶² Eli HECKSCHER, ‘Produktplakatet: Den gamla svenska sjöfartspolitikens grundlag’, in *Ekonomi och Historia*, Stockholm, A. Bonniers, 1922, pp. 164-222 and, more generally, his *An economic history of Sweden*, Cambridge Mass., Harvard U.P., 1954, p. 195.

⁶³ Jørgen SEVALDSEN, ‘Diplomatic eyes on the North: writings by British ambassadors on Danish society’, in *Britain and the Baltic: studies in commercial, political and cultural relations 1500-2000*, Patrick Salmon e Tony Barrow (dir.), Sunderland, University of Sunderland Press, 2003, pp. 321-36; Robert MOLESWORTH, *An Account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692*, London, s.n., 1694, A2v-A3r, A4v-A5r, C2v-C3r; John OVINGTON, *A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689 giving a large account of that city and its inhabitants and the English factory there...*, London, Jacob Tonson, 1696, p. 119.

For Morelli, religious grounds were enough: they were damnable heretics ‘worse than the gentiles; I would rather spend a year among the heathen than two days amongst people of this nation’, whom he compared to *Inimici crucis Christi*.⁶⁴

Words here were, however, often louder than actions on the ground: the Venetian Senate did not possess any such scruples and had, since the Cretan War (1645-69), turned to England and the Low Countries to buy sailing vessels, which it then rechristened (for example, the *Sol d'oro*), and whose construction was then copied in its own yards. Particularly popular were the flat-bottomed cogs manufactured in Holland, and which were perfectly adapted to navigation in the Venetian lagoon.⁶⁵ Similarly, we find the English in Madras occasionally recurring to the Danes to freight private goods back to Europe, and instructions for the Governor were also sometimes dispatched by the commissioners back in London on Danish ships. This held as much for Thomas Pitt as it did for Edward Harrison's tenure in Madras.⁶⁶

The Danish king Frederik IV of course came on a three-month state visit to the city during the winter of 1708-9 for motives which seem primarily to have been a repeat visit of an exciting trip he had undertaken as Crown Prince sixteen years earlier, between 1692-3. It was a classic Grand Tour at its very heyday (1700-1760) in which Frederik visited castles, manor houses, gardens, military installations and cathedrals, complete with sexual dalliances.⁶⁷ His visit is graphically conveyed by the paintings of Luca Carlevarijs, such as ‘La Regata in Canal Grande in onore del re Federico di Danimarca’, and the engravings issuant from these paintings by Giuseppe Baroni.⁶⁸ For Aldo Rizzi, this visit and the artwork they triggered ‘exalts the Baroque spirit of Venice’.⁶⁹ That one of Carlevarijs's regatta paintings was brought back to Frederik's castle at Frederiksborg may just have been an act of personal nostalgia. But what of the Danish perspective on a prospective business partnership with the Venetians?

⁶⁴ Quoted in HALIKOWSKI SMITH, ‘Floating’ European Clergy in Siam’, pp. 372-3.

⁶⁵ CABANÈS, *op. cit.*, p. 368. The Compagnia Genovese delle Indie Orientali, albeit a historical ‘gadfly’ circumscribed to the second half of the 1640s, similarly commissioned ships in the Texel, along with sailors and pilots, to undertake voyages to ‘the East Indies, in particular Japan and neighbouring areas’, T. KIRK, *art. cit.*; Sanjay SUBRAHMANYAM, ‘On the Significance of Gadflies: the Genoese East India Company of the 1640s’, in *Journal of European Economic History*, 17, 3, 1988, pp. 559-581.

⁶⁶ Søren MENTZ, *The English gentleman merchant at work: Madras and the City of London, 1660-1740*, Copenhagen, Tusculanum Press, 2005, p. 154.

⁶⁷ Bruce REDFORD, *Venice and the Grand Tour*, Newhaven, Yale University Press, 1996, p. 15.

⁶⁸ Frederik WEILBACH, *Frederik IV's Italiensrejser*, Copenhagen, Levin & Munksgaard, 1933.

⁶⁹ Aldo RIZZI, *Luca Carlevarijs, Venezia*, Alfieri, 1975, pp. 9, 11, 31.

Weilbach's book is sadly silent on this subject, and other primary accounts dwell also on the hedonistic aspects of this trip. In terms of precedents for collaboration between Venice and Denmark, we know that one returning commandant, Mourids Hartmann (1657-1695), who faced an inquest on his return for executing the captain of the returning vessel and then allowed the wreck of the vessel in the Channel, absconded to Venetian service in the Cycladic Archipelago, where he promptly died of fever. The *Dictionary of Danish Biography* suggests it was the third time he took up employment with them, and that during the war against Turkey in 1685 he had been awarded the Order of Saint Mark.⁷⁰ Thus, there were precedents, if only privately. Otherwise, documentation suggests the Danes were keen on attracting population to their colonies, here Armenians to Tranquebar, especially in the 1750s under Governor Krog, although François Martin had reported 80 years earlier in February 1674 that the inhabitants were subjected to high taxes and were badly handled by the Governor, so that as a consequence they were not very 'interested' (*interessés*).⁷¹ While the British in Madras had a great need for a loyal population to man civil defence and stand up to local nawabs, the Armenians were needed primarily to prize open long distance trade, as we can see from their successes in the diamond business between the 1630s and the 1680s.⁷² But eighteenth-century Venice was not operating on a demographic surplus,

⁷⁰ *DANSK BIOGRAFISK LEKSIKON*, Povl Engelstoft (dir.), Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1979-84. http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon [URL accessed 9 November 2014]. There is also a biographical note in Jacques MACAU, *L'Inde Danoise 1670-1732: la deuxième compagnie*, Aix-en-Provence, I.H.P.O.M., Université de Provence, 1975, pp. 21-4.

⁷¹ A. MARTINEAU (dir.), *Mémoires de François Martin*, Paris, Société de l'Histoire des Colonies françaises, vol. I, p. 566.

⁷² For the Portuguese sub-altern population, see Stefan HALIKOWSKI SMITH, 'Languages of subalternity and collaboration: Portuguese in English settlements across the Bay of Bengal, 1620-1800', in *International Journal of Maritime History*, May 2016, vol. 28, no. 2, pp. 237-267. Armenians were particularly valuable to Europeans in port cities like Surat for their knowledge of producers and productive processes in the interior. For the Armenians in Coromandel, see Bhaswati BHATTACHARYA, 'Making money at the blessed place of Manila: Armenians in the Madras-Manila trade in the eighteenth century', *Journal of Global History*, 3, 1, March 2008, p. 10; Holden FURBER, *Rival empires of trade in the Orient, 1600-1800*, Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 1976, pp. 289, 373; in Bengal, see Bhaswati BHATTACHARYA, 'Ports, hinterlands and merchant networks: Armenians in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century', in G.B. Souza, *Hinterlands and Commodities: Place, Space, Time and the Political Development of Asia over the long Eighteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2015, pp. 102-126; for Armenian relations with the EIC, see Margaret MAKEPEACE e Vahe BALADOUNI, *Armenian Merchants of the Early Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries*, Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society, 1998. At one time, the British in Madras had lobbied to elect Portuguese and Armenian aldermen. BRITISH LIBRARY, Asia, Pacific and Africa collections, London. Fort St. George Consultations, 28 September 1708, P/239/84.

indeed its population had decreased by 0.7% between 1596-1696, and as in practical terms the desperate shortage of military personnel in the closer-to-home wars in the Adriatic could attest.⁷³

The Danes had otherwise never been taken seriously by the other East Indian trading companies hitherto. To the Nuremberg traveller Johann Wurffbain, writing in the 1680s, 'the Danish have by now been reduced in importance due to different misfortunes and corrupt administration of their servants, so that the Danish can no longer conduct their trade, and for these reasons they are held in low esteem by the Indians. As a result, you cannot expect the favour of coming to India by their ships'.⁷⁴ Historians have only perpetuated this idea of the Danes as a 'minor player in Asia' (*een kleine speler in Azië*).⁷⁵

Tranquebar, the port from which Cima sailed back to Europe, had however been settled continuously with fort and factory since 1620, and after a 'modest success' during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97), the charter was renewed in 1698.⁷⁶ Other Italian friars provide similarly encouraging descriptions of Danish Tranquebar from around this time. Padre Giambattista Maoletti O.F.M. (1669-1725) affirmed, for example, that the Governor of Tranquebar 'was extremely courteous and I found him a worthy lord, despite being Lutheran, who allowed Catholics and missionaries the right to go about their tasks without interfering (*dar molestia*) with them'.⁷⁷ Other Danish Lutheran ministers, such as Johann Georg Bövingh, settled in Tranquebar in 1706 albeit in small numbers,

⁷³ Carlo Marco BELFANTI, 'Aspetti dell'evoluzione demografica italiana nel secolo XVII', in *Cheiron*, 2, 1984, Table 13; Daniele BELTRAMI, *Storia della popolazione di Venezia dalla fine del secolo XVI alla caduta della Repubblica*, Padova, CEDAM, 1954.

⁷⁴ 'Johann Sigmund Wurfbains Instruction, oder Kurtzer Bericht / Wie eine Reise / sowol zu Wasser / als zu Land / nach Indien anzustellen sey' in Christoph ARNOLD, *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer maechtigen Koenigreiche Japan, Siam und Corea*, Nürnberg, in Verlegung M. & J.F. Endters, 1672, pp. 1132-1148.

⁷⁵ Leo AKVELD e Els JACOBS (dir.), *De kleurrijke wereld van de VOC*, Bussum, THOTH, 2002, p. 282.

⁷⁶ Holden FURBER, op. cit., pp. 212-3; H. VAN DER LINDEN, *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale du Danemark, XVII et XVIII siècles*, Bruxelles, Lamertin, 1911. Jacques MACAU would locate the upswing in Danish fortunes further back to the foundation of the 'deuxième compagnie' in 1670, op. cit. Kristof GLAMANN, on the other hand, asserts that 'up to 1732 the Danish East Indian trade was an unstable enterprise', 'Danish historical writing on colonial activities in Asia, 1616-1845', in C.H. Philips, *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 209.

⁷⁷ Anna ALBINO (dir.), *Da Roma alla Cina. Viaggio e apostolato del P. Giambattista Maoletti Francescano, 1702-25*, Firenze, Tipografia Barbèra, 1935, p. 47.

while German missionary scholars from Halle, like Benjamin Schultze, came to Tranquebar shortly afterwards in 1719.⁷⁸

Conclusion

The last two sections have been concerned with how improbable Cima's exhortations for Venetian trade with Siam and in partnership with the Danish East Indies Company at the beginning of the eighteenth century might have appeared to their readers, and to what extent we then have to write him off as a delusional crank.

As I have tried to show here, however, Cima does fit into a particular genre of missionary traveller and writer of his period whose unhinged suggestions were grounded in the shortcomings of the missionary education of the period and the sheer speed with which the vast territories of the Indian Ocean world were traversed and re-traversed without accumulation of corresponding depth of knowledge of any one locale, or sufficient mastery of native languages. Furthermore, the use of his text for the purposes of lobbying relevant political authorities bears the psychological hallmarks of delusions of grandeur.

We nevertheless have here a text full of details and observations that merit a wider airing and appreciation, particularly given the silence into which Ayuthaya falls after the intensity of contact and exchange under Phra Narai. If Cima's text is coloured by whiffs of nostalgia and possible borrowing from other European authorities, his descriptions below of Ayuthaya's political economy and trading opportunities are fine-tuned.

⁷⁸ The Halle missionaries erected schools for 'Portuguese' and 'Malabar' children, bibles, hymn books and tracts were translated and printed in Portuguese, Tamil and other languages, and reports of the work of the 'Royal Danish Missionaries' were sent out across Europe twice a year. These reports were collected into nine volumes and published as *Der KÖNIGLICHE dänischen Missionarien zu Ost-Indien eingesandter ausführlichen Berichte*, Halle: in Verlegung des Waisen-Hauses, 1710-72, 9 vols. The Studienzentrum August Hermann Francke in Halle has digitized some of these volumes, see for example: <http://192.124.243.55/digbib/missionsberichte/teil02/cont013/start013.htm> [URL accessed 21 October 2014]. J.F. FENGER's monograph of 1843 *Den Trankebarske missions historie* was translated into English as *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, Tranquebar: Evangelical Mission Press, 1863. See also H.W. GENSICHEN, 'The Social Impact of Early Protestant Missions in South India', *Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift*, 78, January 1978, pp. 430-35.

Appendix

“Siam is the best ‘place’ in the Indies”

Nicola Agustin Cima, *Relazione Distinta delli Regni di Siam, China, Tunchino e Cocincina*, c. 1707
Marciana Library, Venice, Ital Cl. VI. 76 (6036)

Having then considered [29r.] all the places of India⁷⁹ it is certain that, whether for trade or for the comfort of missionaries and for the increase of our Holy Faith, I have not seen nor found a free place, with more abundant foodstuffs, and guaranteed a more exquisite and temperate supply of air than Siam, even though it is below the torrid zone at around 14 degrees from the pole, and where are around twenty settlements and colonies of various different foreign nations, who went there many centuries ago and who live from commerce.⁸⁰ They are all situated along the bank of that that great navigable river [the Chao Phraya], which every year floods the greater part of that country, from which stems that [29v.] great abundance, also caused by the flooding of other rivers, which are also there.⁸¹ These colonies go by the name of ‘campo’, or district; there is the Dutch *campo*, that of the French, Portuguese, Japanese, Tonchinese, Cochinchinese and Maja⁸², that of Pegu, Makassar, Laos, Tartars who border the Persians and Armenians, and others, all of whom have a governor or captain of their own nation, who hand down justice according to their own and particular laws, and in each of those colonies there is also a Siamese national nominated by the King to that community, who also serves as official [30r.] interpreter for the Barcalan, who is an important mandarin and principal minister of that king and who is Supreme Judge and Superintendent of all the said colonies

⁷⁹ We would say today, ‘the Indies’.

⁸⁰ ‘More than twenty languages are spoken there’, Luc FERMANEL DE FAVERY, *Relazione delle Missioni de’ vescovi vicarii apostolici, mandate dalla S. Sede apostolica alli regni di Siam, Cocincina, Camboia e Tonkino*, Rome, Sacra Congregatio De Propaganda Fide, 1677, p. 2.

⁸¹ Engelbert KAEMPFER, *Histoire naturelle, civile et ecclesiastique de l’Empire du Japon*, (The Hague: chez P. Gosse & J. Neaulme, 1729), Bk I, ch. II, pp. 38-40.

⁸² ‘Maja’ is unclear. Could it be an error on Cima’s behalf for Malay? Or could it be the Maghs, a Buddhist ethnic group living in the Chittagong hill tracts and Cox’s Bazaar areas of Bangladesh, said to be Arakanese descendants who ruled the region between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. Their chief occupation is slash and burn agriculture and their staple products are rice and liquor, see Amiran GONEN (dir.) *The Encyclopedia of Peoples of the World*, New York, Henry Holt, 1993, p. 373. Leonard ANDAYA agreed with this attribution in a private communication of 18 March 2014.

and all foreigners, who dwell and go about in that kingdom.⁸³ In the city then, other than the Chinese district, the Muslim one, that belonging to the Persians, there is the factory of the French and the English, although at the time I was there, there were no headmen, and all those kings of antiquity gave down these districts from hand to hand, both the site and the land for those nations to build houses, which are made of bamboo, very thick canes growing there, which are not just used to build houses but also as columns, on top of which [30v] then are built houses, which is how they build given the flooding of the rivers.⁸⁴ This is of very little expense, so that with one hundred pieces of eight you can have a very large house with a main room and eight or ten other rooms, and a courtyard. And although the houses are made of bamboo, all said one can live there very safely, free from all peril, due to the justice of the land, it being the policy there to grant and maintain the liberty of all nations to go there and to live there from the great commerce undertaken there, and which is carried out by the principal mandarins and even by the king, who owns warehouses of all the national [31r.] merchandise. Many of the principal goods one can only obtain from his royal warehouses, such as ivory, tin, copper, eaglewood, aloe wood, Calambac, which is called *Collamtù* there, of which [goods] whole ships travel around the Indies and to Persia.⁸⁵

Everyone then has the liberty of residence in that kingdom and the right to live according to his religion and to profess it publicly as do the Tartars of Laos, the Japanese, the Muslims, Englishmen, Dutch, Portuguese and all the Catholics and others, among whom our men of the cloth may wear their habits publicly and thus go about the whole kingdom and undertake processions and exercise all their rites solemnly, whether in conducting the last rites (*portare il santissimo Viatico*), or in burying the dead, the church being public places, as too the bells and organs, where celebrations, prayers and everything is conducted as if we were in Italy

⁸³ Cf. Nicholas GERVAISE, *Histoire politique et naturelle du royaume de Siam*, Paris, Pierre Le Mercier, 1688, pt I, ch. XIV-XV, pp. 67-76; Simon de LA LOUBÈRE, *Du Royaume de Siam*, Amsterdam, Abraham Wolfgang, 1691, pt III, ch. XVI, pp. 427-32. I have tried to characterize these different communities in my book *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies*, ch. 4 & 5.

⁸⁴ See the sketch in Simon de LA LOUBÈRE, *A new historical relation of the kingdom of Siam*, London, Francis Leach, 1693, following p. 24.

⁸⁵ Historians of Siam confirm the royal monopoly in these metal and mineral products, Sarasin VIRAPOL, *Tribute and Profit. Sino-Siamese Trade, 1652-1853*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1977, pp. 20-1. Aqa Muhammad, a Persian Muslim, was granted the export monopoly in eaglewood by Phra Narai (r. 1656-1688), most of which was shipped to Indian destinations.

itself, and this is how other religions are practised, everyone in his own colonies and churches professing his or her own rites. Indeed, our men of the cloth are held in great veneration by them, in such a way that the same king, when he admits one of us men of the cloth into audience with him, makes [a gesture of] reverence, holding up the right-hand to his forehead [32r.] and allowing them to stand up, which is not a custom allowed even the greatest mandarins. The mandarins, moreover, even the most high up, not only raise their hand, but stand up and give the churchmen a cushion on which to sit upon a carpet, as they do to their priests, called Talapoins, who are held in the greatest veneration and are esteemed as a divine thing, living as they do in grand asceticism, eating only rice, vegetables, herbs, fruits of the earth, not eating anything from living animals, that is to say no meat, nor fish, nor ever touching wine, but only water and tea. They spend the greater part of the day and night in their pagodas singing and chanting in front of their idols, to the [32v.] sound of a hundred solemn drums made from bamboo, and living only from charity, which they receive in the greatest abundance.⁸⁶

For the missionaries destined for those parts, I have not seen any other place so suitable, both for its great liberties and its security, which everyone can enjoy there; secondly, because there they have a great opportunity to learn the languages which they wish, whether through study or from exercise, according to the kingdom or place they wish to go to, something which is very considerable and should stimulate those zealous Catholic princes to make a special seminary there [33r.] and send suitable people, it being possible in that city to learn, apart from Siamese, Japanese, Chinese, both the ordinary strain of Canton and Fukien, as well as that of the lettered.⁸⁷ The Peguan language, the Tartar language of Laos, the language of Tunkin, Cochinchina and Turkish and Persian and all other languages spoken by people there can be learned, so that one can become really

⁸⁶ Cf. S. de LA LOUBÈRE, 'Concerning the Origin of the Talapoins and of their Opinions', in *A New Historical Relation*, pt. III, ch. XXIII; François CARON e Joost SCHOUTEN, *A True Description of the mighty kingdoms of Japan and Siam*, London: Samuel Broun & John de l'Ecluse, 1663, pp. 140-143. Giovan Battista Morelli writes how the Greek Chief Minister Constance Phaulkon, executed in 1688, greatly feared the Talapoins both for their numbers and their esteem among the populace, HALIKOWSKI SMITH, 'Floating' Clergy in Siam', p. 360. There is an engraving of a Talapoin in Guy TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites*, Paris, Seneuze & Horthemels, 1686, pp. 416-7.

⁸⁷ The friars typically trained their missionaries in the Chinese language on Formosa (Taiwan), or amongst the large Chinese community in Manila, James S. CUMMINS, 'Two Missionary Methods in China. Mendicants and Jesuits', in CUMMINS, *Jesuit and Friar in the Spanish Expansion to the East* (London: Variorum, 1985), p. 82.

perfect not just in European languages but in so many Indian [he means 'oriental'] languages both from study and from practise. And as this Serene Republic has in Constantinople a college with twelve students, where it is no longer possible to learn Oriental languages⁸⁸, here [in Siam] [33v.] this could be undertaken with the greatest profit and utility, and although extremely few and far between are the Siamese who convert to our religion, with all of this many Cochinchinese, Tonkinchinese and Peguans will convert and be baptised.

There is the seminary of the French missionary fathers, where the Bishop and the Vicar Apostolic resides, in which, beyond a few Portuguese *mestiços*, there are many from Tonkin and Cochinchina who number between 50 and 60, who are housed and fed and clothed with all that is necessary for free, who acquire the sciences and are well instructed in the customs [of the Church] and ecclesiastical rites and are ordained *in sacris* and serve as missionaries [34r.] in Cochinchina and Tonkin, from which the good springing from that seminary cannot be denied and from their students Christianity is preserved and augmented in those kingdoms. Better indeed than by Europeans themselves, firstly for the ease of using their mother tongue, which the European cannot attain so easily without the investment of great effort, speaking and singing; secondly, for the politics in those kingdoms, which views Europeans badly and retains their fears and suspicions that they [the Europeans] are coming to spy and for political ends, rather than out of religious interests, which nothing or very little can cure. In the church of the aforementioned seminary, Frenchmen compete with Tonkin and Cochinchinese, as well as Peguans, and a few Portuguese. Those reverend [34v.] priests have, however, made chapels in the Tonkinese and Cochinchinese districts where one goes, especially for the chief festivals, to celebrate and to preach. The exact timing and majesty with which that Church observes the Mass, and the hours, and the way those reverend priests and seminarians go about their functions is

⁸⁸ Fulgenzio reminds us of the 'scarcity of priests (*sacerdoti*) who pass that way', Alberto DALLOLIO, 'Un Viaggio in Oriente alla fine del secolo XVII', in *L'Archiginnasio. Bollettino della Biblioteca Comunale di Bologna*, II, 3-4 Maggio Agosto 1907, p. 102. This was a Senate sponsored 'program' to train young men in eastern languages with the aim of freeing the *baili* from dependence on foreign dragomans. Boys were to stay five years in the Ottoman capital. Set up in 1551, by 1625 there were more than ten young men regularly in attendance. Yet the 'program' was transferred to Venice some time before 1692. Francesca LUCCHETTA, 'La scuola dei 'giovani di lingua' nei secoli XVI e XVII', *Quaderni di studi arabi*, 7, 1989, pp. 19-40. See also Isabella PALUMBO FOSSATI CASA, 'L'École vénitienne des "giovani di lingua"', in Frederic Hitzel ed., *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, Istanbul and Paris: IFEA, INALCO, L'Harmattan, 1997, pp. 109-22.

indescribable, all in their surplices and with the Bishop officiating, and all those seminarians go into the priesthood and on to the missions raised and instructed with all due zeal and charity.

In the Portuguese district, which is very large and contains many people, there is the Church of the Dominicans, one of whom is the Vicar and the Superior, and is at the same time also Vicar [35r.] of the Holy Office to the Reverend Chief Inquisitor in Goa. This church was the first to be founded in this kingdom and the Dominicans were the first to come here, for which this church has always been the parish church of the Portuguese.⁸⁹ There are also Jesuit priests, who came here a short time ago and there are usually two Portuguese fathers, who are always fighting with the Dominicans, the former claiming they have a right to the Portuguese parish as their own, to which the Dominicans are opposed, saying they were invited by Padre Giuseppe Conca, a Dominican, to help them in the administration of the sacraments, being infirm.⁹⁰ And the Vicars Apostolic, who have the right [to represent the parish?], for being French, do not come to the [35v.] Portuguese obediently, [the Portuguese] claiming to be subject only to the Bishop of Melaka, although that city has been without a bishop for a long time, from which very great disorders and

⁸⁹ The Dominicans came to Siam after establishing themselves first in Melaka in 1549, thus either in 1555, or 1567. Benno BIERMANN, 'Die Missionen der Portugiesischen Dominikaner in Hinterindien', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaften und Religionswissenschaft*, 21, 1931, p. 319.

⁹⁰ I have not been able to identify Giuseppe Conca. Could it have been Paulo da Costa, the Administrator of the Diocese of Melaka, who led his flock from Makassar to Cambodia, where in his old age he indeed became 'languid' (to quote Chevreuil), but was keen to delegate his authority, principally so he could retire to Goa? This he did in favour not of the Dominicans but the M.E.P., see HALIKOWSKI SMITH, *Creolization and Diaspora*, p. 194. But this was long before Cima's time, in November 1667. Equally, I have long pondered who the 'two Portuguese fathers' whom Cima refers to might have been. The long partnership of J.B. Maldonado of Mons, who arrived in Siam in 1673, and Manuel Suarez (Soarez), Superior of the Residence from 1677, came to an end with Maldonado's hurried escape from Ayutthaya in August 1692 and Soares's death, probably the year after, Raphaël VONGSURAVATANA, *Un jésuite à la cour de Siam*, Paris, France-Empire, 1992, p. 322. Young António Dias, sent out as Visitor from Macao, replaced Maldonado, and was still there in June 1699, see his letters in the BIBLIOTECA DE AJUDA, 'Jesuítas na Ásia' collection, Cod. 49-V-23, fls. 313, 336, 346v, 348. The relationship between Dominicans and Jesuits in the parish of Ayutthaya was ambivalent: although they prevented Jesuits from going about burying Luiz Madre de Deus O.F.M. in 1689, they followed the Jesuits on the controversial Oath of Allegiance to the Apostolic Vicars in 1681, according to Père Claude de BÈZE, *Mémoire du Pere de Bèze sur la vie de Constance Phaulkon, premier ministre du Roi de Siam (...) et sa triste fin. Suivi de lettres et de documents*, Tokyo, Presses Salésiennes, 1947, pp. 41-2.

fighting issue.⁹¹ One father, an Augustinian lector (*Lettor*), called Stefano Sora, a Portuguese, has built a house and small church (*chiesola*) of stone and bricks with a bell tower and bell, and previously he had another one in the Japanese district, but it was destroyed one night.⁹² He blamed the Jesuits, who claimed alone to have jurisdiction over the Japanese, from which can be appreciated the great liberty that all enjoy in this kingdom, and only our domestics are our enemies.⁹³ Thus too the Muslims have their own church⁹⁴ [*sic*] and thus, cheek by jowl [36r.] with the others, conduct their public services.

Foodstuffs are so abundant and at such a low price that with twelve *scudi* alone one can live excellently: normally for one *paolo* one can acquire

⁹¹ After Dom Luís de Melo died in 1648, there was no Bishop until 1671, although Padre Paulo da Costa was Administrator of the Diocese of Melaka in the interim period and led the Portuguese 'tribe' to Siam and Cambodia. The problem with authority was not easily settled, because the Bishop was effectively without a diocese (Melaka had fallen to the Dutch in 1641). His authority was conveyed via his 'vicars of the rod' (*vigário da vara*), such as João de Abreu de Lima, first in Solor and then in Siam, but both communities resisted his jurisdiction and the Vicar Apostolic, Monseigneur de Cicé, felt obliged to excommunicate him after denying his claims to no avail. See HALIKOWSKI SMITH, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies*, pp. 52-55. The first French Vicar Apostolic was Lambert de la Motte, who arrived in Siam in 1661.

⁹² Stefano Sora was Estevão de Sousa, the first Augustinian in Siam, who ran a chapel attached to the Dominican church, sharing the same living quarters, Engelbert KAEMPFER, *The history of Japan, giving an Account of the ancient and present State and Government of that Empire*, London, 1727, vol. 1, p. 31 (note that the author visited Siam in 1690). The Japanese quarter is clearly indicated in the 'Plan de la Ville de Siam' (from Simon de La Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, 1691, engraving by F. Ertinger in MUSÉUM NATIONAL D'HISTOIRE NATURELLE, Paris. Réserve DS 526. 1 L 21 v1 A), on a large island to the east of the Chao Phraya River and before the stone town is reached. The church may have been destroyed as part of the retribution against the Japanese community following a rebellion and plot against King Phetracha soon after his accession in which two 'chiefs of the Japanese community were executed, 'Opperhoofd Tant to Governor General, 28 December 1700', NATIONAAL ARCHIEF, The Hague, VOC 1637, 29, 29v, 65; 'P. Gabriel Braud's letter of 12 June 1700', A.M.E.P., vol. 864, f. 312.

⁹³ Cima appears to be referring to the infamous death of Giulio Cesare Margico in 1630, who was poisoned by the Christian adjutor who served him, see António Francisco CARDIM, *Relazione della prouincia del Giappone*, Roma, Andrea Fei, 1645, pp. 155-56. Other outsiders, like Yamada Nagamasa, were also poisoned by their Siamese servants in this period, Sakae MIKI, *Yamada Nagamasa*, Tokyo: Kokonshoin, 1936.

⁹⁴ Not sure which Muslim group Cima is evoking here. Proselytisation amongst Malays and Islamised populations struggled when compared with 'pagans', local or immigrant Buddhist population, see for example a Franciscan report probably from the Junk-Ceylon area, 1660s, H.A.G., *Monções do Reino*, 124 A, 249. But by 'church' Cima almost certainly means mosque. Mendes Pinto had noted in Ayutthaya as many as seven mosques catering for the Moors and Malay communities, numbering as many as 30.000. 'Letter from Melaka, 1554, addressed to the Brothers and Fathers of the Society of Jesus', in Cristovão AIRES (dir.), *Fernão Mendes Pinto. Subsídios para a Sua Biografia e para estudo da sua obra*, Lisbon, Academia das Ciências, 1904, pp. 63-5.

eight or ten hens, for the same price you can get 16 or 18 chickens, for one *paolo* you can get 150 or 180 eggs.⁹⁵ Pork meat, which is the most widespread, is extremely cheap. One cannot acquire beef publicly, because these gentiles never slaughter oxen, indeed hold them in veneration, but anyone who wishes for it conducts their own slaughter privately. I bought in Pipli and in Siam two large cows for two *paoli* each, with the liberty of taking and slaughtering them by musket whenever I wanted. Arrack is also made, that is to say a fermentation from very good rice, and each [36v.] pound bottle is worth between eight and nine *soldi*. Wine is also made from water and the most excellent fruits, and is very similar to wine from grapes.⁹⁶ The fruits moreover are excellent, of every type and very sweet, like everywhere in India. Fish too are excellent and very cheap. Clothing also costs very little. The currency of the country are small cowries (*caragoi*), which come from Manila, and for one *paolo* one gets up to one thousand, from which you can appreciate how low the prices are, and whole ships come from Manila carrying them.⁹⁷ I took with me fifteen sacks, which lasted me three years and I had two servants.

In Siam, business is very great [37r.], both with regard to local goods and those from abroad, which come from all of India and China and all parts of the world. There are two considerable and secure ports in that

⁹⁵ A silver coinage minted during the papacy of Paul III (1534-9), which became a standard adopted in other Italian states – especially in the Tuscan Grand Duchy where, divided into eight *crasie*, it was the monetary unit until the end of the eighteenth century. The eighteenth-century *Carteggio di Pietro e di Alessandro Verri*, E. GREPPI e A. GIULINI (dir.), Milano, A Giuffrè, 1910-, parte 2, p. 200 states ‘Con dieci paoli al giorno posso comodamente vivere’, i.e. with ten *paoli* a day one can live satisfactorily.

⁹⁶ Cf. Morelli’s observations, see HALIKOWSKI SMITH, ‘Floating clergy’, pp. 364-5; Jean-Baptiste PALLEGOIX, *Description du Royaume Thai ou Siam: comprenant la topographie, histoire naturelle, mœurs et coutumes, législation, commerce, industrie, langue, littérature, religion, annales des Thai et précis historique de la mission: avec cartes et gravures*, Paris, Au profit de la mission de Siam, 1854, vol. 2, p. 74.

⁹⁷ LA LOUBÈRE, also referring to Navarrete, confirms that the cowries were brought ‘from the coasts of India and Manila’ as well as the Maldives, *A New Historical Relation*, part II, p. 73, & ill. p. 72 ff. ‘Cori shell serveing for Mony seen severall ways in its natural size’. Reginald S. LE MAY confirms that they were used for ‘small change’, legally established at 800 to the *füang* (a brass coin), *Coinage of Siam*, Bangkok, Siam Society, 1932, pp. 97-8, §1. The local currency in Ayutthaya was Pod Duang coinage which was round-shaped, with long, sharp and pointed tips of legs and large holes between the legs. Excavations in Ayutthaya suggest that Japanese and Chinese coins were also in circulation in the seventeenth century, see Patipat PUMONGPHET, ‘Les fouilles archéologiques dans Mu Ban Portuget sur le site de São Pedro’, in Jacq-Hergoualc’h, *Phra Narai, roi de Siam et Louis XIV*, Paris, Association Française d’Action Artistique, 1986, p. 26, and Anek SIHAMAT, ‘Excavation of the Dutch United East India Company (V.O.C.) Historic site at Ayutthaya’, in Dhiravat na Pombejra ed. *Proceedings of the International Symposium Crossroads of Thai and Dutch history*, Bangkok, SEAMEO-SPAFA, 2007, pp. 401-17.

kingdom: one is in the [interior], but when the water is scarce they only proceed as far as Bangkok twenty miles distant from Siam, where the French have built a great fortress and are based. But they were chased out by the priest[s?] of this king for having been too close to that famous Constance, who had such belief in his fortune that as a private party he arrived at the highest post in that kingdom, namely to be Barcaron, which is to say judge and superintendant of all the foreign nations and Generalissimo of the Siamese army, which commanded [37v] also French and Portuguese soldiers. From whence it was wondered whether he wanted to usurp the kingdom with the help of the French, with whom he was strictly joined in friendship, and who were 800 in Bangkok and 600 in Mergui, from which this persecution started against the French. But then he was miserably killed, his wife and children are presently slaves of the King, and I have spoken several times with them.⁹⁸ The King of France gave instructions to the Compagnie des Indes that the said consort of Constance Phaulkon be given a thousand pieces of eight, the said Constance having both sent immense fortunes to France and given to the Jesuit fathers. Next to the seaboard there is a large port, called Amsterdam, where the Dutch have houses [38r.] and warehouses.⁹⁹ The sea there is very safe because the bottom is all sand and mud.

The other port is Mergui on the other sea towards Pegù and Bengal on a very great river which is apparently navigable, and where large ships ply up to Tonaceri [Tenasserim], a city which is the capital of the Kingdom of Tenaceri, where there is a Viceroy, placed by the King of Siam to govern

⁹⁸ Maria Guyomar de Pinha was enslaved until Phetracha's death in 1703: Guy TACHARD reproduced a letter written by Mme. Phaulkon to Fr. De la Breuille, dated 1 January 1696, *Relation de voyage*, 192v-194r. Ten years later, she was lobbying the French Compagnie des Indes to return the money the company owed to her late husband, see her 'Letter of 20 June 1706', from a Latin original once at the state archives on the Quai d'Orsay, Paris, but moved in 1995 to A.N.O.M. in Aix en Provence, repr. in SIAM SOCIETY, *Selected Articles from the Siam Society Journal*, vol. 8 'Relationship with France, England and Denmark', Bangkok, Siam Society, 1959, pp. 159-89. She was later vindicated via a decree from the Council of State in France, which provided her with a maintenance allowance, Michael SMITHIES, *Three Military Accounts of the 1688 'Revolution' in Siam by Lieutenant General Desfarges, De La Touche, and J.V. des Verquains*, Bangkok, Orchid Press, 2008, p. 180.

⁹⁹ The Dutch referred to it as a large warehouse, or *Pakhuys*. One of the fullest descriptions is left us in the Journal of Gijsbert Heeck, kept between 16 November 1654 and 18 October 1655, recently published as *A Traveller in Siam in the year 1655. Extracts from the journal of Gijsbert Heeck*, trans. Barend Jan TERWIEL, Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 2008. For more information about the Pakhuys Amsterdam, see Alfons VAN DER KRAAN, 'On Company Business. The Rijkloff van Goens mission to Siam, 1650', in *Itinerario*, 22, 2 (1998), p. 84, fn. 93.

that kingdom in particular, and which earlier belonged to the King of Pegu and was then acquired by the King of Siam.

In Siam, in other words the capital of the kingdom, where the King resides, every year between 20 and 25 *Ciampari* come from the cities of China, that is to say partly from Canton and partly from Lochius,¹⁰⁰ with all the Chinese merchandise of all types. One of those ships, although not so large as our ships, still manages to carry more than ours; when [38v.] I went to Manila there were more than 460 men on board. There also come every year ships from Tunkin, from Cochinchina with their own products consisting of silk cloth, sails of silk, and lacquer objects (*lavori di vernice*). The Muslims, Persians and Armenians come every year from different and great places like Surat, Bengal, Persia, with all the products of those lands consisting of white cloths, painted canvases and other materials. Furthermore, every year the Dutch come twice from Batavia with four ships, more to take merchandise from their warehouses and factories than to sell, carrying with them few goods. From Madraspatnam come the English, Armenians and Portuguese, who to all regard take with them the goods from that coast and from Tranquebar where the Danes are congregated, but for [39r.] the large part they go to the port of Mergui and not Siam. The Portuguese travel there every year with private vessels from all parts, from Macao, from Timor, from Melaka, from Batavia, from Madras, from Bengal, from São Thomé, from Manila and other places. Every year, moreover, two Siamese ships travel to Japan, from where they transport all the merchandise of that kingdom, consisting in silks, golden porcelains, decorated with both gold and silver filigree, very beautiful woollen goods

¹⁰⁰ Probably the Lochac of Marco Polo, see *The Travels of Marco Polo*, London, J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., repr. 1950, chapter VIII, pp. 335-6. This was commonly associated with the capital of Cambodia which was known as Loech (Lovek) to priests like Gaspar de Cruz (O.P.), C.R. BOXER (dir.), *South China in the sixteenth century (1550-1575)*, London: Hakluyt Society, 1953, pp. 78-9. The second anonymous reviewer of this book, however, disagrees with this interpretation: s/he sees it rather as the Ryukyu islands, known to the Portuguese as Lequeos, Loo Choo Islands to the English, and 'Liu Chiu' in Chinese. The problem with this reading would be that trade between the Ryukyus and Ayutthaya stopped by the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, when the Japanese Lord of Satsuma took over these islands, Piyada CHONLAWORN, 'Relations between Ayutthaya and Ryukyu', *Journal of the Siam Society*, 92, 2004, pp. 43-63.

decorated with gold, copper, very fine lacquer work, that is to say chests, drawers and boxes and desks and other things from that realm.¹⁰¹

From all of this it is easy to recognise the great business that is done there, as everyone supplies themselves not only with the goods of the country, but of all the mentioned nations and ports, and moreover what is most important is that they can be had[39v.] at a very good price. So that before the way to China was opened, all Europeans and other nationalities went there to supply themselves with sugar, porcelain and silk cloth of all sorts, and now so too many Indians, Armenians and Persians go there so as to sell them on in their countries so that, beyond their own merchandise and that of China, Japan, Tonkin and Cochinchina, there is also wool from Pegù and Cambodia. The precious stones of Pegù consist of rubies, topazes and sapphires, Chinese gold, gold from Japan and Sumatra, which is normally sold at the following price: one ounce of gold for eight or nine of silver. The sandalwood of Timor, the gum benjamin of Laos and Sumatra, the mastic of Cambodia, the camphor of Borneo, the ambergris of the Nicobar islands [40r.], all kinds of drugs from Manila, the nutmeg, pepper, cloves and cinnamon of the Dutch, the ginger and rhubarb from various other parts. The merchandise of the country consists furthermore in ivory, tin, brass, [Indian] saffron, their own cinnamon alongside their own drugs, calamite storax,¹⁰² rhinoceros meat, and unicorn meat (this is extremely rare), eaglewood, which is more perfect than aloe wood, calambac wood¹⁰³,

¹⁰¹ Cima is referring to the annual Siamese copper fleet which primarily sought Japanese copper and represented both King and private merchants, VIRAPHOL, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1. This was independent of the two VOC East Indiamen allowed annually to travel to Deshima, a run which was discontinued in 1715 in favour of Batavia, E.M. Jacobs, *Merchant in Asia: the trade of the Dutch East India Company during the eighteenth century*, Leiden, C.N.W.S. Publications, 2006, p. 213. The fame of Japanese craftsmanship was still retained in the early nineteenth century Thai poem, which refers to the Japanese as being *chang di*, or skilled craftsmen, *Prachum Charuk Wat Phrachetuphon (Collected Inscriptions of Wat Phrachetuphon)*, Bangkok, the Royal Academy of Siam, B.E. 2472 = 1929), vol. 2, pp. 483-4.

¹⁰² A brilliant, resinous, solid substance, although dense, composed of white and reddish lumps; it possesses a rather acrid, strong smell, see Jacques SAVARY DES BRÛLONS, *Dizionario di commercio dei fratelli Savary, che comprende la cognizione delle Merci d'ogni Paese*, Venice, Giambatista Pasquali, 1770-71, vol. IV, pp. 199-200.

¹⁰³ A type of agarwood or dark resinous heartwood which forms in *Aquilaria* and *Gyrinops* trees. Gaspar da Cruz O.P. noted its export from Champa, BOXER, *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 59; it was exported to places like the Chinese court, as noted by the Confucian poet Ch'en Wei-sung (1626-1682), see John E. WILLS, *Embassies and illusions. Dutch and Portuguese envoys to Kang-hsi, 1666-1687*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard East Asian monographs, 1984, p. 81. 'Unicorn meat', although one might be assume it a construct redolent of medieval *livres de merveille*, was a common term of reference for rhinoceri, see for example the list of presents sent from Madras to Emperor Farrakhsiyar in Delhi in 1715, C.R. WILSON (dir.), *The Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, vol. 2, pt. 2, pp. 46-7.

which is called 'la Calamba', camphor wood and other precious and odoriferous woods. Ebony and soapwood are here in great supplies and at a very low price; this serves to colour wood, like Brazil wood, and is worth 200 *lire* more than 4 *paoli* and for comestibles ships are sent to Sumatra, Manila, Massawa. Elephants are to be had for a very low price [40v.] of 25, 30 or 40 *scudi*, but 200 *scudi* are levied on each beast to be paid to the King to take them out of the kingdom. A ship in Mergui loaded in my time 24 beasts, and they are sold along the Coromandel coast, at best in Masulipatam for 1200 to 1400 *scudi*, and each year a great number of elephants are exported, the Mogul ruler and his nobles delighting in these beasts. For the transport another 200 *scudi* has to be paid annually. The King of Siam sends [for goods] every year from Mergui to Tennasserim by river and then by land and thus into Siam; these merchants transport from Mergui victuals, wine, rice, oil for Sumatra, with a two or three-fold profit. Very little European merchandise goes this way, being of very low value, that being said there is good profit to be had in false stones [41r.] and in crowns.

The King of Siam and Pegù do not have subjects but slaves, and they are treated as such. The King of Siam maintains that the King of Cambodia is his subject, who sends him every year a white elephant, which is served upon and treated as if it were a sacred and divine thing. It eats and drinks from silverware, and the nobility serve upon it, indeed greeting it and heaping reverences upon it.¹⁰⁴ The King of Jork [Johor] and Kedah [in] Malaya send both roses and golden roses every year as a token of their subjection, one of each, which is brought to the King in a great ceremony.¹⁰⁵

The Siamese are a slothful and lazy people, who do not work much, but delight in selling and buying, and all the vegetables and fruits for sale are those that do not require too much work. Nails [41v.] and ironware are brought in from elsewhere, nor even are shoes produced here, but are brought in from the coast of Malabar and Bengal.

In Siam, slaves are not to be had so cheaply as in Bengal or the cities of Malabar, but anyone who goes into debt however small remains a slave of his creditor until he pays off the debt, and if the debt is of some size, then the wife and children of the debtor are also enslaved. I liberated the

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Guy TACHARD, *Voyage de Siam des pères jésuites*, vol. I, pp. 230-33.

¹⁰⁵ These are *bunga mas dan perak*, or golden and silver flowers (actually trees) of tribute, *GENERALE MISSIVEN Van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII Der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, ed. Willem Philippus Coolhaas, The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960-2004, vol. IV, letter of 29 April 1681, p. 439.

enslaved wife of a Christian Portuguese for 60 Ticals, which amounts to 33 pieces of gold.¹⁰⁶

In this realm, the French wanted to establish a fort and they already had two: one in Bangkok, and the other [42r.] in Mergui, and they wanted to build another in Porto di Ciaija.¹⁰⁷ But, wanting it too much and interfering in the government of the realm, the Collegio Grande was destroyed, which the French Jesuits in Lubò [Louvo] possessed¹⁰⁸, and the French

¹⁰⁶ Bonded labour to pay off debts, via a line of inheritance, judicial punishment, sale by parents / husband/ by one's own hand, or as a result of kidnap was fairly common in Siam. Franciscans and Augustinians actively sought to redeem slaves through payment, or direct intercession with the monarch, while the ever self-interested Jesuits provided loans. Achilles MEERSMAN, 'The Franciscans in Junk-Ceylon, Kedah and Mergui', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 1963, 56 (4), pp. 439-62; HALIKOWSKI SMITH, *Creolization and Diaspora in the Portuguese Indies*, 198; Maurice COLLIS, *The Land of the Great Image: being experiences of Friar Manrique in Arakan*, London, Faber & Faber, 1946, p. 140.

¹⁰⁷ It is not clear what Cima means. It is probably Junk Ceylon, or Phuket, to which General Desfarges did indeed sally forth in the latter part of 1689 from Pondicherry with 332 men and an idea of restoring French control, hoping to 'frighten the Siamese into reconciliation by a show of force', *Generale Missiven*, vol. V, letter of March 14, 1690, p. 362. A controversial meeting was called by Desfarges in Pondicherry on 6 February 1689 in which Martin advocated rather taking Mergui as more useful to the company. But Véret, Engineer De la Mare and General Desfarges prevailed, drawn by Phuket's wealth. HUTCHINSON, *Adventurers in Siam*, p. 180. What happened thereafter Hutchinson has described as an 'anti-adventure': Desfarges changed his mind, decided to release his Siamese hostages, and return to France via Balassor and Negrais, Michael SMITHIES, *A Resounding Failure. Martin and the French in Siam, 1672-1693*, Chiang Mai, Silkworm Books, 1998, p. 120; more generally DHIRAVAT NA POMBEJRA, 'Towards an "autonomous" history of seventeenth century Phuket', in Chris BAKER e Sunait CHUTINTARANOND (dir.), *Recalling Local Pasts. Autonomous History in Southeast Asia*, Chiang Mai: Silkworm Books, 2002, pp. 89-126. Phuket remained a failure in the 1690s, both in terms of a mission field, as the Spanish missionary Nicholas Tolentino's reports attest (Adrien LAUNAY, *Histoire de la Mission de Siam, 1662-1811. Documents historiques*, Paris, P. Tequi, 1920, vol. 2, p. 97; DHIRAVAT `Ayutthaya at the end of the seventeenth century: was there a shift to isolation?', p. 267; Dirk VAN DER CRUYSE, *Louis XIV et le Siam*, Paris, Fayard, 1991, p. 84) and because of the threats of Panglima Kulup, 'a renowned sea pirate' in 1691-2, *Generale Missiven*, vol. V, 'Letter of 31 January 1692', p. 471.

There is, however, the possibility Cima is speaking of Singhora / Songhkla near Patani. John Keay writes that the prospect of building a fort and a free port at Singhora was offered the French as 'an equivalent to Bombay with a French garrison and full sovereignty', John Keay, *The Honourable Company. A History of the English East India Company*, HarperCollins, London, 1993, pp. 199, 203. The Chaumont embassy had indeed obtained the rights to this commercial port, BAKER & CHUTINTARANOND, *Recalling Local Pasts*, p. 121. However, the French were put off by its distance from Ayutthaya, nor were Phuket or Ligor more attractive propositions, HUTCHINSON, *Adventurers in Siam*, 1940, pp. 119-20. Phonetically, the most similar place name is Chaiya on the west coast of the Gulf of Siam.

¹⁰⁸ This would have been the Jesuit college with an observatory on the roof, as described by Le Père Fontancy S.J. in the mid-1680s, Henri BERNARD, 'Le voyage du Père [Jean de] Fontancy', in *Bulletin de l'Université Aurore*, 3, 2, 1942, pp. 257-62, and not the Collegio delle Nationi, which was a French school at the heart of the camp St. Joseph in Ayutthaya, 'Letter of Lambert de la Motte to François Pallu, dated October 1667', A.M.E.P., vol. 857 (1), fol. 221.

were chased out of both of their strongholds and fortresses, as is written above, and in the Portuguese camp there was nothing to report, neither with the Dominican fathers, nor with the Portuguese Jesuits, nor any of the laymen, nor Dutch, nor Christian Peguans and to the other nations there was no harm done whatsoever, which leads me to say that the persecution was purely political and had to do with the said Constance Phaulkon, and had nothing to do with religion, as others have noted.¹⁰⁹

And thus Siam remains a considerable place of great importance for learning [42v.] and study and for continuous practising of the languages and rites of those nations, and to have all the merchandise and rare things from all parts of the world, and for the great liberty that anyone can enjoy there.

Therefore, as such a secure and useful place, I humbly beseech the prudence of this Most Serene Senate to try to establish a foothold [there] and [found] a place to settle; which I have already tried to do with respect to the Italians around that king¹¹⁰, [he] desiring an increase of trade and to have every nation there. I am more than certain that he will easily concede everything, especially if we send one or two ambassadors [43r.], who will be received with the greatest affection,¹¹¹ and I am more than certain that this Most Serene Senate and this entire Serene Republic will offer up to God a thousand thanks and blessings for having undertaken such a resolution’.

All ambassadors who go there are received with great keenness and affection and are always cared for out of the public cost of the realm, as much for their stay there as for their outgoing voyage, and this is also the practice with the King of Pegù, the Emperor of China, and almost all those Indian kings have the same custom.

¹⁰⁹ Dirk VAN DER CRUYSE considers that J.-B. Maldonado S.J. avoided the the ‘rage (*furor*) of the Siamese’, which ‘found vent in imprisonment, blows, defilement, and every form of insult, indignity (*ad omnem ignominiam coniectas*) which was levelled against the French’ because he was thought to be Portuguese, *Siam and the West, 1500-1700*, Chiang Mai: Silk-worm Books, 2002, p. 460, fn. 7. Other testimonies like the ‘Succinct Account of what occurred in the kingdom of Siam in 1688’, see *Witness to a Revolution: Siam 1688*, Michael Smithies (dir.), Bangkok, Siam Society, 2004, pp. 124-34, suggest that the bearing of arms by the Portuguese community was forbidden, and *mestiço* progeny summarily enslaved.

¹¹⁰ Unclear whom Cima is referring to. The Franciscan missionary Giovan Battista Morelli made a fleeting visit in 1706, HALIKOWSKI SMITH, ‘Floating’ European Clergy in Siam’, p. 374.

¹¹¹ This was definitely not the case on Guy Tachard’s visit in 1687 or 1699, although on the second occasion Tachard did make it as far as Ayutthaya and was even received by the King although purely out of formality and with obvious resentment.

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Manuel Vicente Nunes (1711-c.1775),
Primeiro-Construtor do Arsenal Real –
Design e Arquitectura Naval no reinado de D. José I

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Resumo

Manuel Vicente Nunes é, sem dúvida, uma das figuras mais importantes da História Naval portuguesa do século XVIII, pelos vários aspectos que marcaram a sua vida e obra. Por um lado, é o representante das alterações do estatuto social dos construtores, na sua gradual ascensão socioprofissional, desde o simples carpinteiro ao título de Primeiro Construtor. Por outro lado, a sua obra pauta-se por um *design* particular, que esteve na base da produção de navios de guerra em Portugal e no Brasil e que o torna distinto da maior parte da produção naval europeia do século XVIII, apesar das tendências generalizadas para a uniformização.

Palavras-chave: Construção naval, design naval, História Naval, século XVIII

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Abstract

Manuel Vicente Nunes is without doubt, one of the most important shipbuilders of Portuguese 18th century Naval History, regarding the several aspects that marked his life and work. On one hand, he is the perfect example of the changes in the shipbuilder's social status, and the gradual rise from mere Carpenter to the rank of First constructor. On the other hand, his work is guided by a particular design, which was at the base of warships construction in Portugal and in Brazil, and distinct from most of European 18th-century naval production, despite the widespread trend to uniformity

Keywords: Naval shipbuilding, naval design, Naval History, 18th century

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C'est dans cette partie [Architecture navale] que les Portugais se sont toujours distingués, [...] aussi tous les connaisseurs étrangers et nationaux s'accordent-ils à dire que les vaisseaux portugais sont remarquables surtout par l'élégance de la coupe, la solidité de la construction et la célérité de leur marche.

Adrien Balbi, 1822

Introdução

Não obstante o significativo progresso da História Naval e Marítima Portuguesa que se tem observado nas últimas décadas, a vastidão do tema constitui uma área que, para além da sua excepcional importância, particularmente para os países de língua portuguesa, se encontra ainda por desbravar. Tal circunstância torna-se sobretudo evidente para alguns períodos menos aprofundados, como o dos finais do século XVII e inícios do XVIII, que nos encontramos a estudar. Por outro lado, entre os trabalhos desenvolvidos, são ainda raros os que tratam dos fenómenos mais específicos da Construção Naval e, em particular, dos seus autores, aqueles que, muitas vezes ignorados ou esquecidos pelo tempo, estão na base da grande aventura que permitiu o contacto entre continentes e culturas. Como já em 1890 relatava o escritor Ramalho Ortigão: «Faliu a ciência das construções navais, que lançou ao mar, dos estaleiros do Tejo e de Goa, para a travessia de todas as águas do Mundo, as naus, galeões e bergantins dos séculos XV, XVI e XVII, tão maravilhosas de elegância e de arquitectura [...] Não há um livro que celebre essa grandiosa escola de construtores navais, que eram ao mesmo tempo escultores e marinheiros...». Mais de um século

* Este texto constitui-se como uma versão amplamente revista e aumentada de alguns estudos prévios sobre este construtor naval: Nuno SALDANHA, «Manuel Vicente Nunes (1711-1771), Primeiro Construtor da Ribeira das Naus – Subsídios para a História do Design e Construção Naval do século XVIII em Portugal», in *A Cidade do Tejo – História, Vida e Imaginário – COLÓQUIO*, Sala do Arquivo/Paços do Concelho, 13 Nov. 2014, e *idem*, «Manuel Vicente Nunes (1711-c.1775) – Subsídios para a História da Construção e Arquitectura Naval do século XVIII em Portugal», in *Navigador*, vol. 12, n.º 23, Junho 2016.

depois, oportunamente, Augusto Salgado volta a salientar que «o elemento humano é algo que falta estudar na História da Marinha Portuguesa»¹.

Apesar das resistências, e da lentidão das inovações, os estaleiros do século XVIII não deixam de se organizar como centros de experiência e inovação técnica da construção naval, no tocante quer ao próprio navio, quer ao desenvolvimento de equipamentos, estruturas e máquinas, usados no fabrico, lançamento e manutenção dos mesmos. O aperfeiçoamento das práticas de construção naval, ao longo do século, levou a que as soluções em termos da arquitectura naval fossem as mais adequadas, de acordo com cada aspecto e função específicos dos navios, tendo em conta as diversas condições naturais a que se tinham de sujeitar durante as viagens.

Dado que o navio tem estado no centro das atenções de grande parte dos estudos efectuados, naturalmente dele dependente, coloca-se a questão da autoria, sendo portanto o Construtor o elemento-chave nos processos de construção e o elo entre estaleiro e produto final.

Trata-se de uma matéria de especial relevância, dado que, até ao momento, para além de algumas alusões a meia dúzia de mestres, pouco ou nada se sabe da vida, formação ou de grande parte da obra por eles produzida. O estudo do trabalho desenvolvido pelos construtores possibilitará, ao mesmo tempo, uma compreensão mais adequada da evolução qualitativa da Armada portuguesa, suas estratégias e operacionalidade, bem como a evolução de estatuto que se opera durante o século XVIII, ou seja, do Mestre Carpinteiro ao Engenheiro Naval, passando pelo Mestre Construtor, Primeiro-Construtor e Engenheiro Construtor. Esta só se poderá concretizar, depois de devidamente identificados e datados os respectivos estatutos e origens sociais de cada um deles.

Uma das poucas figuras mencionadas a respeito da autoria de alguns navios é, precisamente, Manuel Vicente Nunes (1711-c.1775), de quem quase nada se sabia. Neste sentido, esta pesquisa visa trazer a lume aquele que estreou o cargo de «Primeiro-Construtor» e deu início a um novo processo de ensino e metodologia da construção e do *design* naval em Portugal. Com resultados que se estenderam ao Norte da Europa e além-Atlântico, traçou diferentes planos de navios na Sala do Risco, como se refere na época, formando importantes discípulos (como Torcato José Clavina, Julião Pereira de Sá ou Manuel da Costa). Mais que o mero autor

¹ Augusto A. Alves SALGADO, «A Importância de Elementos Estrangeiros no Ressurgimento da Marinha Portuguesa no Século XVIII», in *Actas do XXI Colóquio de História Militar*, Lisboa, Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2013, p. 306.



1 Geoffrey Hunt, *Chegada da Família Real ao Rio de Janeiro em 7 de Março de 1808*, óleo s/ tela, 1999. Col. particular. Em primeiro plano, a *Príncipe Real*, tendo à direita a *Afonso de Albuquerque*.

dos planos da nau que levou D. João VI para o Brasil em 1807 (Fig.1), a famosa *N.ª S.ª da Conceição/Príncipe Real*, Manuel Vicente Nunes teve um papel fundamental no desenvolvimento na construção e na arquitectura naval, como pretendemos demonstrar. Para além dos planos que desenhou para os estaleiros de Lisboa, importa realçar que esses foram também utilizados nos navios construídos no Brasil, saídos dos estaleiros do Pará, da Bahia e do Rio de Janeiro. Outra circunstância que o estudo deste mestre construtor nos revela, e de especial relevo – dado Vicente Nunes trabalhar para diferentes estaleiros (marítimos e navais) –, é a estreita relação entre a construção militar/estatal e a comercial/particular.

Não queremos deixar de expressar os nossos agradecimentos a Larrie Ferreira, ao Comandante Augusto A. Salgado e ao Prof. Fernando Carvalho Rodrigues, pelo apoio, esclarecimentos ou indicações prestadas, bem como ao nosso colega Arq.º Fernando Martins, pelos desenhos do esquema comparativo dos navios de 3.ª Classe aqui reproduzido.

1. Do estaleiro da Boa Vista à Ribeira das Naus

Apesar de ainda escassos os dados biográficos apurados sobre este mestre, o presente trabalho permite desde já esboçar uma síntese representativa da sua vida, com bastante informação inédita que consideramos ser relevante para o seu conhecimento.

Nascido na Rua dos Mastros, na freguesia de Santos o Velho, em Lisboa, a 10 de Junho de 1711, e baptizado no dia seguinte², era filho do carpinteiro Vicente Nunes (natural de Azambuja) e de sua mulher, Maria Madalena (Lisboa, freguesia da Madalena), que malgradadamente não sobreviveu ao parto³. Era neto de Domingos Francisco e Joana Nunes (pai), e de Manuel Nunes Coelho e Petornilha Marcea (mãe). Pelo que sabemos, a família da mãe seria de condição modesta⁴, dado que o avô materno era mestre sapateiro, natural de Unhos, com loja na Rua da Padeiria (à Madalena), tendo ido para o Brasil, fugido de credores, onde faleceu.

Diferente se regista a ascendência paterna, mais numerosa e de diversa condição, natural da vila de Azambuja. Não é naturalmente estranho que Manuel Vicente Nunes seja proveniente de uma família de carpinteiros, ascendência que remonta pelo menos até ao avô paterno, Domingos Francisco. Os dois filhos deste último, Vicente Nunes e António Nunes, seguiram as pegadas do pai, enquanto os sobrinhos viviam em Coruche, sendo Irmãos da Misericórdia daquela vila. Um dos filhos de António Nunes (tio do nosso construtor) chegou mesmo a formar-se em Coimbra, vindo a exercer Medicina.

Segundo as testemunhas do processo de habilitação à Ordem de Santiago⁵, os irmãos viviam em Azambuja, junto ao rio, sendo carpinteiros de

² ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO [ANTTT] – Registos Paroquiais. Lisboa, Santos. Livro de Baptismos N.º 11, fl. 112v: «Aos onze de Junho de mil e sete centos e onze Baptizou o d.o Pe Thez.o de licença minha a M.el filho leg.o de Vicente Nunes n.al da Villa da Azambuja e de M.a Magdalena já defunta n.al da Freg.a da Magdalena desta Cid.e m.res na Rua dos Mastros foy Padr.o Franc.o Roiz. m.or na Freg.a da Magdalena de q. fiz este acento dia mes e anno ut. supra. O Pr.o Manuel Pinto de Faria. O Pe Thzr.o Franc.co Frz Sobreyra.»

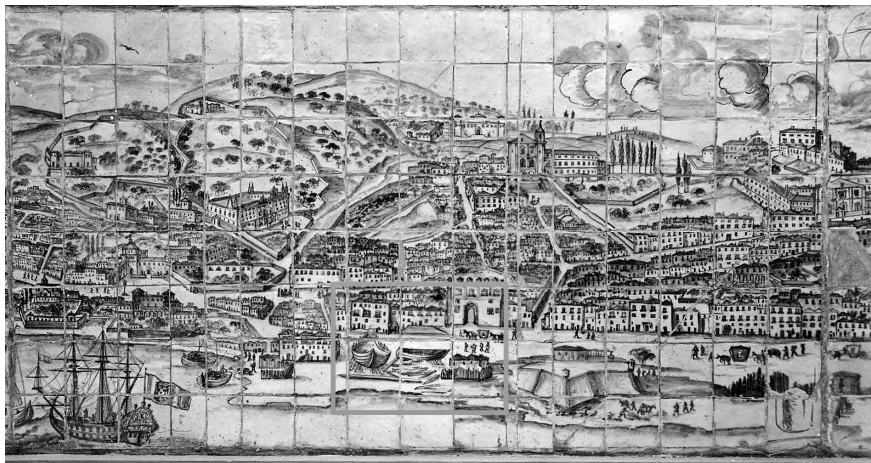
³ [ANTTT] – Registos Paroquiais. Lisboa, Santos. Livro de Óbitos N.º 2, fl. 55 v: «Aos dez de Junho de mil e sette centos e onze faleceo com todos os sacram.os Maria Magdalena casada com Vicente Nunes m.ra na Rua dos Mastros não fez testam.to e foi sep.da nesta Igra.de q. fiz este assento dia mez anno ut sup.a o Par.o Manoel Pinto de Faria.»

⁴ Esta ascendência do lado materno, «may e avo materna mulheres de Segunda condição», para além da condição de «oficiais mecânicos», do lado paterno, levou precisamente a que se tivessem levantado objecções à sua entrada na Ordem de Santiago, em 1757.

⁵ Grande parte das informações biográficas sobre a família de Manuel Vicente Nunes encontra-se no processo de habilitação à Ordem de Santiago. [ANTTT]. *Chancelaria Ordem de Santiago*, Letras N a Z, Livro C 740.

barcos e navios que construía, e também calafetavam, associando assim o ofício de carpinteiro de machado ao de oficial de calafate. Mesmo depois de estabelecido em Lisboa, continuou a visitar o irmão na terra natal, «onde fazia seus bateis com que se divertia com elle, e outros amigos pello rio».

O pai de Manuel Vicente Nunes veio ainda criança para Lisboa, onde aprendeu o «ofício de carpinteiro de naus», no qual terá tido bastante sucesso, uma vez que se alude ao facto de os pais serem abastados e de ter montado um estaleiro próprio, com diversos oficiais, na Boa Vista. Ali se fabricavam vários tipos de embarcações, se vendiam madeiras para concerto de outras, bem como se calafetava, dadas as diferentes aptidões do mestre. Foi precisamente aqui, neste estaleiro à beira-Tejo, que se formou o jovem Manuel, tanto no ofício de carpinteiro do machado, como no de mestre calafate. Cremos que este estaleiro é o que se pode observar no célebre painel de azulejos com uma *Vista de Lisboa*, de Gabriel del Barco, dos inícios do século XVIII, actualmente no Museu Nacional do Azulejo (Fig. 2). Efectivamente, a poente do Baluarte e da Porta do Pó, na zona sul do actual Conde-Barão (travessa e rua Cais do Tojo), observa-se nitidamente um estaleiro que podemos identificar como sendo o da família Nunes. Assim, perto da casa dos pais, na Rua dos Mastro, se formou Manuel Vicente, vindo a exercer aí a actividade principal até 1742. Nesta data, contando 31 anos de idade, aparece-nos já referenciado com Carta de Serventia como Mestre (carpinteiro?), na Ribeira das Naus (futuros Arsenais Reais).



2 Estaleiro Nunes à Boa-Vista. Gabriel del Barco, *Grande Panorama de Lisboa* (porm.), azulejo, c. 1700, Museu Nacional do Azulejo, Lisboa.

A década de 40 não nos aporta grandes dados sobre a vida ou trabalhos de Nunes, para além de se ter casado. Prossegue com a superintendência do estaleiro herdado do pai, à Boa Vista, e terá certamente desenvolvido e aprofundado a sua formação na Ribeira das Naus, sob a direcção do então construtor naval, o inglês William Warden, já por nós identificado oportunamente⁶.

Em 1748 executa uma ponte de madeira de 114 palmos (c. 25m), provavelmente sobre barcas (sobre o rio dos Frades, rio Quente ou rio da Albufeira), no sítio do Arelho, no «espaço de hua noute». Primeira obra conhecida ao serviço do rei, ela serviu para passagem das carruagens e cavalgaduras da comitiva real às Caldas da Rainha, por ocasião da 13.^a jornada de D. João V àquela vila, a 24 de Setembro, após as obras de ampliação do Hospital Real do ano anterior. Além disto, construiu também pequenas embarcações, como os «12 saveiros por ordem de S. Mag.^{dc} p.^a andarem no sítio do Arelho aonde foi 14 vezes p.^a os por prontos».

Nesse mesmo ano, foi mandado à cidade do Porto, pelo então secretário de Estado de Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, António Guedes Pereira, para preparar (armar?) e escolher uma nau para a carreira da Índia⁷, trazida para Lisboa e comandada pelo próprio Manuel Vicente, conforme atesta, tendo custeado a despesa da jornada⁸.

A viragem para a segunda metade do século, já com o advento do reinado de D. José, é marcada pela fase mais importante e produtiva da carreira, associada a uma correspondente ascensão social e profissional.

Passado pouco mais de um ano, após a elevação do novo monarca D. José ao trono de Portugal, a 22 de Novembro de 1751, é lançada ao Tejo a nau *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e S. José* (1751-1764), o primeiro navio de linha construído por Manuel Vicente Nunes ao serviço da Coroa⁹.

⁶ Nuno SALDANHA, «Manuel Vicente Nunes (1711-c.1771), Primeiro Construtor da Ribeira das Naus – Subsídios para a História do *Design* e Construção Naval do século XVIII em Portugal», in *A Cidade do Tejo – História, Vida e Imaginário – COLÓQUIO*, Lisboa, Sala do Arquivo/Paços do Concelho, 13 Nov. 2014.

⁷ Poderá tratar-se da *Nossa Senhora do Vencimento e S. José* (1748-1764), nau de guerra de 58 peças que partiu para a Índia, a 1 de Abril de 1748, ou de uma «nau de viagem», armada para o efeito?

⁸ [ANTT], Registo Geral de Mercês D. José I, Liv. 11, fol. 519-519v.

⁹ Diversamente do que foi apontado, por Esparteiro (depois seguido por outros autores), Manuel Vicente não foi o construtor da nau *Nossa Senhora Madre de Deus e Santo António*, de 1740, dado que por essa data era Warden quem tinha essa responsabilidade, e porque o próprio Nunes não a menciona no inventário de obras em 1757 (António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *Três séculos no Mar, 1640-1910*, II Parte, 3.^o vol., Lisboa, Ministério da Marinha, 1976, p. 23).

Trata-se nitidamente de uma nau de guerra da classe «74»¹⁰, muito admirada em Lisboa, conforme constava na época, e de bom governo e bolineiro, segundo Marques Esparteiro¹¹. Como refere Larry Ferreira, o navio de 74 peças, que começara como uma experiência na Marinha francesa em 1730, no espaço de vinte anos torna-se no modelo típico do navio de linha dos ingleses, bem como das outras marinhas europeias¹².

Também nos primeiros anos do reinado de D. José, Manuel Vicente Nunes é enviado ao porto de Cádiz por duas vezes, em 1752 e 1753, por ordem do novo secretário de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar, Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real. Apesar de ainda não esclarecidos os contornos e propósitos destas viagens, este facto poderá revelar-se de grande importância, pois presumimos que esta deslocação esteja relacionada com o corrente hábito de espionagem entre as nações europeias, assunto já estudado por diversos autores. Na verdade, o século XVIII foi marcado pela espionagem industrial em larga escala, por quase todos os países europeus, processo já iniciado por Colbert, em 1670. Dado o particular progresso da Inglaterra setecentista, ela foi frequentemente alvo da visita destes estrangeiros, alguns apenas por simples interesse ou curiosidade, mas tendo como objectivo principal o de rivalizar e superar os desenvolvimentos técnicos e militares ingleses¹³. Naturalmente, também os portos franceses, holandeses e espanhóis foram alvo de semelhante interesse, frequentemente visitados por espias ao serviço das várias coroas.

Um dos casos mais notórios e interessantes é o do espanhol Jorge Juan y Santacilia, cuja acção de espionagem nos estaleiros britânicos – entre Março de 1749 e Maio de 1750, por iniciativa do célebre Marquês de Enseñada – foi de extrema importância para o desenvolvimento da Armada espanhola¹⁴.

¹⁰ Um jovem tenente francês, que a viu em 1755, afirma que tinha 74 peças; Quirino da Fonseca, diz que era guarnecida com 70 (Quirino, 1989, p. 575); e Marques Esparteiro refere apenas 72 peças de artilharia, reduzidas para 60, em 1758, quando entrou ao serviço da Frota do Brasil (Esparteiro, 1974, p. 15).

¹¹ António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *Três séculos no Mar, 1640-1910*, II Parte, 4.º vol., Lisboa, Ministério da Marinha, 1974-1987, p. 15.

¹² Larrie D. FERREIRO, «Spies Versus Prize, Technology Transfer between Navies in The Age of Trafalgar», in *The Mariner's Mirror*, 93,1, Routledge, New York, 2007, p. 27.

¹³ Margaret BRADLEY, *Daniel Lescaillier, 1743-1822, Man of the Sea and Military Spy?: Maritime Developments and French Military Espionage*, Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.

¹⁴ Veja-se António Lafuente GARCÍA e J. Luis PESET, «Política científica y espionaje industrial en los viajes de Jorge Juan y Antonio de Ulloa (1748-1751)», in *Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez*, t. 17, Madrid, 1981, pp. 233-262.

O interesse pela Espanha pode justificar-se, precisamente, pelo período de grandes transformações e desenvolvimento da construção naval, que se estava a desenvolver com a direcção da *Junta de Construcción* por Jorge Juan, a partir de 1752. Por outro lado, Portugal não necessitava de espiar os ingleses que, desde os inícios do século, trabalhavam ao serviço da Coroa como mestres construtores na Ribeira das Naus – de que são exemplo Josiah Radcliff, William Warden ou Francis Warden. Cádis, para além do centro do monopólio do comércio imperial espanhol, tinha, a par de Ferrol, Guarnizo e Cartagena, um dos arsenais mais importantes de Espanha (La Carraca), cujas obras de remodelação e ampliação se iniciam em 1752, dois anos após a chegada dos primeiros técnicos ingleses aliciados por Jorge Juan. Entre eles, contavam-se os famosos construtores de origem irlandesa Matteo e Ignacio Mullan.

Presumivelmente também de 1753 é a *Galeota de D. José*, ou *Galeota Pequena*, pequeno bergantim de recreio para uso da família real, actualmente em exposição no Museu da Marinha em Lisboa, ao lado de outros exemplares do mesmo género. No entanto, a atribuição, quer da autoria do risco quer da construção a Nunes, assim como a decoração (trabalho de talha atribuído ao célebre Silvestre de Faria Lobo [1781-1782]; e pintura decorativa, dos listões dos costados, a Lourenço da Silva Paz [1666-c.1718], sucessor de Bento Coelho da Silveira), não passam de fantasia, sem fundamento documental, face aos evidentes erros de cronologia¹⁵.

2. A carreira no Arsenal Real

Podemos considerar que a «segunda fase» da vida e carreira de Manuel Vicente Nunes é marcada pelo trabalho desenvolvido no novo Arsenal Real da Marinha. Apesar de a construção se ter iniciado apenas em 1757-58, prolongando-se até mais tarde, o facto é que a nova designação da destruída Ribeira das Naus data logo de 1755, por alvará de 14 de Novembro. O próprio Nunes, na sua habilitação à Ordem de Santiago, em 1757, se refere à actividade ali exercida como de mestre dos «Reaes Arsenaes».

Estas duas décadas finais da vida são, sem dúvida, as mais importantes (não obstante o facto de os dados biográficos serem escassos), uma vez que, ao longo destes anos, o mestre produzirá parte significativa da sua

¹⁵ Veja-se Alberto CUTILEIRO, «A vida faustosa das Galeotas Reais. Subsídios para a história das antigas embarcações da Casa Real Portuguesa que se guardam no Museu de Marinha», Comunicação apresentada ao *Centro de Estudos de Marinha* no dia 21 de Abril de 1971. Lisboa, Instituto Hidrográfico, 1973. E *idem. As Galeotas Reais*. Lisboa, Edições Inapa, 1998.

obra, que consta de, pelo menos, oito grandes naus, de 64, 74, e até uma de 90 peças de artilharia – o maior e mais poderoso navio de linha construído no Portugal de Setecentos, a famosa *N.ª S.ª da Conceição/Príncipe Real*.

Com o terramoto de 1755 e a destruição da Ribeira das Naus, é natural que a construção naval tenha entrado numa fase de desaceleração, mormente pela falta de materiais de construção, entretanto desviados para as obras de reedificação da cidade¹⁶ (ou para o novo palácio de N.ª S.ª da Ajuda – conhecido por Paço de Madeira ou Real Barraca), onde a madeira era fundamental, dada a nova tipologia de construção dos chamados «prédios pombalinos».

De facto, só passados dois anos, voltaria a ser lançada ao Tejo uma nova nau, enquanto teríamos de esperar outros cinco para o mesmo suceder com uma fragata. Cremos que deverá datar deste período a construção das três fragatas referidas na habilitação de Vicente Nunes à Ordem de Santiago: «fabricando diversas embarcações p.ª o serviço do d.º Sr. em que entrou huma do lote de 70 pessas duas de quarenta e quatro e hua de 30». Sobre a primeira (*N.ª S.ª da Conceição e São José*), já nos referimos, enquanto estas três últimas, desconhecemos quais sejam, dado não existirem quaisquer referências, até à data, que associem o nome de Nunes ao risco de fragatas. Por outro lado, é provável que as mesmas tenham sido construídas noutros estaleiros, fora de Lisboa, nomeadamente no de São Martinho do Porto, onde Nunes refere ter trabalhado.

Durante a curta vigência de Tomé Joaquim da Costa Corte-Real como secretário de Estado da Marinha (1756-c.1760), e após o degredo de Diogo Mendonça, em Agosto de 1756, o mestre construiu duas naus de 64 peças.

A primeira foi a *N.ª S.ª da Assunção*, lançada ao mar a 25 de Abril de 1757, pela qual sabemos ter recebido de ajudas de custo 198 000 réis (78 000 pela armação, e 120 000 pela botação ao mar)¹⁷, soma apreciável, tendo em conta que o vencimento do «Mestre da Ribeira das Naus», em 1753, era de 200 000 réis.

Em 1759, construiu a *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda e S. Pedro Alcântara*; lançada a 29 de Março¹⁸, é uma das naus mais bem documentadas entre as produzidas pelo construtor. Efectivamente, estamos perante a primeira em que se

¹⁶ Já em 1730, por ocasião das obras do Palácio de Mafra, os construtores da Ribeira das Naus foram fortemente afectados, o que levou à paragem, durante perto de dois anos, da produção de naus nos estaleiros da capital.

¹⁷ ESPARTEIRO, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁸ Chegou a montar 68 e 74 peças. Entrou no novo dique do Arsenal a 28 de Setembro de 1792, e de lá saiu a 8 de Agosto do ano seguinte, rebaptizada como *Princesa da Beira*.

identifica a autoria de Nunes, logo no dia do seu lançamento, como refere, a propósito, a *Gazeta de Lisboa*: «Suas Majestades Fidelísimas e toda a Real Família, vieram quinta feira 29 de Março ao Arsenal desta Cidade para verem lançar ao Mar huma nau de guerra de 68 portas que estava acabada no estaleiro, o que se fez com bom sucesso, com o nome de N. Senhora da Ajuda, e São Pedro de Alcântara; feita pelo Construtor (Portuguez), Manoel Vicente Nunes, e no Domingo antecedente, tinhão ido ver a dita não SS.MM., e AA. Andando por dentro della; e sahindo da Tribuna em que estiveram se embarcarão nos seus Escaleres, e andaram rodeando a dita não no rio»¹⁹. Note-se também, para além da referência já explícita à designação de «Arsenal», a curiosidade de se assinalar a circunstância de o dito construtor ser português, com um toque de orgulho nacional, o que parece ir ao encontro da nova mentalidade do período, bem distinta da do reinado de D. João V, marcada pela presença maioritária de mestres estrangeiros²⁰.

Conhecem-se, pelo menos, duas imagens coevas desta nau (uma gravura e uma pintura, algo fantasiadas, é certo) e uma maquete executada em meados do século XX por Manuel Carrelhas (todas reproduzidas por Esparteiro²¹), ainda hoje existente no Museu da Marinha, assim como um modelo de finais dos anos 70 do século XVIII, oferecido à Igreja da Penha de França, em Lisboa, pelos marinheiros que sobreviveram à catástrofe de 1778.

De facto, parte do que conhecemos deste navio deriva de um infeliz acontecimento que ocorreu durante uma viagem de regresso do Brasil, em Novembro de 1778. A nau sofreu então pesados estragos, cuja descrição foi bastante divulgada nesse mesmo ano; em primeiro lugar, em vários números da *Gazeta de Lisboa*, e depois numa obra de Elias Alexandre e Silva²². De acordo com a promessa feita durante a tempestade, quando chegados a Lisboa, os marinheiros ofereceram a vela grande a *Nossa Senhora da*

¹⁹ *Gazeta de Lisboa*. N.º 14, 5 de Abril de 1759, Lisboa, p. 112.

²⁰ Sobre a construção naval e os mestres deste período, encontramos-nos presentemente a preparar um estudo, a publicar oportunamente.

²¹ António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 61. Belo exemplar de maquete, embora não isenta de alguns erros, por exemplo na figura de proa, dado sabermos que tinha um leão, de acordo com a descrição da tragédia de 1778.

²² *Supplemento à Gazeta de Lisboa*, n.º 14, 6 Nov. 1778, pp. 3-4, *Supplemento...*, n.º 15, 13 Nov. 1778, p. 4, e *Supplemento...*, n.º 18, 1 Out. 1778, p. 4; e Elias Alexandre e SILVA, *Relação ou noticia particular da infeliz viagem da nau de Sua Magestade Fidelíssima Nossa Senhora da Ajuda e S. pedro de Alcantara, do Rio de Janeiro para a cidade de Lisboa*, Lisboa, Regia Officina Typográfica, 1778 (reed. Imprensa Nacional, 1869).

Bonança da Igreja de Santos, e um modelo da nau, bem como o resto do pau do traquete, à Igreja de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França, onde foram colocados na *Casa do Navio*, ou *Casa dos Milagres*²³.

Não deixa de se constituir como exemplo da qualidade e resistência das construções de Nunes, o facto de a nau ter sobrevivido a tão grande tempestade. Parte disso deriva naturalmente dos materiais utilizados, nomeadamente a dura madeira de sucupira para as cavernas, proveniente do Brasil, como o comprova o envio da Bahia para Lisboa, em Setembro de 1757. Foram assim despachadas nessa data para os armazéns de Lisboa, pela nau *Santo António e Justiça*²⁴, na derrota da Índia, várias madeiras para a construção de naus de 50, 60 e 70 peças, tendo respectivamente os «páos» 21, 22 e 23 pés de comprimento, 18 polegadas de largo (para ambas), e 11, 12 e 13 de espessura²⁵.

Com esta, veio também para Lisboa, na mesma ocasião, a nau *Nossa Senhora da Caridade, S. Francisco de Paula e Santo António*, recentemente concluída nos estaleiros da Bahia (28 de Setembro), pelo conhecido Manuel de Araújo e Silva. Parte da carga era precisamente constituída por madeiras que haviam sido pedidas por Manuel Vicente Nunes, em Junho, e que não puderam ser embarcadas na nau *Santo António e Justiça*²⁶.

²³ Actualmente desaparecidos. Veja-se a referência em Norberto de ARAÚJO, *Peregrinações em Lisboa*, Vol. VIII. Lisboa, Parceria A. M. Pereira, [1938]-1939, p. 19.

²⁴ Trata-se da nau da carreira da Índia, *Santo António e Justiça* (1752-1766), inicialmente usada na frota da Bahia, e da qual pouco se sabe, no tocante às suas características ou seu armamento.

²⁵ Para cavernas, segundos, e terceiros braços. *Ofício do Provedor-mor da Fazenda Real Manuel de Matos Pegado Serpa, para o Secretário de Estado* [Tomé Joaquim da Costa Corte-Real], Bahia, 13 de Setembro de 1757. ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU]-ACL-N-Bahia N.º Catálogo: 2874-2876. Para além das madeiras, açúcar, tabaco, sola, couro, mel, farinha e pimenta, a mesma nau trazia também nove leões. *Mappa da carga que n'esta cidade da Bahia se meteu na Nau da Índia Santo António e Justiça...*, Bahia, 14 de Setembro de 1757. AHU-ACL-N-Bahia N.º Catálogo: 2887.

²⁶ «Nesta nau Santo Antonio Justiça, ao tempo q recebi a carta de V. Ex.^a, com data de cinco de Junho do prezente anno, se achava já recolhida a madeyra para construção de nauz; q consta da relação junta do ezcrivão dos Armazens da Coroa; e por esse motivo não vay nesta occazião o que se pedia e constava da relação q v.^a Ex.^a foy servido remeterme assinada pelo mestre *Manoel Vicente Nunes*; e na nau nova q está próxima a deytarse ao mar, consuzirá para essa corte a madeyra, que consta da dita relação, e da que vay nesta nau, remeto ao Prov.dor dos Aramazens conhecimento em forma. Deos guarde a pessoa de V.^a Ex.^a Bahya 13 de Setembro de 1757. Manuel de Mattos Pegado Serpa.» O sublinhado é nosso. Aliás, a 20 de Agosto, tinha mesmo de se suspender o corte de árvores em Alagoas, por causa do excesso de madeiras que se haviam acumulado: «OFÍCIO [do vice-rei e governador-geral do Brasil, conde dos Arcos], Marcos de Noronha ao secretário de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar, Tomé Joaquim da Costa Corte Real, sobre a suspensão do corte de madeira na vila de Alagoas devido à grande quantidade de madeira que está na Ribeira das Naus da Bahia e outros portos de mar à espera de transporte. Bahia, 20 de Agosto de 1757. AHU_CU_005, Cx. 132, D. 10300.

Mas o evento mais importante da vida de Vicente Nunes, nesse ano de 1757, será a outorga do hábito da Ordem de Santiago, facto que constitui um claro indício da sua ascensão social e profissional. Note-se que, em Junho, lhe fora dado um parecer negativo, julgando-o como «inhábil»²⁷, em virtude da sua ascendência, tendo-se o processo arrastado por mais quatro meses, até à entrega final da Carta de Hábito.

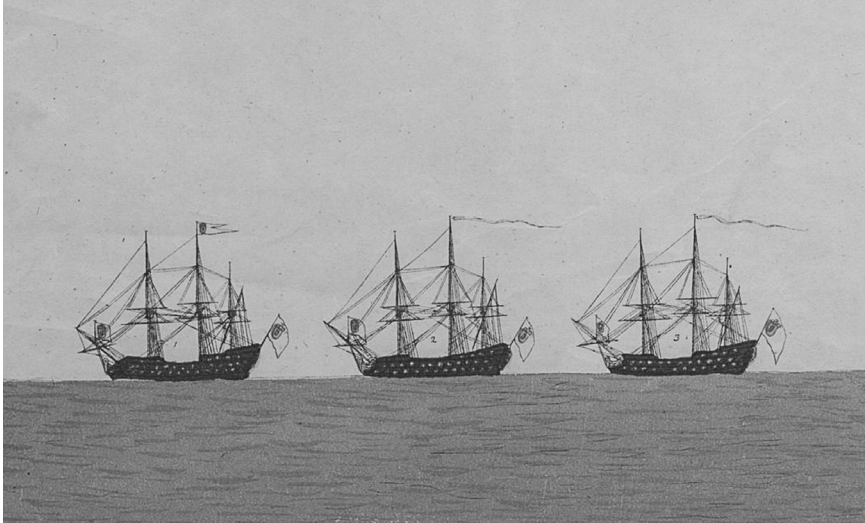
Por esta ocasião, sabemos que era casado e morava em «duas casas que fez de novo (junto aos moinhos) neste lugar de Alcântara da parte da freguesia de Santos». Era ainda proprietário do estaleiro do pai, na *Boa Vista*, em plena actividade, fazendo todo o tipo de embarcações e reparos (e evidentemente, a). O estaleiro parece ter-se mantido em actividade até inícios do século XIX, já depois da morte de Nunes, uma vez que nos aparece um «Hiate de carga» aí construído, numa relação das embarcações ao serviço da Coroa de Portugal em 1803²⁸. O autor do *Nossa Senhora do Bom Despacho* era o futuro engenheiro-construtor Manuel da Costa (act. 1796-1824), o que, para além da indicação de ali ter trabalhado (antes de ser enviado como construtor para o Arsenal da Bahia), nos permite igualmente deduzir um contacto próximo e eventual aprendizagem com Manuel Vicente²⁹.

Já se refere também nesta data que era «um dos mestres da Ribeira das Naus de sua Magestade, dos que costumam riscar», afirmação que se revela de extrema importância, pois é sintoma da substituição de um saber-fazer artesanal e empírico por uma abordagem mais «científica». No entanto, devemos ter em conta que, apesar de os construtores já desenharem planos, ainda não fazem uso dos correspondentes cálculos. De acordo com o

²⁷ «Foi V. Mage. e Servido fazer m.ce a Manoel Vicente Nunes do habito da Ordem de S. Thiago, e de suas provanças constou ter as partes pessoais e limpeza necessária. Porem, q. he Calafate, e Carpinteiro, o Pay foi Carpinteiro com estaleiro, o avo materno Çapateiro, a may e avo materna mulheres de Segunda condição e por estes impedimentos e pelo da falta de calidade e conhecimento dos avos paternos, se julgou por inhabil para entrar na ordem do que se dá conta a V. Mag.e como Gov.r Prepetuo Adm.or della na forma que dispoem os Difinctorios. Lisboa quatro de Junho de mil Sete Centos Sincoenta e Sete.»

²⁸ Veja-se *Mappa das Embarcações da Coroa de Portugal desde o anno de 1759 athe o de 1803*. AHU, Lisboa, Conselho Ultramarino, Cx. 202.

²⁹ Não obstante a formação principal de Manuel da Costa se ter desenvolvido com Torcato José Clavina, como refere o Cardeal Saraiva: «Discípulo de Torquato José Clavina. Serviu no Arsenal de Lisboa, donde foi despachado Constructor para a Bahia nos estados do Brazil. Ahi construiu alguns navios, e entre elles a não Príncipe do Brazil, lançada ao mar em 1800. Conservou-se naqueles estados até á época da sua independência. Também pertenceo ao corpo dos Engenheiros Constructores, e teve patente de Capitão Tenente graduado da Armada.» CARDEAL SARAIVA, «Lista de Alguns Artistas Portuguezes, coligida pelo Auctor de Escriptos e Documentos no decurso das suas leituras em 1825 e 1839», in *Obras Completas do Cardeal Saraiva (D. Francisco de S. Luis) Patriarcha de Lisboa*, Tomo VI. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1876, p. 368.



3 Naus *Santo António* (1), *N.ª S.ª da Ajuda* (2) e *N.ª S.ª dos Prazeres* (3). In *Mapa das Naus e Fragatas de guerra Portuguezas que se encorporarão na Esquadra do Sul* (porm.), 1774, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa.

que escrevia o Cardeal Saraiva, «E posto que não tinha grandes conhecimentos theoreticos, era comtudo dotado de rara habilidade, com a qual lhe foi fácil comprehender o mais difficil da arte. Foi também o primeiro que ensinou a traçar na sala do Risco os diferentes planos de construcção, e a tirar as competentes formas, o que até então se fazia, como em segredo, pelo Constructor Inglez que dirigia o Arsenal»³⁰.

Ao longo da última década da actividade de Vicente Nunes, durante a vigência do secretário de Estado da Marinha Francisco Xavier Mendonça Furtado (irmão e anterior secretário de Estado auxiliar de Pombal), o mestre irá construir mais seis naus de guerra, quase todas da mesma classe das «64» (Fig. 3), com excepção para duas delas, uma de 74, e outra de 90 peças: a *São José e N.ª S.ª das Mercês*, de 64 peças, deitada ao mar em 1760 ou 1761 (segundo Quirino da Fonseca, ou Esparteiro), conhecida como *O Gigante*³¹; a *N.ª S.ª Madre de Deus e S. José*, de 64 peças, de 1761; a *N.ª S.ª do Pilar*³², depois rebaptizada como *Conde D. Henrique* (1793), de 74 peças, de 1763; a *N.ª S.ª do Bom Sucesso*³³, rebaptizada como *D. João de Castro* (1800),

³⁰ Cardeal SARAIVA, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

³¹ Afundou-se a 19 de Dezembro de 1793, perto de Ovar.

³² Conhecida como *A Cananea*.

³³ Parece ter sido iniciada em 1764. Entrou no dique do Arsenal em 1799. A.H.M. Cod. 599.



4 Uniforme de Capitão-Tenente da Armada, ilustração, 1765, Arquivo Histórico-Militar, Lisboa.

de 64 peças, de 1766; a *N.ª S.ª dos Prazeres*, rebaptizada como *Afonso Albuquerque* (15/Março/1797), de 64 peças, de 1767; e por fim, aquela que é a mais extraordinária obra de Vicente Nunes, a famosa *N.ª S.ª da Conceição*, rebaptizada como *Príncipe Real* (1794)³⁴, de 80 a 90 peças, lançada ao mar a 13 de Julho de 1771³⁵.

Terá sido provavelmente durante a regência da Secretaria de Estado da Marinha por Mendonça Furtado, que Nunes ascendeu ao estatuto de «Primeiro Construtor» e ao posto de Capitão-tenente (Fig. 4), de acordo com o que referia o Cardeal Saraiva: «El-Rei D. José I conhecendo o grande merecimento de Manoel Vicente, o nomeou Primeiro Constructor, e lhe conferio as honras do posto de Capitão Tenente da Armada, dando-lhe o ordenado de 4\$800 réis por dia, que d'antes somente se dava aos Constructores estrangeiros que vinhão servir em Portugal»³⁶. Aliás, a partir da

³⁴ Saiu do dique do Arsenal Real a 19 de Dezembro de 1794, onde esteve oito meses.

³⁵ Já durante a direcção de Martinho de Melo e Castro, na Secretaria de Estado da Marinha.

³⁶ Cardeal SARAIVA, *op. cit.*, p. 369.

década de 60, são várias as referências a ordens ou pareceres pedidos ao mestre do Arsenal³⁷.

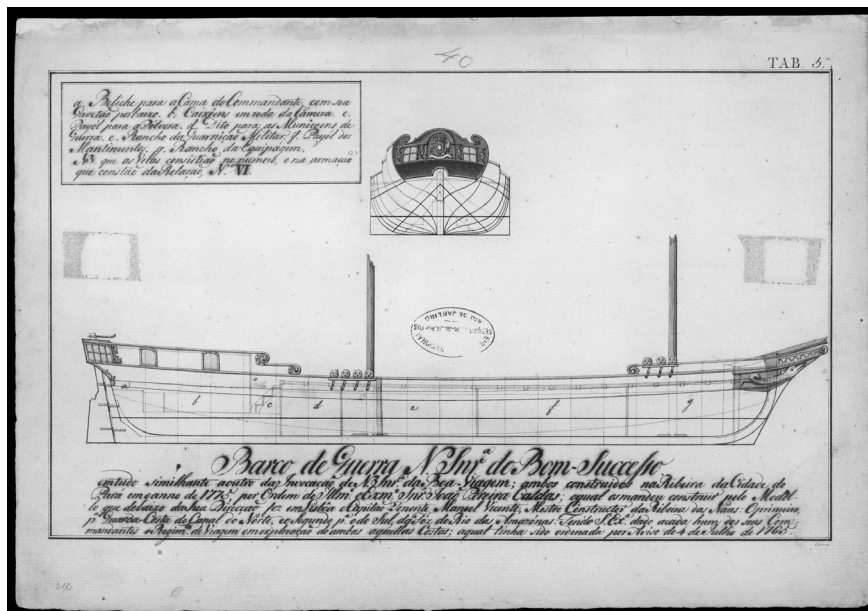
Não sabemos ainda ao certo em que ano terá falecido Manuel Vicente Nunes, o que deverá ter ocorrido depois de 1771³⁸, por volta de 1775, quando o seu antigo discípulo, Torquato José Clavina, lhe sucede, assumindo as funções de Mestre Construtor. Aliás, a sua última obra conhecida é a do modelo executado em Lisboa para construção de duas chalupas de guerra no Brasil. Construídas em 1775, com a invocação de *Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso* (Fig. 5) e de *Nossa Senhora da Boa Viagem*, na Ribeira do Pará, por ordem de João Pereira Caldas, então governador e capitão-general do Pará e Maranhão, destinavam-se ao serviço de guarda-costa, para o Canal do Norte e Canal do Sul da foz do Amazonas³⁹. Desta chalupa, existe um desenho aguarelado de Joaquim José Codina, de extrema importância, dado constituir o único exemplar conhecido da obra de Manuel Vicente, coetâneo, fidedigno e documentalmente comprovado⁴⁰.

³⁷ Veja-se, por exemplo, em 1762, «1 Set, Palácio N.ª Senhora da Ajuda – Aviso para Manuel Vicente Nunes a mandar que, com a maior brevidade, se concluem as barcas na forma que este indicara». *Boletim do Arquivo Histórico Militar*, vol. 52, 874, Lisboa, 1984, p. 305 – 1.ª D.; 6.ª S; L. 44; Doc. 78; ou «Resposta de Manuel Vicente Nunes em 12 de Novembro de 1762. Sobre os alçapoens das Barcas, sempre os considereei não poderem ser maiores, do que se fizeram por poderem contrapesar o pezo, que havião de suportar. E quanto o que se diz, de abaterem de um lado com a passagem da Artilharia; seria por não enchavetarem os gatos, que fixão nas outras Barcas, e não lhe porem os seus barrotes de hua, e outra banda, para os sobreditos alçapoens assentarem em cheio na borda. Pelo que parece será conveniente, q as ferragens, que levarem as que se estão fazendo, sejam mais fortes: e que em todos os seus furos levem hua cavilha fechada com sua chaveta, para que se não possuão despregar.» Arquivo Histórico Militar. DIV/1/07/5/05.

³⁸ Sabemos que a 22 de Julho de 1771, Vicente Nunes envia para São Paulo um outro pedido de madeiras para construção. «Relação dos paus de pinho que são precisos para as mastreações das Naus, Fragatas e Embarcações miúdas e ligeiras que se acham feitas neste Arsenal da Ribeira das Naus...», in *Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo*, vol. LXIV, São Paulo, Typographia do Globo, 1939, pp. 8-9. A 18 de Dezembro de 1771, foi padrinho de baptismo de Maria, filha do mestre da Ribeira das Naus, Rafael Antonio Martins, e de sua mulher, Teresa Casimira.

³⁹ Alexandre Rodrigues FERREIRA, *Memória sobre a Marinha Interior do Estado do Grão Pará*, 26 Março 1787 (mns). Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro – Cota: 21,1,24-MS-574 (3).

⁴⁰ O Plano de Navio existente no acervo da Biblioteca Central de Marinha – Arquivo Histórico, Lisboa (Inv. 2405-A1) oferecido pelo Eng.º Rozendo Moraes da Maia, alegadamente do espólio do Almirante Ramires Esquível, está identificado como a nau *Nossa Senhora da Conceição* (*Príncipe Real*) de Manuel Vicente Nunes. No entanto, tanto a identificação como a autoria, sem qualquer base documental, suscitam sérias dúvidas, que oportunamente tentaremos esclarecer. Muito provavelmente, trata-se de um navio espanhol, próximo dos modelos desenhados por Juan José Navarro, Marquês de la Victoria (1687-1772), no seu célebre *Diccionario demostrativo de la arquitectura naval antigua y moderna (1719-1756 – Álbum de Construcción Naval)* – Hoja 14 – *Vista de la figura y adornos de escultura de la Popa y Proa*.

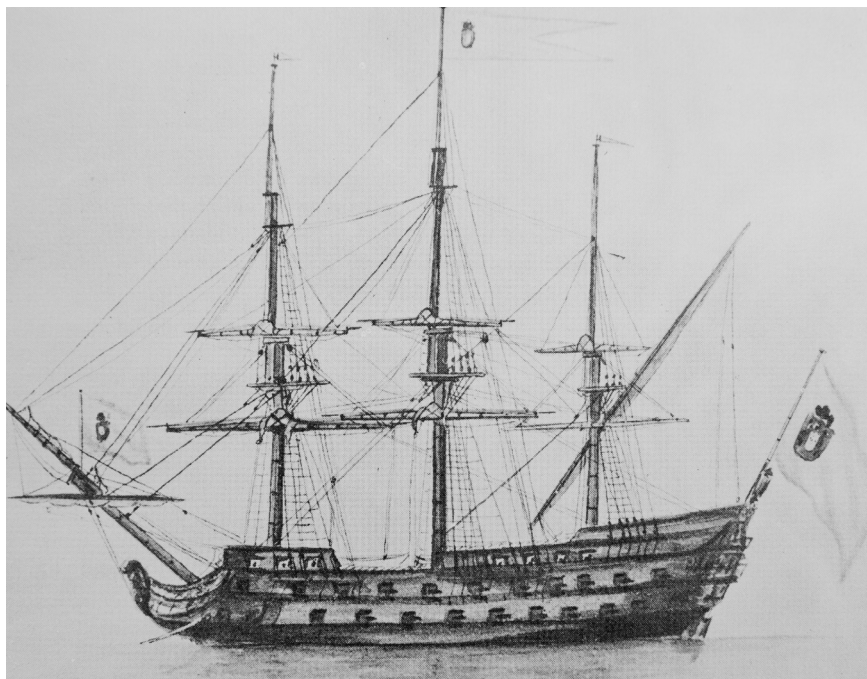


5 Joaquim José Codina, *Barco Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso*, Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Brasil, mss 1095096.

Não podemos deixar de assinalar o vazio em que caiu a construção naval com a sua ausência, uma vez que, só uma década depois, se volta a ter notícia do lançamento ao mar de uma nova nau, no Arsenal Real.

No entanto, mesmo após a morte, a sua herança permanecerá através das oito naus construídas que se conservaram, em particular, as *Conde D. Henrique*, *D. João de Castro*, *Afonso de Albuquerque* e *Príncipe Real* (capitânia), que acompanharam a partida da Família Real para o Brasil em 1807, de onde não voltariam a regressar. Numa espécie de «justiça poética», elas terminariam os seus dias já na posse do novo país independente, de onde havia sido colhida, décadas antes, grande parte das madeiras para a sua construção.

Mas o seu legado além-atlântico não se reduz a isso. Embora não as tenha fabricado, Vicente Nunes foi também o autor de várias naus construídas no Brasil, desde a década de 60, através de planos ou mesmo de modelos, enviados de Lisboa para os estaleiros da Bahia, Rio de Janeiro ou Pará. Vejam-se os casos, já confirmados, da nau *Santo António e S. José* – depois rebaptizada *Infante D. Pedro Carlos* (1794), *Martim de Freitas* (1806) e *D. Pedro I* (1822) –, construída por António da Silva Araújo em 1763 (Fig. 6), segundo o risco



6 Nau *Santo António e São José*, 1775.

de Manuel Vicente Nunes⁴¹ (gémea da *N.ª S.ª da Madre de Deus e S. José*); ou das chalupas *N.ª S.ª do Bom Sucesso* e *N.ª S.ª da Boa-Viagem*, acima referidas.

3. Os navios e o *design* naval – *Need for speed*

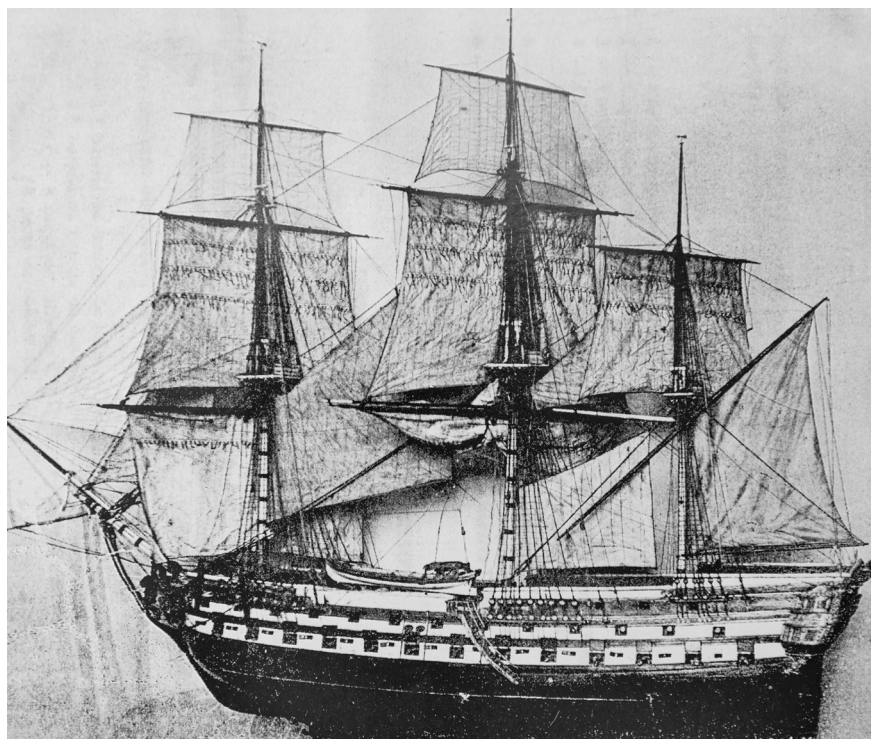
Não nos compete fazer aqui uma análise em detalhe de toda a obra produzida por Vicente Nunes, que deixaremos para outra ocasião, mas sobretudo tecer algumas considerações sobre as características gerais do *design* dos navios, mormente naquilo que ele trouxe de novo ou de original, quer no tocante ao período que o antecedeu, quer face aos modelos da construção naval europeia do seu tempo.

No global, a construção de navios de linha deste construtor (excluindo aqui as três fragatas de 30 e 44 peças, e outras embarcações mais pequenas), insere-se naquilo a que geralmente os ingleses classificavam, em meados do século XVIII, como *3rd Rate* (*2ème rang*, segundo os franceses),

⁴¹ O mesmo terá sucedido com a nau *S. Sebastião/Brasil*, construída por António da Silva, no Rio de Janeiro em 1767, dadas as semelhanças das medidas e proporções.

constituída por naus de duas pontes (cobertas), e armadas com 64 a 84 peças de artilharia (fig. 9). É verdade que em Portugal se mantém a anterior designação de nau e fragata, distinguindo-as apenas pelo número de peças ou portinholas, parecendo ignorar os diversos sistemas de classificação europeus. Método pouco prático, dado que o número de canhões podia variar ao longo do tempo e de acordo com as missões a efectuar. Contudo, embora não usado, ele era conhecido, como atesta um manuscrito setecentista, a *Dieta Náutica e Militar* de 1720, onde o autor se queixava dos portugueses, que, embora conhecendo as designações utilizadas pelas outras nações, não tinham regra para classificar os seus navios⁴².

Dentro desta tipologia, encontram-se os famosos navios de 64 e 74 peças, os mais comuns entre as marinhas europeias, mormente a francesa e a espanhola, classe dominante no período que decorre entre 1748 e 1770, e considerados como os mais bem adaptados para a linha de batalha (Fig. 7).



7 Nau N.ª S.ª do Bom Sucesso/D. João de Castro, foto do modelo da antiga Escola Naval (desaparecido).

⁴² *Dieta Náutica e Militar. Um Manuscrito Inédito do século XVIII regulamentando a vida a bordo.* Cit. por SALGADO, *op. cit.*, 2012, p. 166.

Efectivamente é o 64 que marca a produção de Vicente Nunes, contabilizando dois terços do total da sua produção, que se situa maioritariamente no tempo da *Guerra dos Sete Anos* (1756-1763). Da classe dos 74 temos apenas dois exemplares, produzidos em 1751 e 1763, talvez porque o sucesso deste modelo só se generalize na Europa após a *Guerra da Independência da América*, passando a dominar a linha de batalha. Para Jean Boudriot, que lhe dedicou uma das suas obras monumentais⁴³, este navio tornou-se na principal máquina de guerra naval dos finais do século XVIII, graças ao compromisso de que resulta, do equilíbrio entre a força de artilharia e qualidades de manobra, com a sua potente bateria de canhões⁴⁴.

Neste sentido, a obra de Nunes está perfeitamente de acordo com a tendência geral da construção naval europeia da primeira metade do século XVIII, que tende para uma uniformização, ou estandardização, dos seus modelos⁴⁵. Essa uniformidade depende de vários factores, ditados pela nova táctica do combate naval em linha, o mesmo cenário de guerra e armamento e as mesmas tradições técnicas. Neste campo, a globalização técnica resulta da mobilidade dos construtores, da espionagem industrial e militar, das capturas, cópias ou compra e venda de navios, entre as várias nações. O facto de os construtores terem começado a fazer modelos à escala e planos com o desenho dos navios, no intuito de compreender melhor o processo de construção, conduziu à uniformização do seu *design*, como também a uma difusão mais rápida e alargada, à escala mundial.

Esta tipologia de navios era já comum na primeira metade do século, durante o reinado de D. João V (1706-1750), que Vicente Nunes herda naturalmente dos seus antecessores, os construtores navais ingleses Wil-

⁴³ Jean BOUDRIOT, *Le vaisseau de 74 canons*, 4 vols. Grenoble: Éditions des Quatre Seigneurs, 1977.

⁴⁴ Alguns navios ingleses de 90 peças e três pontes chegaram mesmo a ser cortados para duas pontes e meia, transformados em navios de 74. Sobre este assunto, veja-se Charles Napier ROBINSON, *The British Fleet: The Growth, Achievements and Duties of the Navy of the Empire*, London, George Bell & Sons, 1894; e Arthur HERMAN, *To Rule the Waves: How the British Navy Shaped the Modern World*, New York, Harper Collins, 2004.

⁴⁵ L. FERREIRO, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

liam Warden e seu filho, Francis Warden⁴⁶. Aliás, aquela que parece ter sido uma das primeiras obras de William Warden em Portugal foi precisamente uma *64*, a conhecida nau *N.ª S.ª da Vitória*, como atestam as fontes da época⁴⁷.

Infelizmente não possuímos dados sobre as características ou dimensões dos navios construídos por Warden. Se é verdade que as normas do Almirantado britânico eram bastante rígidas, por outro, sabemos que os construtores ingleses trabalhando noutros países gozavam de maior autonomia, até porque tinham de responder às solicitações e necessidades das marinhas dessas nações.

Não obstante a tendência para a uniformização generalizada da construção naval europeia, cada construtor tinha uma abordagem particular para resolver os vários problemas colocados pelas exigências contraditórias que surgiam durante a concepção e realização de uma máquina de combate eficaz, e com boa performance⁴⁸. E, neste aspecto, o *design* dos navios de Nunes revela-se de particular interesse.

Conforme nota James Pritchard, diferentes necessidades produzem diferentes *designs*⁴⁹, devendo as qualidades de um navio assentar sobre diversos factores, como velocidade, estabilidade, leveza, durabilidade, navegabilidade ou poder de fogo, apesar de as respostas se poderem tornar incompatíveis entre elas.

⁴⁶ William Warden foi Mestre Construtor da Ribeira das Naus, ali activo desde 1716, cedo introduzindo em Portugal, com a nau *S. Lourenço*, um novo método de lançar ao mar os navios. Casou com Maria Warden, sobrinha do capitão Thomas Stepney, com quem teve seis filhos (Francis, William, John, Kingston, George e Lydia). Francis parece suceder no cargo ao pai, que desempenhará até à sua morte, ocorrida por volta de 1760, sendo casado com Teresa Warden. The National Archives, Kew, Richmond, Surrey, Reino Unido. Secretaries of State: State Papers Foreign, Portugal. Records of the Navy Board and the Board of Admiralty, ADM 106 Navy Board: Records. Pelo menos mais duas gerações dos Warden permanecerão em Portugal, dedicando-se à Marinha ou ao comércio. Estamos neste momento a desenvolver uma investigação sobre este período da construção naval, que esperamos publicar oportunamente.

⁴⁷ Perdeu-se num incêndio no Tejo a 3 de Janeiro de 1730, conforme noticiava a *Gazeta de Lisboa Occidental*, (n.º 1, 5 Janeiro 1730, p. 8): «Terça feira de noyte por hum infeliz acidente, se queymou dentro do porto desta cidade huma fragata de guerra chamada nossa Senhora da Victoria de 64 peças». Segundo o autor da *Gazeta Manuscrita*, era «a melhor que El-Rei tinha, e das primeiras que o mestre inglês fabricou» (Lisboa, 2002, 72).

⁴⁸ Richard W. UNGER, « Conception et construction des vaisseaux de guerre européens aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles », in Acerra, M. ; Merino, J. ; Meyer, J. *Les marines de guerre européennes XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, Paris, Presses de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1998, p. 29.

⁴⁹ James PRITCHARD, «From Shipwright to Naval Constructor: The Professionalization of 18th-Century French Naval Shipbuilders», in *Technology and Culture*, Society for the History of Technology, Vol. 28, No. 1 (Jan. 1987), p. 2.

Para o nosso construtor, aquela que parece ser uma das qualidades mais importantes é a velocidade, colocando-o muito mais próximo do modelo francês (e espanhol) que do inglês, onde se formara.

Um dos atributos que determinavam a alegada superioridade dos navios franceses, mais largos e compridos, era a velocidade, aliada ao poder de fogo, com as suas baterias bem acima da linha de água. Desde o ministério de J. B. Colbert (7/3/1669-1683), assistimos a um aumento crescente do rácio comprimento/largura nos navios franceses, que os ingleses tentam imitar, entre os reinados de Jorge I e Jorge III. No entanto, os construtores britânicos encontravam-se numa situação de menor liberdade, dados os esforços repetidos do Almirantado para fixar uma uniformização de tamanho, tonelagem e armamento, para cada classe, impedindo assim quaisquer variações no *design*; pelo contrário, do outro lado da Mancha, dada uma menor tradição de construção, havia maior espaço para a inovação.

A produção de Vicente Nunes não foi muito variada, é um facto. Podemos afirmar que, dentro do 64, terá eventualmente criado a classe *N.ª S.ª da Assunção*⁵⁰, com uma tipologia original, que serviu de modelo a praticamente todos os navios de guerra que foram construídos desse género, tanto no continente, quanto do outro lado do Atlântico, como vimos. A característica particular das naus deste construtor, nomeadamente em confronto com as suas congéneres europeias, é o seu tamanho. Os seus 182 pés de comprimento (c. 56m) fazem delas os maiores 64 da Europa, atingindo uma dimensão próxima dos navios ingleses de 100 canhões (*2nd Rate*) (Fig. 8).

Contudo, face ao grande comprimento, o *design* de Nunes não lhe amplia a largura, como seria de esperar, para lhes dar maior estabilidade inicial e menor balanço (o que seria feito à custa da estabilidade de reserva), criando um inédito rácio comprimento/boca de 4,1:1, naquilo que configura, assim, uma fórmula-padrão, empregue em todas as construções de navios de linha, tanto para os de 64, 74, ou mesmo 90 peças de artilharia. Este parece ser efectivamente o dado mais original do *design* do construtor português. Se compararmos com o rácio c/b das marinhas francesas e inglesas, de 1764 a 1817, ele nunca ultrapassa os 3,7:1-3,8:1⁵¹, bem aquém do modelo utilizado nos navios de Vicente Nunes.

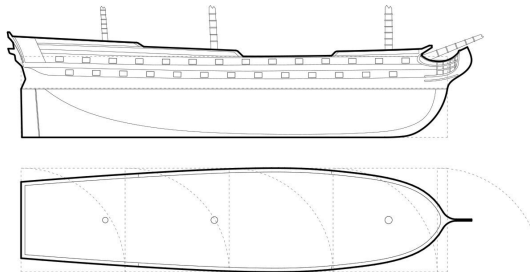
⁵⁰ Embora não saibamos, até à data, as dimensões desta nau, é muito provável que tivesse as mesmas das que lhe sucederam.

⁵¹ Veja-se « Comparaison des vaisseaux français avec les vaisseaux anglais en dimensions principales...en 1764» (Archives Nationales – Departement de la Marine, B⁵ 11), e P. G. Gicquel des TOUCHES, *Tables Comparatives des Principales Dimensions des Batimens de Guerre Français et Anglais de tous Rangs*, Paris, Libraire pour la Marine, 1817.

Rácio comprimento/boca (navios 3rd Rate Marinha Europeia)

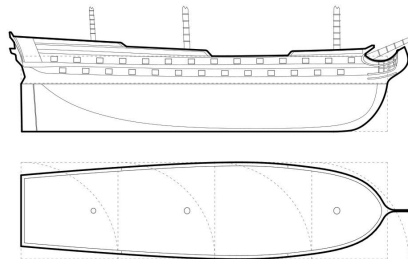
Ano 1759
Autor Manuel Vicente Nunes
Nomes N.S. da Ajuda e S. Pedro de Alcântara
Arm. 64
Local Lisboa
País Portugal
Medidas (metros) 55,4/13,4/6,3/10,54 (pontal)
(cxbxc)

Rácio (cxb) **4,1:1**



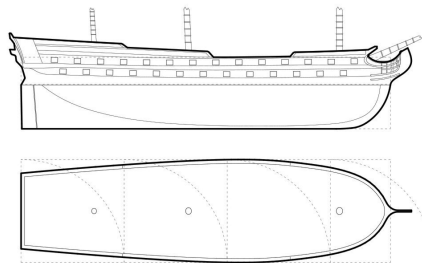
Ano 1757
Autor Mateo Mullan
Nomes España
Arm. 68
Local Ferrol
País Espanha
Medidas (metros) 47,6/12,6/6,2
(cxbxc)

Rácio (cxb) **3,8:1**



Ano 1760
Autor Brondson Wells
Nomes Essex
Arm. 64
Local Rotherhirthe
País Inglaterra
Medidas (metros) 48/13,4/5,7
(cxbxc)

Rácio (cxb) **3,6:1**



Ano 1759
Autor Noel Pomet
Nomes Modeste
Arm. 64
Local Toulon
País França
Medidas (metros) 49/13,1/6
(cxbxc)

Rácio (cxb) **3,7:1**

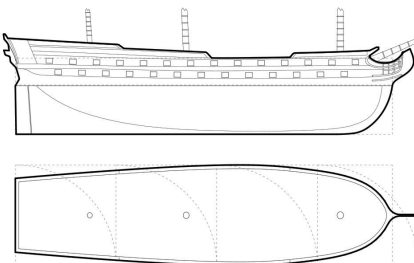


Ilustração
Fernando Martins, Arq.º (2015)

Se bem que um casco demasiado comprido e estreito possa quebrar em mar agitado, devido à força das ondas (na «arfagem»⁵²), a velocidade e manobrabilidade será sempre superior. Com efeito, no século seguinte, os *Clipper* – que atingem um rácio de 5:1 – irão cruzar os oceanos do globo a uma velocidade inédita.

O rácio de 4:1 é bastante adequado para navios de carga, permitindo moverem-se mais rapidamente na água, com menos vento. Não será de estranhar que ele derive de uma adaptação, resultante da experiência do mestre na construção de navios de comércio, no estaleiro do pai.

Também é sabido que as suas naus eram bastante altas, cujas pontes (pisos) chegavam a ter mais de 2,5m (portanto, só as duas pontes atingiam os cinco metros). Possibilitando uma maior capacidade de carga, respondiam assim a uma das necessidades fundamentais das viagens oceânicas, a par das missões de correio, guarda-costa ou comboio.

A generalidade das fontes é concordante quanto às características excepcionais destes navios, quase sempre destacando as suas qualidades veleiras. Segundo a documentação do *N.ª S.ª da Conceição e São José*, transcrita por Esparteiro, era de bom governo e bolineiro⁵³; uma das testemunhas do processo de habilitação à Ordem de Santiago refere-se a «Naus todas com a melhor direcção tanto nas suas respectivas proporções e no bem fabricado, como em se experimentarem boas de vela sendo aprovadas pelos melhores» (14 Out. 1757); o Comandante Bernardo Ramires Esquível, a propósito da *N.ª S.ª da Conceição/Príncipe Real*, afirma em 1796 que «Esta nau não há dinheiro que a pague: tem todas as qualidades em grao superior especialmente a da marcha que anda muito mais que a Vasco da Gama e fragata Tritão»⁵⁴; e o Cardeal Saraiva acrescentava, em 1842, «Construio diferentes embarcações... Todas excellentes. A última, Príncipe Real, foi lançada ao mar em 1768, o passou por humma das melhores náos, que naquelle tempo havia na Europa».

Apesar do desconhecimento internacional do nome de Vicente Nunes, o sucesso dos seus modelos parece igualmente ter-se feito sentir na Europa, nomeadamente em França, Inglaterra e Holanda, como atestava o então Guarda-Marinha neerlandês, Cornelius de Jong, nas suas observações sobre a Marinha Portuguesa, em 1777: «But among this few vessels one can find the finest ships that can be imagined [...] no wonder that

⁵² Movimento ascensional do navio motivado pelas vagas, no balanço de popa a proa.

⁵³ António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *op. cit.*, vol.7, 1977, p. 15.

⁵⁴ António Marques ESPARTEIRO, *op. cit.*, vol. 5, 1977, p. 88.

the English, the French and ourselves, often ask for the models from the Portuguese wharves»⁵⁵.

Embora esquecido pelo tempo, não haverá talvez nenhum outro construtor deste período que tenha um papel tão importante para a História Naval, pelos vários aspectos que marcaram a sua vida e obra. Por um lado, como representante das alterações do estatuto social dos construtores, na sua gradual ascensão socioprofissional, e, por outro, pela criação de um *design* particular, distinto da maior parte da produção naval europeia do século XVIII, e que esteve na base da construção de navios de guerra, dos dois lados do Atlântico.

Apesar de se manterem ainda em aberto algumas questões, cremos que, com este trabalho, se possam estabelecer algumas bases para investigações futuras, no tocante quer ao próprio percurso pessoal e profissional de Nunes, quer ao conhecimento da história da Construção e Arquitectura naval portuguesa de Setecentos.

⁵⁵ Cornelius de Jong van RODENBURG, *Reize naar de Middellandsche Zee, in de Jaaren 1777, 1778 en 1779, door Cornelius de Jong, toen ter tijd dienende aan 's Lands Fregat van Oorlog, Tetis*, 3 vols., Te Haarlem, F. Bohn, 1806. Cit. de Charles Boxer, «From Cape Town to Trondhjem – The Adventures and Misadventures of a Dutch Naval Officer, 1791-1797», in *The Mariner's Mirror*, Vol. 69, Issue 2, Routledge, New York, 1983, pp. 158-159. E porventura este mesmo apreço pelos navios portugueses, esteja precisamente na base do desaparecimento dos milhares de planos de navios que se produziram em Portugal ao longo do século XVIII.

Início	Fim	Nome	Tipo	Armaam. ^o (canhões)	Local	Serviço (anos)	Medidas Pés (c×b×p)
PORTUGAL (autoria de modelos, construção)							
1751	1764	N.ª S.ª da Conceição e São José	nau	72	Lisboa	13	?
1750-57	?	?	fragata	44	?	?	?
1750-57	?	?	fragata	44	?	?	?
1750-57	?	?	fragata	30	?	?	?
1757	1762	N.ª S.ª da Assunção	nau	64	Lisboa	5	?
1759	1834	N.ª S.ª da Ajuda e S. Pedro Alcântara Princesa da Beira (1793)	nau	64 74	Lisboa	75	182/ 44/ 34,6
1760	1793	São José e N.ª S.ª das Mercês	nau	64	Lisboa	32	182/ 44/ 34,6
1761	1780	N.ª S.ª Madre de Deus e S. José	nau	64	Lisboa	19	182/ 44/ 34,6
1763	1823	N.ª S.ª do Pilar Conde D. Henrique (1793)	nau	74	Lisboa	60	191/ 47/ 35,0
1766	1823	N.ª S.ª do Bom Sucesso D. João de Castro (1800)	nau	64	Lisboa	57	182/ 44 / 34,6
1767	1823	N.ª S.ª dos Prazeres Afonso Albuquerque (1797)	nau	64	Lisboa	56	182/ 44/ 34,6
1771	1830	N.ª S.ª da Conceição Príncipe Real (1794)	nau	90 80	Lisboa	59	200/ 50/ 37,6
BRASIL (autoria de modelos)							
1763	1828	Santo António e S. José Infante D. Pedro Carlos (1794) Martim de Freitas (1806) D. Pedro I (1822)	nau	64	Bahia	59	182/ 44/ 34,6
1767	1832	S. Sebastião (Serpente) Brasil (1807)	nau	64	Rio de Janeiro	65	182/ 44/ 34,6
1775	c.1781	N.ª S.ª do Bom Sucesso	chalupa	8	Pará	6	53,5/11,5/5
1775	c.1781	N.ª S.ª da Boa Viagem	chalupa	8	Pará	6	53,5/11,5/5

9 Cronologia dos navios de Manuel Vicente Nunes⁵⁶

⁵⁶ Dados recolhidos de, entre outros, Marques ESPARTEIRO, *op. cit.*, e do *Mappa das Embarcações da Coroa de Portugal desde o anno de 1759 athe o de 1803*. ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO, Lisboa, Conselho Ultramarino, Cx. 202.

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Esquadras, Cx. 329.

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Administração Central; Conselho Ultramarino; Portugal – Reino, Ultramar; Brasil
– Geral, Bahia, Pará, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro; Iconografia.

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A busca de nobilitação por um militar e administrador colonial português: Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro – estudo de caso

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Resumo

O artigo aborda as estratégias de nobilitação de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, militar e governador da capitania do Piauí (1769-1775), no Brasil, a partir de sua origem social, experiências profissionais e inserção em redes de poder e de parentesco na Corte portuguesa. Por meio deste estudo de caso, pretende-se demonstrar como um militar que descreveu uma trajetória semelhante à de tantos outros beneficiou-se de estratégias de reprodução social (o legado de serviços familiares, o casamento e os laços de parentesco dele decorrentes) e assim obteve sucessivas promoções e tornou-se um fidalgo com brasão de armas.

Palavras-chave: Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro; nobilitação; redes; trajetória.

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Abstract

The article discusses the gentrification strategies of Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, military and governor of Piauí captaincy (1769-1775), in Brazil, from their social origin, professional experiences and insertion in power and kinship networks in Portuguese Court. Through this case study, it is intended to demonstrate how a military who described a similar career to that of so many others took advantage of social reproduction strategies (the legacy of family services and, above all, his marriage and kinship ties arising), and thus obtained successive promotions and became a nobleman with the coat of arms.

Keywords: Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro; gentrification; networks; career.

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A busca de nobilitação por um militar e administrador colonial português: Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro – estudo de caso

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Introdução

Em suas considerações sobre a escrita biográfica, François Dosse ressaltou o caráter inconclusivo do trabalho do biógrafo, independentemente da quantidade de fontes que «consiga exumar». E fez uma advertência: o avanço da investigação pode indicar «pistas novas», mas também é capaz de levar o pesquisador «a se enredar a cada passo»¹.

Apesar dos riscos inerentes ao método biográfico, a reaproximação de um personagem conhecido à época do doutoramento mostrou-se proveitosa. Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Lemos Abreu do Rego e Castro, nascido em Lisboa, na freguesia de Nossa Senhora dos Mártires, por volta de 1733, fez parte de uma amostragem de nove governadores que atuaram no estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (formado pelas duas capitânias principais do Pará e do Maranhão e pelas subalternas do Rio Negro e do Piauí), entre 1751 e 1780. Àquela altura, o objetivo primordial era delinear a trajetória social e governativa de cada agente, considerando-se os elementos constitutivos de sua “história de vida”² e de sua ação administrativa.

A ideia de continuar a investigação dos percursos de Gonçalo Lourenço foi animada justamente pela possibilidade de desatrelar o exercício da governança das suas estratégias de ascensão social e de promoção no Real Serviço. Ao contrário de outros indivíduos que encontraram na administração ultramarina oportunidades de acrescentamento pessoal e de suas Casas pelo acesso aos mecanismos compensatórios do serviço à monarquia, para Gonçalo Lourenço o governo colonial não teve o mesmo peso.

¹ François DOSSE, *O desafio biográfico: escrever uma vida*, trad. Gilson César Cardoso de Souza, São Paulo, Edusp, 2009, pp. 13-14.

² Pierre BOURDIEU, «A ilusão biográfica», in Marieta de Moraes Ferreira e Janaína Amado (orgs.), *Usos & abusos da história oral*, 8.ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, Ed. FGV, 2006, pp. 183-191.

A busca de nobilitação pelo militar – um caso de modo algum isolado na historiografia³ – estava diretamente associada ao funcionamento das redes de poder e de parentesco em que se inseriu. «O conceito de rede pressupõe sempre a existência de relações interpessoais» e pode ser operado «a partir de universos sociais definidos institucionalmente», como a família e as diversas instâncias da administração do Reino⁴. Essas tramas institucionais típicas da sociedade de Antigo Regime, por sua vez, eram encenadas no espaço privilegiado da Corte, caracterizado por uma dinâmica relacional definida por Norbert Elias: «dentro do mundo da Corte, o que se considera é muito mais o indivíduo em seu contexto social, *em sua relação com os outros*»⁵.

Ao menos cinco pessoas concorreram direta ou indiretamente para a ascensão social e profissional de Gonçalo Lourenço: o pai, José Lourenço Botelho; o meio-irmão, Pedro José da Silva Botelho; um tio, Pedro Vaz Soares do Rego Castelo Branco; a esposa, D. Ana Apolônia de Vilhena Abreu Soares; e a cunhada, D. Mariana Joaquina Apolônia de Vilhena Coutinho.

A base familiar

Nascido em Alenquer, José Lourenço Botelho foi um próspero negociante em Lisboa⁶. Não seguiu a carreira do pai, o capitão Antônio de Lemos Botelho, tornando-se dono de um considerável patrimônio imobiliário formado

³ Refiro-me ao caso de José Joaquim de Lima da Silva, avô do duque de Caxias (militar brasileiro), estudado por Adriana Barreto de Souza. Segundo a historiadora, o casamento com Joana Maria da Fonseca Costa e o consequente «ingresso na família Fonseca Costa representava[m] a chance de diminuir seu isolamento na cidade» do Rio de Janeiro e uma oportunidade de ascensão social e de promoção na carreira. Adriana Barreto de SOUZA, «A metamorfose de um militar em nobre: trajetória, estratégia e ascensão social no Rio de Janeiro joanino», *Tempo – Revista do Departamento de História da UFF*, Vol. 12, N.º 24, (janeiro, 2008), pp. 54-73. Citação à página 66.

⁴ Cf. Mafalda Soares da CUNHA, «Redes sociais e decisão política no recrutamento dos governantes das conquistas, 1580-1640», in João Fragoso e Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (orgs.), *Na trama das redes: política e negócios no império português, séculos XVI-XVIII*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2010, pp. 119-122.

⁵ Norbert ELIAS, *A sociedade de corte: investigação sobre a sociologia da realeza e da aristocracia de corte*, trad. Pedro Süsskind, Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Editor, 2001, p. 121. Grifo de N. Elias.

⁶ Para a genealogia da família de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, cf. Visconde de Sanches de BAENA, *Arquivo heráldico-genealógico*, Lisboa, Typographia Universal, 1872, p. 242. As informações prestadas pelo genealogista foram retiradas do processo de justificação de nobreza de Gonçalo Lourenço, analisado adiante, reproduzindo lacunas e equívocos contidos na referida fonte. Para elaborar a contento uma genealogia da família do militar, o que excede a proposta deste artigo, seriam necessários uma investigação suplementar de documentação dos antepassados de Gonçalo Lourenço e o cotejo de diferentes obras genealógicas.

por casas urbanas e quintas. Vivia nobremente na capital do Reino, conforme o seu testamento⁷, mas não ostentava símbolos de distinção social, exceto o hábito de cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo, obtido por renúncia de seu pai, que o recebera quando se casou com D. Luísa de Matos Franca⁸.

A concessão do hábito (1696) não se deu, portanto, em atenção a um requerimento ou aos méritos de José Lourenço Botelho. Segundo Ronald Raminelli, «desde fins do século XVII, os comerciantes de Lisboa pleiteavam o reconhecimento régio para o seu ofício. Mesmo enriquecidos, muitos ainda trabalhavam em lojas abertas e, assim, eram classificados como mecânicos, destituídos da dignidade própria da nobreza»⁹. Não é sabido se ao receber o hábito de Cristo Botelho já era um negociante abastado ou se mercadejava em loja aberta. As provanças nada dizem a respeito, mas, se padeceu deste defeito mecânico em algum momento da vida, conseguiu vencê-lo com notório sucesso, como será visto adiante.

Antônio de Lemos Botelho, avô paterno de Gonçalo Lourenço, além de militar foi cinco vezes vereador em Alenquer, o que poderia situá-lo no seio de uma elite enraizada na administração local. Mas a aferição da capacidade de nobilitação individual pelo exercício de uma função nos concelhos municipais demanda a consideração de vários fatores, como as dimensões das vilas e das cidades e, por extensão, o volume da sua arrecadação fiscal; elementos que permitem constatar a importância das municipalidades e, conseqüentemente, dos seus diversos cargos¹⁰. Do lado materno, os antepassados de Gonçalo Lourenço também eram representantes de uma nobreza provincial que vivia dos rendimentos de suas propriedades¹¹ – a avó materna, D. Antônia Caetana de Sousa Coutinho, possuiu uma quinta em Torres Vedras, na Estremadura¹².

⁷ ARQUIVO NACIONAL DA TORRE DO TOMBO [ANTT], *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 243, fls. 64v-79v. Testamento e codicilos feitos e aprovados em 3 de abril de 1746 e abertos em 14 de novembro de 1747.

⁸ ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra J, maço 97, n.º 52. No processo, concluído em 5 de dezembro de 1696, o pai de José Lourenço Botelho é referido como Antônio Lourenço Botelho de Castro. Mesmo sendo limpo de sangue, faltava ao habilitando «a qualidade, por sua avó paterna ter sido criada de servir de seu avô paterno». Por esse impedimento recebeu a dispensa régia.

⁹ Ronald RAMINELLI, *Nobrezas do Novo Mundo: Brasil e ultramar hispânico, séculos XVII e XVIII*, Rio de Janeiro, FGV Editora/ Faperj, 2015, p. 123.

¹⁰ Cf. Nuno Gonçalo MONTEIRO, *Elites e poder. Entre o Antigo Regime e o Liberalismo*, Lisboa, ICS, 2003, pp. 66-74.

¹¹ Sobre os contornos e as formas de reprodução social desse grupo social, ver N. G. MONTEIRO, *Elites*, cit., pp. 37-81.

¹² ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra G, maço 4, n.º 3.

O testamento do negociante José Lourenço Botelho fornece importantes indícios sobre a origem de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro. Boa parte do documento pelo qual expressou suas últimas vontades foi reservada à prescrição de ritos fúnebres. Seguindo práticas testamentárias vigentes, determinou a oferta de esmolas em todas as etapas do cortejo, o dobre dos sinos por onde passasse, a assistência de padres, a realização de centenas de missas em sufrágio de sua alma, dos parentes e das almas do purgatório, o tipo de mortalha, luzes de velas para acompanhar o féretro e o lugar exato da sepultura, cuidadosamente escolhido ao lado da primeira esposa, D. Maria Francisca da Silva¹³.

Todas as prescrições fúnebres reiteravam a qualidade de rico negociante de José Lourenço Botelho, que buscou assegurar, com riqueza de detalhes, a ostentação pública de sua condição social, mesmo depois da morte. Assim também o fez em relação aos legados materiais. Deixou à segunda esposa, D. Joana Luísa de Castro Castelo Branco, a quantia referente ao dote que levava para o casal para «poder tratar-se com uma liteira e escudeiro enquanto se conservasse no mesmo estado de viúva» e determinou que mantivesse em seu poder todas as joias que lhe foram dadas.

José Lourenço Botelho também parece ter sido um homem de múltiplos interesses e relações no seio da comunidade mercantil lusa. Como ele próprio declarou, sem maiores detalhes: «tenho tido muitas e largas contas em todo o tempo que tenho vivido por causa de vários e repetidos negócios em que tenho tido sociedades com vários homens de negócio desta Corte». Embora não se tenha notícia da natureza de suas atividades, sabe-se que os livros de contas de sua casa registravam, por exemplo, gastos da “Campanha de Castela”, indicando possíveis interesses comerciais durante a Guerra da Sucessão Espanhola (1703-1714). De resto, as menções a contratos e negócios foram sempre vagas e sem especificações.

O prestígio de José Lourenço Botelho pode ser estimado, ainda, por meio de uma certidão enviada à Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, por ocasião das inquirições para a habilitação de seu sócio e amigo de longa data, o capitão de Ordenanças Domingos de Azevedo Lima, tutor dos filhos menores do negociante, à Ordem de Cristo. Botelho afiançou que por sua casa «passaram os mais principais deste Reino» e que o capitão não era «caixeiro ganhando ordenado como ganhavam todos os caixeiros», mas «escriturário dos livros dos ditos negócios da casa» e que lhe deu sociedade em atividades

¹³ Ana Cristina ARAÚJO, *A morte em Lisboa: atitudes e representações, 1700-1830*, Lisboa, Notícias Editorial, 1997, pp. 81-83, 233-238 e 365-367.

que as testemunhas inquiridas não conheciam e por isso não podiam confirmar¹⁴. Com isso, dirimiu as dúvidas sobre o defeito mecânico – o de ser caixeiro pago com salários¹⁵ – que pesava sobre Domingos de Azevedo Lima e, acredita-se, ajudou a remover esse obstáculo à sua habilitação.

A disposição dos legados expôs a complexidade das relações familiares entre José Lourenço e o primogênito de seu primeiro casamento, Pedro José da Silva Botelho. Suas irmãs, D. Maria, D. Francisca e D. Luísa Francisca, já haviam falecido e somente a última com geração. Dando ensejo a manifestações íntimas, muitas vezes encontradas no discurso testamentário¹⁶, José Lourenço instituiu a Pedro José por herdeiro:

(...) na legítima que por direito lhe tocar, pois ainda que com razão justa o podia deserdar pelas grandes injúrias e ingratidões que me tem feito, contudo, o não quero fazer por estar em tempo de dar conta a Deus, e de não dever lembrar do passado, mas sempre será obrigado o dito meu filho Pedro José da Silva a imputar na sua legítima o que injustamente de mais me tem levado, que sempre é uma grande importância, para assim se resguardar a igualdade que deve haver entre os mais meus filhos herdeiros, para que nenhuns fiquem prejudicados, e não poderá servir de desculpa ao dito Pedro José o dizer que a Justiça lho julgou, pois ele o requereu com dolo e má consciência o que ele não ignora assim ainda que o negue.¹⁷

Dessa forma, apesar das dissensões familiares, o negociante cumpriu a lei e resguardou o princípio da igualdade entre os herdeiros, garantindo ao primogênito os seus direitos sucessórios no que respeitava à legítima paterna¹⁸. Isso não era uma preocupação e uma prática exclusivas da sociedade lisboeta. Em estudo sobre a transmissão da herança entre as populações rurais da província do Minho, Margarida Durães destacou «três princípios básicos» observados pelos lavradores foreiros no estabelecimento

¹⁴ ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra D, maço 13, n.º 6. A certidão de José Lourenço Botelho, datada de 26 de outubro de 1726, foi anexada ao processo que, no entanto, não contém o despacho final da Mesa da Consciência e Ordens. Por outros registros constatou-se que Domingos de Azevedo Lima foi habilitado, tendo recebido a carta de hábito e a permissão para professar e ser armado cavaleiro por alvará de 30 de julho de 1729. ANTT, *Chancelaria da Ordem de Cristo*, Liv. 192, fls. 245v-246.

¹⁵ Sobre as dificuldades enfrentadas por comerciantes para receberem o hábito de Cristo no século XVIII, ver Fernanda OLIVAL, *As ordens militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*, Lisboa, Estar, 2001, pp. 376-378.

¹⁶ A. C. ARAÚJO, op. cit., pp. 280-283.

¹⁷ ANTT, *Registo Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 243, fls. 67v-68.

¹⁸ Candido Mendes de ALMEIDA (ed.), *Ordenações Filipinas*, Rio de Janeiro, Typ. do Instituto Philomathico, 1870. Cf. Livro IV, Tít. XCVI: «Como se hão de fazer as partilhas entre os herdeiros», pp. 954-968.

da sua sucessão e na divisão dos seus bens, dentre os quais estava «a igualdade entre todos os seus herdeiros». E arrematou: «A igualdade entre os filhos é um princípio sagrado para a sociedade camponesa minhota»¹⁹. Foi isso o que José Lourenço Botelho procurou assegurar, conforme o trecho anterior do seu testamento: «para assim se resguardar a igualdade que deve haver entre os mais meus filhos herdeiros, para que nenhuns fiquem prejudicados».

Em particular, no entanto, o negociante justificou suas disposições pelo temor de que Pedro José se apropriasse indevidamente de bens da Casa paterna, em prejuízo dos meios-irmãos menores: Gonçalo, Antônio, Ricardo, Bernardo e Rita Inácia, nascidos nessa ordem.

(...) como é de presumir, que ainda depois de minha morte continuará Pedro José meu filho com seu costumado orgulho e mau ânimo a mover algumas injustas demandas contra meus filhos do segundo matrimônio, como assim me tem feito o mesmo, tudo a fim de ver se pode embaraçar estas mesmas disposições que deixo determinadas neste meu testamento; e talvez intenciona também ainda que seja por violência introduzir-se nesta minha Casa para ver se pode apossar-se do que lhe não pertencer; espero dos ditos senhores meus testamentários (...) cuidem muito por sua cristandade em concorrer quanto lhe for possível para que assim que eu fechar os olhos, ou antes disso, venham a esta minha Casa defendê-la e juntamente aos meus filhos do dito segundo matrimônio, e se entre a defender as ditas demandas (dado que as haja) e igualmente para que se evitem as sobreditas violências e todas as mais desordens que o dito Pedro José intentar fazer (...).²⁰

O litígio entre pai e filho começou quando Pedro José requereu, sem o consentimento de José Lourenço, a sua emancipação. Por provisão régia de 21 de maio de 1730, passou a ter todos os direitos que cabiam aos filhos emancipados, conforme as Ordenações do Reino, podendo dispor livremente de seus bens e dos que viesse a adquirir²¹. Meses antes da morte do pai, obteve nova provisão que esclareceu os motivos da querela: a parte que lhe cabia na herança das irmãs falecidas. Para assegurá-las, enfatizou o «grande ódio que lhe tinha seu pai José Lourenço Botelho e as poucas posses que o suplicante tinha para o demandar por meios ordinários». O rei nomeou ministros para atender à causa relativa à herança de D. Francisca, «que falecera donzela», e de «D. Maria, que falecera casada sem

¹⁹ Margarida DURÃES, «Herdeiros e não herdeiros: nupcialidade e celibato no contexto da propriedade enfiteuta», *Revista de História Económica e Social*, 1.ª série, n.º 21, 1988, pp. 51-52.

²⁰ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 243, fl. 73.

²¹ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. João V*, Liv. 77, fls. 308-308v.

descendência». Afirmando «que o dito seu pai só tratava de ir obrando o que se lhe devia, e sem dúvida empregava em benefício dos filhos do segundo matrimônio», e para evitar os descaminhos das legítimas a que teria direito, Pedro José pediu que os rendimentos das mesmas fossem depositados em um cofre «para se empregar em bens rendosos ou se pôr em juro em mãos seguras, e do seu produto se lograr o suplicado, ficando sempre a sua propriedade seguramente conservada»²².

Em reação às instâncias que contestavam a idoneidade com que geria o legado das filhas defuntas, José Lourenço Botelho passou aos rebentos do segundo matrimônio a sucessão do morgado que havia instituído, a começar pelo primogênito, Gonçalo Lourenço, e sua descendência. Caso não tivesse sucessão, a herança passaria aos seus irmãos, segundo a ordem de nascimento. E se nenhum deles tivesse geração, os vínculos recairiam nos netos, a começar pelos filhos de D. Luísa Francisca, nascida do primeiro casamento de José Lourenço, e, depois, a quaisquer bastardos «que dos meus descendentes houver e forem parentes mais chegados ao último possuidor». Citado no testamento paterno como potencial inimigo dos meios-irmãos, Pedro José da Silva Botelho foi totalmente excluído da administração do morgado²³.

Ao criar uma ordem de sucessão nos vínculos que instituíra em favor dos rebentos do segundo matrimônio, José Lourenço Botelho não deixou de reiterar a premissa de que os fundadores do morgadio se afirmavam como «princípio ordenador de uma nova linhagem»²⁴. Pedro José delineou, contudo, uma trajetória ascendente. E se não se beneficiou dos legados paternos além do que lhe facultavam as leis sucessórias, mais tarde seus préstimos e bens vinculados foram de vital importância no processo de ascensão social e profissional do meio-irmão Gonçalo.

Militar e administrador colonial

Com a morte do pai e de acordo com suas últimas vontades, Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro e seus quatro irmãos menores ficaram sob a tutela do capitão de Ordenanças Domingos de Azevedo Lima. Contudo, após o desaparecimento de José Lourenço Botelho e a abertura do seu testamento,

²² ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês, D. João V*, Liv. 123, fls. 22-23.

²³ ANTT, *Registo Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 243, fls. 64v-67v e fl. 73.

²⁴ Maria de Lurdes ROSA, *O morgadio em Portugal (séculos XIV-XV)*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1995, p. 55.

não foram encontradas evidências da atuação do capitão como tutor dos filhos e gestor das contas do negociante.

Gonçalo Lourenço tinha entre 12 e 14 anos quando o pai faleceu, idade em que muitos portugueses – alguns até antes – iniciavam a formação militar. Entretanto, pelas fés de ofício apensas a um requerimento do hábito da Ordem de Cristo, começou a servir em 1756, aos 21 anos²⁵. Sentou praça de soldado voluntário no 1.º Regimento da Armada, onde permaneceu pouco mais de nove meses. No 2.º Regimento, galgou os postos de tenente, de capitão agregado à companhia do sargento-mor da unidade e de capitão-tenente das naus, acumulando a função de ajudante de ordens de D. João Carlos de Bragança, 2.º duque de Lafões, capitão-general da Armada Real²⁶. É importante salientar que no 1.º Regimento serviu sob as ordens de D. Tomás da Silveira e Albuquerque Mexia, que entre 1765 e 1766 manteve correspondência com Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira²⁷, que se casaria alguns anos depois com uma futura cunhada de Gonçalo Lourenço. Se nesse momento é precipitado afirmar que já integrava uma rede, pode-se ao menos cogitar a existência de afinidades pessoais construídas na vida militar.

No tempo em que serviu na Armada embarcou em três expedições²⁸. Da terceira, realizada em 1766, ficou um diário de bordo escrito pelo próprio Gonçalo, como 2.º capitão-tenente, em que narrou com minúcias uma viagem de Lisboa ao Estreito de Gibraltar e outra da cidade do Porto a Ilha Terceira, registrando coordenadas geográficas de todos os trechos percorridos e fatos extraordinários, como a aproximação de navios estrangeiros²⁹.

Eram essas as suas experiências como militar em 1768 quando recebeu a mercê do hábito de Cristo, no bojo das remunerações dos primeiros serviços, completados depois da terceira armada³⁰. Entre a conclusão do processo de habilitação e o ingresso na Ordem de Cristo, foi nomeado governador do Piauí (o segundo a exercer o cargo), subalterno ao governo-geral do estado

²⁵ ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra G, maço 4, n.º 3.

²⁶ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 40, n.º 9.

²⁷ ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO MILITAR [AHM], PT/AHM/DIV/1/08/8/12, caixa n.º 8 (Correspondência de Tomás da Silveira e Albuquerque Mexia para Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira).

²⁸ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 40, n.º 11. Embarcou em 1757 na fragata Nossa Senhora da Arrábida, comandada pelo capitão de mar e guerra José Rollin Wandrec; em 1764, em a nau Nossa Senhora do Pilar, comandada pelo capitão-general D. João de Lencastre e, dois anos depois, na fragata Nossa Senhora da Graça, sob o comando do capitão de mar e guerra D. Francisco Xavier de Meneses Breyner.

²⁹ FUNDAÇÃO BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL [FBN], *Divisão de Manuscritos*, I – 12, 01, 024 (Diário náutico feito na fragata de guerra Nossa Senhora da Graça), s/l, 1766, 31 fls.

³⁰ ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra G, maço 4, n.º 3.

do Grão-Pará e Maranhão. Com o cargo recebeu, ainda em recompensa pelos primeiros serviços, a patente de coronel de Infantaria, que exercitaria «nas tropas deste Reino quando a ele voltar do referido governo»³¹.

A passagem de Gonçalo Lourenço pela capitania, entre 1769 e 1775, deixou na historiografia piauiense impressões desfavoráveis e menções a alguns episódios não corroborados pelas fontes. Foi acusado de falta de autoridade por se submeter aos interesses da família Rego Castelo Branco (uma das pioneiras no povoamento do Piauí) na perseguição aos índios acoroás e pimenteiras e na busca de minas de ouro, proibida pela Coroa portuguesa³². Esses dados têm como referência a memória de José Martins Pereira d'Alencastre³³, do século XIX, que procurou exaltar o primeiro governador do Piauí, João Pereira Caldas, responsável pela estruturação da capitania, em detrimento de seu sucessor, Gonçalo Lourenço, sobre o qual se afirmou: «na sua administração foram registrados poucos melhoramentos»³⁴.

De fato, a realização mais significativa do seu governo foi a instalação do correio mensal para que as vilas e povoações do Piauí «tivessem mais frequente e regular correspondência com a sua capital», Oeiras³⁵. O projeto de comunicação entre a capital e as vilas do interior da capitania alimentou uma disputa de poder com o ouvidor Antônio José de Moraes Durão, que acusava Gonçalo Lourenço de desprezar sua jurisdição e de favorecer aliados em nomeações para cargos. As intrigas teriam resultado

³¹ ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU], *Conselho Ultramarino*, Piauí, Cx. 10, doc. 601 (Decreto do rei D. José nomeando o capitão-tenente das naus da Armada Real e ajudante de ordens Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, governador da capitania do Piauí. Lisboa, 8 de novembro de 1768). Para a carta patente de governador, de 15 de novembro de 1768, e outras compensações pelos primeiros serviços, ver ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 1.

³² A família Rego Castelo Branco descendia de um dos primeiros povoadores do Piauí, o português Francisco da Cunha Castelo Branco, que chegou à região por volta de 1700. Moysés CASTELO BRANCO FILHO, *O povoamento do Piauí*, 2.ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, Companhia Brasileira de Artes Gráficas, 1982, pp. 25-36. Sobre a formação de grupos de poder local na capitania do Piauí, ver Tanya Maria Pires BRANDÃO, *A elite colonial piauiense: família e poder*, 2.ª ed., Recife, Ed. Universitária da UFPE, 2012.

³³ José Martins Pereira d'ALENCASTRE, «Memória chronológica, histórica e corographica da província do Piauhy», *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, T. 20, 1857, pp. 32-33.

³⁴ Cf. Wilson Carvalho GONÇALVES, *Os homens que governaram o Piauí*, Teresina, Gráfica Júnior, 1989, pp. 14-16.

³⁵ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Piauí, Cx. 11, doc. 649 (Ofício do [governador do Piauí], Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, ao [secretário de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar], Martinho de Melo e Castro, sobre a criação de um correio mensal para a expedição de ordens para as diversas povoações da capitania, evitando-se os seus descaminhos. Oeiras do Piauí, 10 de outubro de 1770).

na destituição e na prisão do governador no Maranhão³⁶. Porém, nenhum indício desse desfecho foi encontrado nas fontes consultadas.

Ocorrências desabonadoras da conduta de um governante podiam comprometer o seu crédito e a sua honradez. Por isso, é de supor que tivessem alguma repercussão no Reino. O silêncio quanto a isso, admitindo-se a veracidade dos fatos, se explicaria pela intervenção de aliados na Corte? Difícil responder. Afinal, foi justamente após o retorno de Gonçalo Lourenço a Portugal e, sobretudo, a partir do casamento, três anos depois do governo do Piauí, que os efeitos de boas conexões no ambiente cortesão se manifestaram na sua trajetória.

Para entender esses percursos é preciso voltar a Pedro José da Silva Botelho e realçar a sua contribuição para o acrescentamento do meio-irmão. Fidalgo da Casa Real, moço de guarda-roupa e porteiro da Câmara de D. José I, foi também escrivão da matrícula dos moradores da Casa Real. Superou o defeito mecânico verificado em seu avô materno, «abridor de cabos de espada»³⁷, tornando-se cavaleiro da Ordem de Cristo e, posteriormente, familiar do Santo Ofício. Sua carreira culminou na função de conselheiro de capa e espada do Conselho Ultramarino³⁸. Acumulou, portanto, três ofícios da Casa e Câmara Real, insígnias que o distinguiam socialmente, e um lugar no sínodo, que já não tinha a mesma centralidade após a criação das Secretarias de Estado, em 1736³⁹. Pedro José foi também um exemplo

³⁶ Cf. W. C. GONÇALVES, op. cit., p. 16.

³⁷ ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra P, maço 11, n.º 129. Pedro José pediu a dispensa desse defeito, alegando «que o dito seu avô materno só tivera aquele exercício em seu princípio, sem assistir em loja, e hoje se acha, e já há muitos anos, nobilitado com os ofícios e cargos que era notório servira». Sobre esse argumento para a dispensa da mecânica, ver F. OLIVAL, op. cit., pp. 378-380.

³⁸ ANTT, *Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Conselho Geral, Habilitações*, Maço 21, n.º 429 (Carta régia de 16 de janeiro de 1733); ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. José I*, Liv. 1, fl. 157 (Alvará de 18 de setembro de 1750 pelo qual Pedro José da Silva, fidalgo da Casa Real, foi nomeado moço da câmara, com o ofício de guarda-roupa, e carta régia de 30 de abril de 1753, pela qual recebeu, por seus serviços como guarda-roupa e pelo falecimento de seu sogro, João Xavier da Silveira Rebelo, a propriedade do ofício de porteiro da câmara real, com 120 mil réis de ordenado e mais quatro mil réis de vestimenta); ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. José I*, Liv. 12, fl. 466 (Carta régia de 21 de junho de 1758 nomeando Pedro José da Silva Botelho conselheiro de capa e espada do Conselho Ultramarino e carta régia de 19 de abril de 1770 concedendo-lhe a propriedade vitalícia do cargo de escrivão da matrícula dos moradores da Casa Real, que também pertencera ao sogro e ao cunhado, José da Silveira Rebelo).

³⁹ Sobre os ofícios da Casa Real, ver Pedro CARDIM, «A Casa Real e os órgãos centrais de governo no Portugal da segunda metade de Seiscentos», *Tempo – Revista do Departamento de História da UFF*, Vol. 7, N.º 13, (Julho, 2002), pp. 13-57. Sobre o Conselho Ultramarino no período josefino, ver Nuno Gonçalo MONTEIRO, «As reformas na monarquia pluricontinental portuguesa: de Pombal a dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho», in João Fragoso e Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (orgs.), *O Brasil colonial, 1720-1821*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2014, Vol. 3, pp. 116-117.

de ascensão social por meio de um matrimônio vantajoso. Casou-se com D. Brites Paula da Silveira, de quem herdou todos os bens, além de alguns ofícios palatinos exercidos pelo sogro e o cunhado. Não teve sucessão legítima; apenas dois filhos naturais, aos quais destinou quantias em dinheiro para o seu sustento⁴⁰.

Se no testamento paterno Pedro José foi considerado uma ameaça ao patrimônio dos meios-irmãos, a realidade mostrou-se totalmente distinta. O principal beneficiário do seu legado foi Gonçalo Lourenço, testamenteiro, herdeiro universal e primeiro administrador do vínculo instituído com os bens deixados por Pedro José, que incluíam, além do ofício de guarda-roupa, «casas nobres» no Campo de Santana, em Lisboa, ouro, diamantes, prataria e obras de arte⁴¹. Os outros irmãos também foram citados como legatários, assim como a madrasta, a quem Pedro José consignou um estipêndio enquanto vivesse, e diversos criados particulares.

Caso Gonçalo Lourenço contraísse alguma dívida por «ocasião de vícios e gastos supérfluos» e lançasse mão dos rendimentos do morgado, seria afastado da sua administração⁴². Por outro motivo, em 1778, alegando não dispor de bens de raiz livres de vínculo para «a segurança das arras de 500 mil réis» estipuladas para o ajuste do seu casamento, pediu e obteve permissão régia para hipotecar os rendimentos dos bens vinculados pelo meio-irmão⁴³. Mais tarde, socorreu-se da legítima paterna para amortizar dívidas do consórcio⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ A Pedro José Xavier, prestes a se tornar padre, determinou que lhe fossem dados 100 000 réis anuais de alimentos em sua vida, mesmo que não se ordenasse, pois, «caso que não se ordene, sempre é minha vontade que seguindo ele as letras ou armas com bom procedimento, se lhe deem os sobreditos 100 mil réis de alimentos por ano enquanto vivo for». Quanto a D. Maria Gertrudes, internada no Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos, determinou que o meio-irmão e testamenteiro continuasse pagando-lhe os 60 000 réis anuais para o seu sustento e os 2400 mensais «para seus alfinetes», enquanto estivesse «no estado de donzela», cessando os proventos quando se decidisse a mudar de estado. BIBLIOTECA GERAL DA UNIVERSIDADE DE COIMBRA [BGUC], *Reservados*, Ms. 617, fls. 34-39. O documento também pode ser encontrado no ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 304, fls. 18v-22v.

⁴¹ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 1. Guarda-roupa era «criado grave, que ordinariamente só serve o rei, pessoas reais, ou da nobreza». António de Morais SILVA, *Dicionário da língua portuguesa*, 5.ª ed., Lisboa, Tipografia de António José da Rocha, 1844, T. 2, p. 115.

⁴² BGUC, *Reservados*, Ms. 617, fls. 34-39.

⁴³ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 11, fls. 352-352v.

⁴⁴ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 12, fls. 99-99v.

A estipulação de arras é um elemento a ser observado na avaliação da condição social dos nubentes. De modo geral, no Portugal do Antigo Regime havia dois tipos de casamentos: aqueles por carta de ametade, «mais comuns», e outros por dote e arras, «característicos dos membros da nobreza», que demandavam uma escritura pública pré-nupcial⁴⁵.

Casamento, ascensão social e promoções no Real Serviço

Ao falar das «relações interpessoais» e dos acertos matrimoniais na sociedade de Antigo Regime, Mafalda Soares da Cunha chamou atenção para as «configurações do parentesco que decorrem de decisões e escolhas dos próprios indivíduos ou dos grupos em que se inserem». Esses relacionamentos ultrapassavam, portanto, os laços de sangue que uniam as pessoas. No mesmo contexto histórico, o casamento não se limitava a propiciar a reprodução humana; constituía também «uma opção de aliança com um grupo familiar que se revela atraente porque possui determinados atributos sociais, econômicos, relacionais ou simbólicos» vantajosos⁴⁶. Dessa forma é possível compreender a inserção de um indivíduo em uma rede, tal como fez Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro ao se unir a uma senhora de boa estirpe.

D. Ana Joaquina Apolônia de Vilhena Abreu Soares era filha de um autêntico representante da nobreza senhorial: Rodrigo Antônio da Costa Pereira, fidalgo cavaleiro da Casa Real, professo na Ordem de Cristo, mestre de campo da Infantaria auxiliar de Basto, governador das armas da praça de Melgaço, senhor da Casa do Terreiro e dos morgados da Rosa e de São José⁴⁷. A mãe de D. Ana Apolônia, D. Inácia Clara de Vilhena Coutinho, era irmã de Jerônimo Antônio Pereira Coutinho Pacheco de Vilhena e

⁴⁵ Cf. Maria Beatriz Nizza da SILVA, «A legislação pombalina e a estrutura da família no Antigo Regime português», in Maria Helena Carvalho dos Santos (coord.), *Pombal revisitado*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1984, Vol. I, p. 406.

⁴⁶ M. S. da CUNHA, art. cit., p. 120.

⁴⁷ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. João V*, Liv. 36, fl. 120. Felgueiras GAYO, *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*, 2.^a ed., Braga, Edições Carvalhos de Basto, 1989, Vol. IV, p. 525. José Barbosa Canaes de Figueiredo CASTELLO BRANCO, *Árvores de costados das famílias nobres dos reinos de Portugal, Algarves e domínios ultramarinos*, Lisboa, Na Impressão Régia, 1831, T. II, p. 43.

Brito, 1.º marquês de Soidos⁴⁸. De origem espanhola, o título com grandeza foi reconhecido em Portugal e pertencia aos senhores do reguengo do Cartaxo (para Nuno Monteiro, sua inclusão na «“primeira nobreza” se pode, no entanto, considerar duvidosa»)⁴⁹. Do lado materno, D. Ana Apolônia provinha de uma família com tradição de serviços à Casa Real – a mãe e a avó foram damas de sucessivas rainhas⁵⁰.

Cerca de dois meses depois do consórcio, Gonçalo Lourenço começou a experimentar os efeitos da união com uma dona do Paço. Recebeu a mercê do foro de fidalgo cavaleiro da Casa Real em atenção a um requerimento de D. Ana Apolônia, amparado em seus serviços como açafata da rainha D. Mariana Vitória, esposa de D. José I, e de sua filha, a infanta D. Mariana⁵¹. A matrícula na Casa Real, por sua vez, encerrava hierarquizações. De um livro elaborado pelo escrivão Bernardo Pimenta do Avelar, no século XVIII, Sérgio Cunha Soares extraiu o que seriam as matrículas de «primeira classe»: moço fidalgo, fidalgo escudeiro e fidalgo cavaleiro⁵².

⁴⁸ Felgueiras Gayo registrou que D. Ana Joaquina Apolônia, dita «Maria Ana Apolônia de Vilhena Coutinho», casou-se duas vezes, a primeira com Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, e a segunda com Francisco Manuel de Mariz Sarmento, com quem teve geração, sendo um dos filhos Antônio Luís de Mariz Sarmento, 1.º visconde de Andaluz. A informação não procede, pois D. Ana Joaquina Apolônia nunca se casou com Mariz Sarmento, nem teve filhos, o que foi devidamente apontado em seu testamento, mencionado adiante. F. GAYO, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 525. O equívoco também se encontra em Gonçalo Nemésio, *Histórias de Inácios*, Lisboa, Dislivros Histórica, 2005, Vol. II, p. 283. Sobre o parentesco com o 1.º marquês de Soidos, ver Antônio de Albuquerque de Sousa LARA *et al.*, *Miscelânea histórica de Portugal*, Lisboa, 1983, Vol. III, p. 16.

⁴⁹ Cf. Nuno Gonçalo F. MONTEIRO, *O crepúsculo dos grandes. A Casa e o patrimônio da aristocracia em Portugal (1750-1832)*, 2.ª ed., Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional/ Casa da Moeda, 2003, p. 271.

⁵⁰ Cf. D. Antônio-Xavier da Gama Pereira COUTINHO (Soydos), *Armânia, a sereia de olhos verdes* (conferência), Porto, Diário do Porto Ltda., 1941, pp. 10-11. O autor nomeou a mãe de D. Ana Apolônia como «D. Inácia Maria», quando se chamava D. Inácia Clara de Vilhena Coutinho. Sua avó era D. Apolônia Maria Pacheco de Sousa.

⁵¹ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. Maria I*, Liv. 5, fls. 61-61v. Sobre o foro de fidalgo cavaleiro, ver Luiz da Silva Pereira OLIVEIRA, *Privilégios da nobreza e fidalguia de Portugal*, Lisboa, Na Nova Oficina de João Rodrigues Neves, 1806. Na segunda parte, capítulo II, «Das diferentes espécies que há de fidalgos neste Reino», o autor estabeleceu como terceira espécie os «fidalgos assentados nos livros d'El Rei», subdivididos em três graduações: moços fidalgos, a mais antiga, do tempo de D. Afonso V; «a segunda, e superior», a de Fidalgos Escudeiros; «a terceira, e melhor que as outras», a de Fidalgos Cavaleiros, as duas últimas «graduadas» por D. Sebastião (pp. 228-230). Segundo Oliveira, «as pessoas condecoradas com estes foros constituem a principal nobreza depois dos títulos» (p. 231). Açafata era a «mulher do serviço das rainhas; tem ofício de as ajudar a vestir, e despir, a guarda dos vestidos, ou toucados etc.». Carregava o açafate, «cestinho de vimes, sem arco nem asas». A. de M. SILVA, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵² Sérgio Cunha SOARES, «Nobreza e arquétipo fidalgo. A propósito de um Livro de Matrículas de Filhamentos (1641-1724)», *Revista de História das Ideias*, Vol. 19, 1997, pp. 420-421.

Ronald Raminelli esmiuçou «a complexa hierarquia entre os fidalgos», agrupados em duas ordens, e constatou que a primeira ordem era encimada justamente pelos fidalgos cavaleiros, «filhos dos Ricos Homens»⁵³. Dessa forma, D. Ana Apolônia conseguiu a elevação do marido a fidalgo com a mesma graduação do sogro. Como afirmou Raminelli, «ao receber o foro de fidalgo, o fiel vassalo de Sua Majestade tornava-se parte da nobreza política», distinta da nobreza de linhagem⁵⁴.

A curva ascendente da trajetória pessoal e da carreira de Gonçalo Lourenço acentuou-se ao longo da década de 1780. No âmbito privado, foi favorecido pela renúncia de um tio à administração de uma capela por ser «uma das pessoas a quem o suplicante devia os maiores benefícios, acudindo-lhe em todas as ocasiões em que lhe tinha sido preciso, ao seu auxílio»⁵⁵. O mesmo tio foi posto aos cuidados de Gonçalo Lourenço a quem caberia, oportunamente, gerir os bens do parente idoso como seu «imediato sucessor»⁵⁶.

Quanto à carreira, as promoções vieram ainda na mesma década e, sobretudo, na seguinte. Dois anos depois do casamento (1780), Gonçalo Lourenço foi nomeado engenheiro-mor do Reino (o último a ocupar o cargo), com a patente de brigadeiro da Infantaria. Embora não haja notícia de que recebera instrução formal na arte da engenharia militar, passou a integrar um distinto grupo de homens encarregados das obras reais⁵⁷. Na função, elaborou em 1790 o primeiro plano do Real Corpo de Engenheiros, as *Ordenações militares ou Regimento do Corpo de Engenharia de Guerra destacado por brigadas da guarnição efetiva nas seis províncias deste reino*⁵⁸.

⁵³ R. RAMINELLI, op. cit., p. 33.

⁵⁴ R. RAMINELLI, op. cit., p. 29.

⁵⁵ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 26, fls. 158v-159v (Carta régia de 30 de maio de 1785 autorizando Pedro Vaz Soares do Rego Castelo Branco a renunciar à administração da capela de Maria Gavinha, no limite da vila de Coruche, em favor do sobrinho Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro).

⁵⁶ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 30, fls. 246-247 (Provisão de 27 de agosto de 1787 entregando Pedro Vaz Soares do Rego Castelo Branco aos cuidados do sobrinho Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro).

⁵⁷ Cf. Nireu Oliveira CAVALCANTI, *Arquitetos e engenheiros: sonho de entidade desde 1798*, Rio de Janeiro, CREA-RJ, 2007, p. 29; ver também Kenneth MAXWELL, *Marquês de Pombal, paradoxo do Iluminismo*, trad. Antônio de Pádua Danesi, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1996, pp. 21-35; COMISSÃO COMEMORATIVA DOS 350 ANOS DA ENGENHARIA MILITAR PORTUGUESA (dir.), *Engenharia militar portuguesa: livro comemorativo dos 350 anos*, Lisboa, Gráfica 2000, 1997, p. 141.

⁵⁸ AHM, AHM/DIV/3/02/01/15 (Ordenações militares ou Regimento do Corpo de Engenharia de Guerra destacado por brigadas da guarnição efectiva nas seis províncias deste reino. Lisboa, 12 de novembro de 1790).

Passados alguns anos, foi investido no cargo de censor régio do Desembargo do Paço (1794), com uma atuação que aparentemente não deixou rastros⁵⁹. Também não se conseguiu identificar qualquer traço de favorecimento à indicação. À época fora reestabelecida em Portugal a censura tríplice, realizada pelo Tribunal do Santo Ofício, o Ordinário e o Desembargo do Paço. Rentável e trabalhosa – o censor tinha ao seu encargo o exame de numerosos impressos e manuscritos que demandavam a aprovação régia –, «era uma atividade cobiçada em Portugal, pois era sinal de prestígio e trazia consigo alguns privilégios. Muitos se candidatavam para o lugar, mas poucos eram os escolhidos»⁶⁰.

Na carreira militar, as promoções se distribuíram no decorrer dos anos de 1790, quando foi elevado a marechal de campo (1791) e a tenente-general (1797) dos Reais Exércitos. Essas progressões estavam de acordo com uma tendência verificada desde o reinado de D. José I, sobretudo, após a Campanha de 1762, quando a aristocracia de Corte, que se concentrava nos postos mais elevados da hierarquia militar, começou a ceder lugar aos fidalgos de província, a outros estratos da nobreza e a estrangeiros, à medida que a função militar se tornava mais técnica⁶¹.

Na esteira da ascensão a tenente-general, em razão da experiência na tropa e como administrador colonial e engenheiro-mor, Gonçalo Lourenço tornou-se membro da Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica⁶². Criada em 1798 sob os auspícios de D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, então secretário da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, como parte de um programa reformista de cunho ilustrado, a Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica para o Desenho, Gravura e Impressão das Cartas Hidrográficas, Geográficas e Militares tinha o objetivo de promover a cartografia portuguesa em moldes científicos. Congregava oficiais de reconhecido tirocínio na Armada e no Exército, lentes da Universidade de Coimbra e das academias militares, além do diretor geral dos desenhistas, gravadores e tipógra-

⁵⁹ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 8. Um exame preliminar não identificou parecer assinado por Gonçalo Lourenço. ANTT, *Desembargo do Paço, Repartição da Corte, Estremadura e Ilhas, Secretaria da Revisão dos Livros*, Maços n.ºs 682, 874, 1931-1934 e 1939.

⁶⁰ Cf. Márcia ABREU, «O controle à publicação de livros nos séculos XVIII e XIX: uma outra visão da censura», *Fênix – Revista de História e Estudos Culturais*, Vol. 4, Ano IV, N.º 4, (Outubro-Dezembro, 2007), pp. 1-4.

⁶¹ Cf. N. G. MONTEIRO, *Elites*, cit., pp. 117-119.

⁶² ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 1.

fos⁶³. Não se sabe ao certo em que medida Gonçalo Lourenço colaborou na Sociedade; coube-lhe, por exemplo, dar parecer sobre o mérito da coleção de mapas manuscritos de Fernão Vaz Dourado, cosmógrafo do século XVI, o que ilustra uma das principais finalidades da instituição: zelar pela qualidade técnica das cartas geográficas que circulavam em Portugal e seus domínios⁶⁴.

É importante sublinhar que Gonçalo Lourenço foi comunicado da indicação para a Sociedade Real Marítima por Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho⁶⁵. O então secretário de Estado dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra e futuro visconde de Balsemão, «figura central no desenvolvimento da cartografia sul-americana», governou Mato Grosso (1768-1773)⁶⁶ praticamente na mesma época em que Gonçalo Lourenço esteve no Piauí (1769-1775), o que sugere o pertencimento de ambos a um círculo comum de relações. É presumível que a indicação tenha partido, de fato, de Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho, pois o secretário era aparentado de D. Ana Apolônia pelo lado materno⁶⁷.

O casamento, portanto, inseriu Gonçalo Lourenço em redes de poder e de parentesco caracterizadas pela influência mais ou menos direta de figuras que ocupavam postos importantes. Uma delas poderia ser Antônio de Araújo de Azevedo, futuro conde da Barca. Primo de D. Ana Apolônia – à época do seu falecimento era secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra –, foi citado em seu testamento e dela recebeu «o painel do Sátiro e todos os mais que ele escolher das pinturas» de sua casa⁶⁸.

⁶³ Cf. Andrée Mansuy-Diniz SILVA, *Portrait d'un homme d'État: D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, conde de Linhares (1755-1812)*, Paris, Centre Culturel Calouste Gulbenkian, 2006, Vol. 2, pp. 99-117. Para uma visão de conjunto do programa reformista de D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, ver José Damião RODRIGUES, «Continuidades e projectos reformistas (1777-1807)», in João Paulo Oliveira e Costa (coord.); José Damião Rodrigues e Pedro Aires Oliveira, *História da expansão e do império português*, Lisboa, A Esfera dos Livros, 2014, pp. 299-320.

⁶⁴ BIBLIOTECA PÚBLICA DE ÉVORA [BPE], Cód. CX/1-8 (Parecer de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Lemos, sobre o merecimento da coleção de mapas manuscritos por Fernão Vaz Dourado, existentes na Cartuxa de Évora, hoje na Torre do Tombo, 1799). Para a questão do desenvolvimento da cartografia em Portugal em moldes científicos, ver Íris KANTOR, «Mapas em trânsito: projeções cartográficas e processo de emancipação política do Brasil (1779-1822)», *Araucaria. Revista Iberoamericana de Filosofia, Política y Humanidades*, Año 12, N.º 24, (Segundo semestre de 2010), pp. 113-123.

⁶⁵ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 1.

⁶⁶ Cf. Í. KANTOR, art. cit., p. 116.

⁶⁷ Cf. Afonso Eduardo Martins ZUQUETE, *Nobresza de Portugal e do Brasil*, 3.ª ed., Lisboa, Edições Zairol, 2000, Vol. 2, pp. 367-368.

⁶⁸ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 355, fls. 207-208v.

Outra pessoa que de algum modo pode ter contribuído para os progressos do militar e administrador colonial foi sua cunhada, D. Mariana Joaquina Apolônia de Vilhena Coutinho, irmã mais velha de D. Ana Apolônia, açafata da rainha D. Mariana Vitória, da infanta Maria Francisca Dorotéia e, depois de viúva, de D. Maria I⁶⁹. Casou-se com Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira, desembargador da Casa da Suplicação, um dos principais órgãos da administração central do Reino, tendo como padrinhos os secretários Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado e Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, ainda conde de Oeiras⁷⁰. Radicada na Ilha do Faial desde o século XVI, a família Arriaga conquistou riqueza e influência:

(...) na Corte portuguesa mantinham os Arriaga, por mérito próprio, reforçado por diversas alianças matrimoniais (Brum da Silveira, Borges da Câmara, Cabral da Cunha, Vilhena Coutinho) fortes relações de amizade, engrandecendo-se o prestígio, ao longo dos anos, por atos de bravura, na defesa da pátria ou de eficácia na administração pública.⁷¹

A residência do casal localizava-se «junto à Barraca de São Francisco de Paula», em uma Lisboa ainda em processo de reedificação após o terremoto de 1755. A união durou pouco – Miguel de Arriaga faleceu cerca de três anos depois, em 1772 – e não gerou descendentes⁷². Mas o prestígio e

⁶⁹ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 54, n.º 180.

⁷⁰ O casamento se deu a 2 de fevereiro de 1769. Cf. António Ferreira de SERPA, *Dados genealógicos e biográficos d'algumas famílias fayalenses*, Lisboa, Tipografia da Livraria Ferin, 1910, Vol. I, pp. 173-174. Meses depois, em 17 de julho, foi concedido a D. Mariana Joaquina, por representação de seu pai, um hábito da Ordem de Cristo, com 200 000 réis de tença, em remuneração dos seus serviços como açafata da rainha Mariana Vitória e da infanta Maria Francisca Dorotéia, de 1760 a 1768. Do valor da tença, 188 000 réis caberiam a D. Mariana Joaquina, em sua vida, e os 12 000 restantes, juntamente com o hábito, ao seu consorte. ANTT, *Registro Geral de Mercês, D. José I*, Liv. 22, fls. 516-516v. ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 17, n.º 12. Miguel de Arriaga faleceu sem usufruir os 12 000 réis de tença com o hábito de Cristo. Por isso, a mercê recaiu em um irmão de D. Mariana Joaquina, Gaspar José da Costa Pereira de Vilhena Coutinho, por decreto de 13 de novembro de 1779. ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 31, n.º 62. ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra G, maço 5, n.º 1.

⁷¹ Cf. Natália Correia GUEDES, «Os últimos vínculos Arriaga Brum da Silveira e o herdeiro Manuel de Arriaga», in Sérgio Campos Matos (coord.), *O tempo de Manuel de Arriaga. Actas do colóquio organizado pelo Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa e pela Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Liceu da Horta*, Lisboa, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa/Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Liceu da Horta, 2004, p. 155.

⁷² Essas informações foram retiradas do processo de habilitação à Ordem de Cristo de outro irmão de D. Mariana Joaquina, António Luís da Costa Pereira, que residia com a irmã e o cunhado. ANTT, *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações da Ordem de Cristo*, Letra A, maço 31, n.º 6. D. Mariana faleceu sem filhos em 1820. À época assistia na vila de Oeiras. ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 375, fls. 261-262.

a influência de D. Mariana Joaquina transcendiam a esfera do matrimônio com o desembargador da Casa da Suplicação.

Na historiografia portuguesa, ora desponta como a mulher por quem o príncipe D. José, herdeiro do trono, supostamente se apaixonou, ora como a senhora culta e bem relacionada na Corte. Exaltada pela beleza e erudição nos versos de Bocage e da marquesa de Alorna, de quem seria amiga, costumava organizar saraus em casa. Nesses espaços de sociabilidade manifestavam-se gostos literários, assim como se estabeleciam e se reforçavam amizades e alianças. Sobre tais ocasiões, afirmou Caetano Beirão: «ficaram célebres as reuniões em casa (...) de D. Mariana Arriaga, dona da câmara da rainha, muito sua valida»⁷³. Em vista do seu prestígio, «abriu carreira e protegeu a seu primo o conde da Barca»⁷⁴. E se Antônio de Araújo de Azevedo, que se notabilizou na política externa e no ministério português, contou com o patrocínio da prima, Gonçalo Lourenço também pode ter se valido da proteção da cunhada.

D. Mariana Joaquina, afinal, deu provas de que sabia negociar em seu favor. Em 1793, preterida na concessão de mercês em remuneração de serviços prestados por damas do Paço, encaminhou requerimento ao príncipe D. João, protestando a injustiça da sua exclusão. Servira oito anos de açafata e nos aposentos de D. Maria Francisca Doroteia, tia do regente, àquela altura falecida, e depois de viúva, por volta de 1773, «entrou segunda vez no Paço na qualidade de Dona» da câmara de D. Maria, futura rainha, onde «não só teve a seu cargo o serviço ordinário do mesmo quarto, mas também outras honrosas comissões, que teve a fortuna de desempenhar de modo a merecer da dita Sua Augusta Ama os testemunhos mais graciosos da sua completa satisfação»⁷⁵.

D. Mariana Joaquina, tendo servido a rainha mesmo doente e sendo a mais antiga entre as suas criadas, sentiu-se desonrada com a falta de remuneração e manifestou-se nos seguintes termos:

O despacho, porém, que muito justamente acabam de receber as companheiras da suplicante, e em que ela não foi contemplada, sendo um sinal público da satisfação bem merecida que Vossa Alteza tem delas, pode por essa mesma razão sê-lo de ideias contrárias a respeito da mesma suplicante,

⁷³ D. A. G. P. COUTINHO (Soydos), op. cit., pp. 4-9. Caetano BEIRÃO, *D. Maria I, 1777-1792: subsídios para a revisão da história do seu reinado*, 2.^a ed., Lisboa, Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1934, p. 282.

⁷⁴ D. A. G. P. COUTINHO (Soydos), op. cit., pp. 9-10.

⁷⁵ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 54, n.º 180 (Decreto de 17 de dezembro de 1793).

não que ela acredite a sua existência, porque temos testemunhos da sua consciência, e tem o conceito, que deve ter da constância de ânimo, e da integridade de Vossa Alteza. Isto, contudo, que em si é realmente muito, não é o que basta para o Mundo, em cuja opinião verdadeiramente consiste o que se chama Honra, e que se diz o mais forte pedestal das Monarquias, e talvez melhor de todas as Sociedades Civis. Vossa Alteza é muito justo para sofrer a existência de semelhantes ideias com tão manifesta injúria da suplicante, que, confiada nisso, e unicamente por reparação de seu crédito se vê obrigada a falar de serviços, em que só conhece de merecimento a Fidelidade, o Amor, o Zelo com que foram feitos.⁷⁶

Na condição de «árbitro da remuneração de serviços que a suplicante pretende com aquela mesma atenção que tem merecido as outras criadas já remuneradas pelo serem da Primeira Rainha que subiu ao trono deste Reino, e com outra de ser entre elas a mais antiga», a D. João caberia retribuir os préstimos da dona do Paço com base no «caráter ‘devido’ de certas retribuições régias aos serviços prestados à Coroa», enunciado por Ângela Barreto Xavier e António Manuel Hespanha, em que a dispensa de mercês pelo rei (a «justiça distributiva») dependia não só da sua vontade ou de uma razão política, mas estava fundada numa «tradição» e no «costume de retribuição»⁷⁷. Fernanda Olival apontou que no século XVII afirmava-se que «os reis não eram senhores das suas riquezas, mas uma espécie de administradores destas». Por isso, deviam retribuir o que, no passado, os vassallos haviam conquistado com seu sangue para o bem da monarquia⁷⁸.

Desse modo, o soberano ficava sujeito a pressões de súditos que no discurso dos pedidos de mercês reiteravam a fidelidade ao trono, o zelo do bom vassalo e o seu papel como sustentáculo político da monarquia, como forma de alcançar o favorecimento régio. Essa situação se aproxima do que Norbert Elias percebeu no funcionamento da sociedade de Corte de Antigo Regime: o rei, diferentemente de qualquer outro indivíduo, não

⁷⁶ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 54, n.º 180. Por despacho de 17 de dezembro de 1793, o príncipe D. João decretou: «Sendo tão verídicos os serviços da suplicante, praticados perante mim, como constante o amor, fidelidade, e o préstimo com que me serviu sempre, ainda com excesso ao que lhe permitiam as suas forças (...). Hei por bem, em remuneração, fazer-lhe mercê neste dia pela [*sic*] honrar, da Comenda do Porto de Santa Ana, da Ordem de Santiago da Espada, no Arcebispado de Évora, em duas vidas (...); e de nove moinhos e 52 alqueires de terra no Paul de [Trijoute], Almojarifado de Benavente, e dois moinhos de terra, situados em Albacetim, Almojarifado da Malveira, (...) em três vidas, de que ela fará a primeira».

⁷⁷ Ângela Barreto Xavier e António Manuel HESPANHA, «As redes clientelares», in António Manuel Hespanha (coord.), *História de Portugal*, Vol. 4 («O Antigo Regime, 1620-1807»), Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1998, p. 347.

⁷⁸ F. OLIVAL, op. cit., p. 18.

sofria pressões de cima, mas seria para ele intolerável se «todos os grupos de Corte abaixo dele, agissem na mesma direção, qual seja, contra ele», o que o colocaria na condição de «prisioneiro» na competição entre os cortesãos pelas «chances de prestígio»⁷⁹.

Em 1789, dando prosseguimento a reformas na legislação iniciadas no período pombalino, o trabalho do jurista Pascoal de Melo revestiu a tradicional expressão da «economia do dom» de uma nova roupagem: a «graça» régia, que «pôs definitivamente em causa o princípio da intangibilidade dos privilégios, que a partir de então, deixavam de limitar o rei, ficando à mercê dos seus juízos de oportunidade»⁸⁰.

Convertido em recompensas, o reconhecimento pela monarquia do valor dos préstimos de D. Mariana Joaquina Apolônia de Vilhena Coutinho garantiu-lhe a honradez e o crédito que temia ficassem publicamente comprometidos. De fato, isso não ocorreu. Mais de trinta anos depois de viúva, ainda mantinha estreita relação com a família do marido. É o que indica o testamento da irmã, D. Ana Apolônia, falecida em 1805⁸¹. Na qualidade de inventariante e universal herdeira, D. Mariana Joaquina deveria pedir a intercessão de um «sobrinho», desembargador da Casa da Suplicação, para não prestar contas em juízo das dívidas dos vínculos que a irmã administrava desde a morte de Gonçalo Lourenço (1803), e de outra, pendente no Erário Régio.

Miguel de Arriaga, o falecido marido de D. Mariana Joaquina, tinha dois irmãos: João e José. Este era pai do desembargador Manuel José de Arriaga Brum, o «sobrinho» a quem D. Ana Apolônia se referiu como intercessor⁸². Sendo assim, não é desprezível a hipótese de que D. Mariana Joaquina também pudesse acionar membros de uma rede constituída de parentes com exercício e influência em órgãos cimeiros, de modo a facilitar a concretização dos anseios de promoção na carreira e de nobilitação pessoal do cunhado.

Um fidalgo brasonado

Paralelamente aos progressos no Real Serviço, Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro definiu estratégias para tornar público seu enobrecimento pes-

⁷⁹ N. ELIAS, op. cit., pp. 132-159.

⁸⁰ Â. B. XAVIER e A. M. HESPANHA, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 347.

⁸¹ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 355, fls. 207-208v.

⁸² Cf. F. GAYO, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 525. Ver também Manuel de Mello CORRÊA (dir.), *Anuário da nobreza de Portugal*, Lisboa, Instituto Português de Heráldica, 1985, T. II, p. 191.

soal. Joaquim Romero Magalhães ressaltou as clivagens na fidalguia lusitana ao situar os fidalgos por mercê do rei abaixo dos fidalgos de solar, dos titulares e dos grandes (aqueles que além dos títulos possuíam o estatuto de Grandeza). O indivíduo que tinha sua posição elevada pelo filhamento podia legar «a qualidade e a condição [de fidalgo] aos seus herdeiros», mesmo os ilegítimos reconhecidos pelo progenitor e confirmados pelo rei⁸³ – o que não se aplicou a Gonçalo Lourenço, pois não gerou descendência legítima nem consta que tivesse filhos bastardos. Já era fidalgo cavaleiro da Casa Real quando obteve, em 1785, a Carta de Privilégios de Fidalgo, que reforçou sua inclusão no seio da fidalguia⁸⁴.

De posse da Carta, com o objetivo de afirmar publicamente seu status, deu início a um processo de justificação de nobreza. Pretendia «conservar a memória de seus antepassados por um documento sólido». Por isso, apresentou-se no requerimento para ser justificado como sexto neto de Diogo Galhardo, cavaleiro fidalgo de D. Manuel I, que lhe passou o brasão de armas dos Galhardos em 1504, e quarto neto pelo lado paterno de Francisco Botelho de Lemos Galhardo, cavaleiro fidalgo de D. Sebastião, «de quem foi muito afeito e com ele passou à África aonde morreu»⁸⁵.

Ao considerar os mecanismos de superação de defeitos mecânicos por pretendentes aos hábitos das ordens militares, Fernanda Olival afirmou acerca dos processos de justificação de nobreza: «Fosse verdadeiro ou falso o seu conteúdo, este documento não era difícil de obter, embora pudesse custar algum dinheiro. Bastavam algumas testemunhas, selecionadas pelo interessado, e feitas comparecer diante de uma autoridade letrada da localidade»⁸⁶. Sobre a mesma documentação, João de Figueirôa-Rego asseverou:

⁸³ Joaquim Romero MAGALHÃES, «A sociedade», in Joaquim Romero Magalhães (coord.), *História de Portugal*, Vol. 3 («No alvorecer da modernidade, 1480-1620»), Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1997, p. 415.

⁸⁴ ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 29, fls. 6-6v (Alvará de 20 de outubro de 1785 concedendo a Carta de Privilégios de Fidalgo a Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro). A Carta é de 2 de junho de 1786 e o seu teor pode ser encontrado no mesmo livro, às fls. 49-49v. A mercê facultava ao usufrutuário «isenções que se estendem à Casa (parentes e servidores)». J. R. MAGALHÃES, art. cit., Vol. 3, p. 415. Ver também L. da S. P. OLIVEIRA, op. cit., pp. 231-232. O autor classificou como a quarta espécie de fidalgos em Portugal os «Fidalgos por especial mercê do rei», aos quais era passada «Carta para serem havidos por fidalgos, e gozarem dos privilégios da fidalguia».

⁸⁵ ANTT, *Feitos Findos, Justificações de Nobreza*, Maço 12, n.º 11 (Justificação de nobreza de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Lemos Rego e Castro, a partir de petição feita em 9 de dezembro de 1789). À época, era coronel de infantaria da primeira plana da Corte.

⁸⁶ F. OLIVAL, op. cit., pp. 373-374.

Tenha-se ainda presente um facto, a que não se tem dado importância, mas cuja frequência impõe que se retenha: as confusões de identidade, filiação e naturalidade que, em matéria genealógica, se foram estabelecendo em muitos processos de justificação de nobreza, sobretudo para a obtenção de cartas d'armas. Na sua maioria, provinham, não de um desconhecimento efectivo das linhas de ascendência directa ou de questões de homonímia, como, habitualmente, se tem pretextado, mas da necessidade de proceder a cosméticas sociais. Porque uma coisa é certa: ou as parentelas eram bem menos reputadas do que se simulava – daí o parcial anonimato, o que não abonava em seu favor –, ou a ingenuidade do engano traduzia intuitos claros de fraude.⁸⁷

Feitas essas ressalvas e questionado o estilo geral das justificações de nobreza, ao que tudo indica Gonçalo Lourenço não cometeu deslizes intencionais. Isso pode ser demonstrado por um requerimento ao Desembargo do Paço pedindo certidão (a ser extraída do Real Arquivo da Torre do Tombo) da carta de brasão de armas passada a Diogo Fernandes e das cartas de conselheiro de D. Sebastião e de tesoureiro e pagador das moradias de Francisco Botelho⁸⁸, citados no processo de justificação. Apenas um erro foi percebido na nomeação de um antepassado remoto; uma confusão «em matéria genealógica», segundo João de Figueirôa-Rego, dada a distância do parentesco, ou quiçá a sucessiva reprodução de algum registro equivocado⁸⁹.

Na família, o gosto pela genealogia foi cultivado por um irmão mais novo de Gonçalo, Bernardo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, como indicou o seu testamento. Entre os legados, deixou à biblioteca do Convento do Espírito Santo dos Oratorianos de Lisboa seus papéis e livros genealógicos manuscritos, à exceção de um volume com a inscrição «Da nossa geração» e de «um grande livro encadernado de árvores genealógicas, escrito todo pela minha mão em papel imperial»⁹⁰. Foi provavelmente dessas anotações que Gonçalo Lourenço retirou os subsídios de que precisava, comprovando o «uso da genealogia enquanto ferramenta de apoio a pretensões de

⁸⁷ João de FIGUEIRÔA-REGO, «A honra alheia por um fio»: os estatutos de limpeza de sangue no espaço de expressão ibérica (sés. XVI-XVIII), Lisboa, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian/FCT, 2011, p. 542.

⁸⁸ ANTT, *Desembargo do Paço, Repartição do Minho e Trás-os-Montes*, Maço 234, n.º 128.

⁸⁹ ANTT, *Feitos Findos, Justificações de Nobreza*, Maço 12, n.º 11. Declarou que sua terceira avó do lado paterno, D. Antónia do Casal Pereira, seria parente de D. Bartolomeu do Casal, bispo de Coimbra e conde de Arganil. Entretanto, houve apenas um bispo de Coimbra com esse apelido: D. Frei Gaspar do Casal (1579-1584). Cf. José Pedro PAIVA, *Os bispos de Portugal e do império, 1495-1777*, Coimbra, Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2006, p. 579.

⁹⁰ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 375, fls. 313v-315v.

índole nobiliária»⁹¹. Pelos testemunhos arrolados, a veracidade das informações genealógicas e por se tratar à lei da nobreza foi justificada em 10 de dezembro de 1789.

Aproximadamente um mês e meio depois, a Carta de Brasão de Armas tornou pública e visível a sua condição fidalga. Como afirmou João de Figueirôa-Rego,

(...) os princípios éticos e a noção de honra em vigor na sociedade aristocrática da Idade Moderna eram, importa dizê-lo, extremamente sensíveis aos pressupostos decorrentes do *bom sangue* e do *bom nome*. Mas dependiam, também, do grau de visibilidade, reconhecimento e tratamento público que estes tivessem.⁹²

Na Carta de Brasão de Armas repetiu-se a genealogia do militar, contida no processo de justificação de nobreza (inclusive o equívoco na nomeação do bispo seu antepassado), e reiterou-se a distinção dos seus ascendentes, pessoas

(...) muito nobres das famílias dos apelidos de Botelhos, Lemos, Rego e Castros, e como tais se trataram com armas, cavalos, criados, e todas as mais ostentações própria[s] da nobreza, servindo no político e no militar os lugares e postos mais distintos do governo sem que em tempo algum cometessem crime de Lesa Majestade divina ou humana.⁹³

O brasão de armas tinha a função simbólica de preservar e realçar a «memória de seus progenitores» e para «não se perder a clareza de sua antiga nobreza». À sua descrição – a partir dos grafismos e das cores daqueles ostentados pelas famílias de quem Gonçalo Lourenço descendia – seguiu-se o rol de privilégios conferidos aos fidalgos com brasão. Sobre esse sinal público e visível do pertencimento à nobreza, dizia a Carta:

O qual escudo e armas poderá trazer e usar o dito Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Lemos Rego e Castro, assim como os trouxeram e usaram os ditos nobres e antigos fidalgos seus antepassados em tempo dos senhores reis meus antecessores, e com elas poderá entrar em batalhas, campos reptos e

⁹¹ ANTT, *Feitos Findos, Justificações de Nobreza*, Maço 12, n.º 11. João de FIGUEIRÔA-REGO, «A limpeza de sangue e a pesquisa genealógica nos dois lados do Atlântico entre os séculos XVII e XVIII», *Actas do Congresso Internacional Espaço Atlântico de Antigo Regime: poderes e sociedades*, Lisboa, IICT, 2008, p. 3.

⁹² ANTT, *Desembargo do Paço, Repartição do Minho e Trás-os-Montes*, Maço 234, n.º 128. J. de FIGUEIRÔA-REGO, «A limpeza de sangue», cit., p. 2. Grifos de J. de Figueirôa-Rego.

⁹³ ANTT, Casa Real, *Cartório da Nobreza*, Liv. 4, fls. 141v-143v (Carta de Brasão de Armas passada a Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro em 29 de janeiro de 1790).

escaramuças e exercitar todos os mais atos lícitos da guerra e da paz: e assim mesmo a poderá trazer em seus firmais, anéis, sinetes e divisas, pô-las em suas casas, capelas, e mais edifícios e deixá-las sobre sua própria sepultura, e finalmente se poderá servir, tomar, gozar e aproveitar delas em todo e para tudo como à sua nobreza convém: como o que quero e me praz que haja ele todas as honras, privilégios, liberdades, graças, mercês, isenções e franquezas que hão e devem haver os fidalgos e nobres de antiga linhagem.⁹⁴

A conquista do brasão de armas foi o corolário do processo de nobilitação de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, que continuou ascendendo na carreira militar e alcançando outros postos no serviço à monarquia. Era um homem rico graças à herança paterna e aos rendimentos dos vínculos que administrava. Alguns anos depois de se tornar um fidalgo brasonado, requereu e conseguiu autorização para vender parte de um padrão de juro real, à razão da quantia necessária para fazer frente às despesas com benfeitorias em uma quinta arrematada em hasta pública⁹⁵, em cujas dependências possivelmente ostentava o seu brasão de armas.

Gonçalo Lourenço faleceu entre o fim de abril e o início de maio de 1803, com cerca de 68 anos. O seu testamento deu a conhecer o quanto se valeu dos mecanismos de transmissão de bens vigentes na sociedade portuguesa de Antigo Regime: «Declaro que a minha Casa se compõe de diversos vínculos (...) sendo o maior estabelecido por meu irmão Pedro José da Silva Botelho»⁹⁶. Deixou bens imóveis, prazos que recebera do tio Pedro Vaz Soares, mas também dívidas contraídas para saldar empenhos dos vínculos que administrava. Gratificou os serviços da residência do Campo de Santana e os criados particulares, especialmente o fiel Jacinto

⁹⁴ ANTT, Casa Real, *Cartório da Nobreza*, Liv. 4, fls. 141v-143v.

⁹⁵ Por provisão de 15 de outubro de 1794, Gonçalo Lourenço foi autorizado a vender, à falta de bens livres, parte de um padrão real de capital de 12:558\$458, assentado na Junta dos Três Estados, a 4% de juro, para cobrir os gastos com benfeitorias na Quinta de São Bartolomeu, em Alenquer, que arrematara por 8:231\$50. Em vista disso, ficaria a propriedade sub-rogada ao vínculo de morgado administrado por Gonçalo Lourenço, instituído por seu pai, no valor correspondente à parcela vendida do referido padrão. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 48, fls. 10v-11. Além dos morgados instituídos pelo pai e pelo meio-irmão, Pedro José da Silva Botelho, Gonçalo Lourenço também administrava os rendimentos dos bens vinculados pelo falecido marido de uma meia-irmã, D. Luísa Francisca Lourença de Lemos, que compreendiam a Quinta de Nossa Senhora da Penha de França, no distrito de Colares, próxima à serra de Sintra. Em 1782, o referido vínculo estava prestes a ser executado por demanda judicial movida pela Casa da Ribeira Grande, em razão de avultada dívida (6:945\$192) contraída pelo cunhado de Gonçalo. Em atenção aos seus serviços, a rainha mandou suspender a ordem de execução. ANTT, *Chancelaria de D. Maria I*, Liv. 17, fl. 180v. ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretos (1745-1800)*, Pasta 34, n.º 10.

⁹⁶ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 348, fls. 24v-26.

José dos Reis, que cuidava dos haveres da Casa do amo e o acompanhara ao Piauí.

Na condição de herdeira universal do marido, falecido no posto cimeiro de tenente-general dos Reais Exércitos, D. Ana Apolônia tentou alcançar a remuneração dos seus préstimos e dos do cunhado, Pedro José da Silva Botelho. Entre os segundos serviços de Gonçalo Lourenço, contados de 1769 a 1801, figuravam: o emprego de engenheiro-mor do Reino (com a patente de brigadeiro); os postos de marechal de campo e de tenente-general com exercício de guarda-roupa de D. João; a função de censor do Desembargo do Paço e a participação na Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica. Também não houve compensação pelo governo do Piauí, que deixara Gonçalo Lourenço, como é comum nos pedidos de mercês,

(...) gravado com empenho da sua fazenda por concorrer para o descobrimento de índios incógnitos e seus estabelecimentos, assim como para a mudança de povoações mal colocadas (...) tendo servido sempre com honra, desinteresse e zelo do Real Serviço, e sem nota alguma em seus assentos, como tudo consta das fês de ofício e mais papéis que se apresentaram.⁹⁷

Contudo, D. Ana Apolônia não viveu para usufruir as recompensas do marido. Faleceu a 28 de dezembro de 1805 deixando ao cunhado Bernardo (o genealogista da família) os serviços do irmão⁹⁸.

Considerações finais

Se a antiguidade da nobreza dos antepassados de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro foi um fator de relevo destacado no processo de justificação para que obtivesse a Carta de Brasão de Armas – o parentesco direto remontava ao século XVI, quando o sexto avô do personagem recebeu de D. Manuel I o brasão de armas –; por outro lado, a ascensão social e profissional de Gonçalo Lourenço esteve ligada à conjuntura política e diplomática e a um contexto de guerra europeia que marcaram a segunda metade do Setecentos.

A experiência como administrador colonial pode ter contribuído de algum modo para as primeiras nomeações desde que retornou do Piauí, mas não é seguro fazer tal associação – afinal, Gonçalo Lourenço faleceu

⁹⁷ ANTT, *Ministério do Reino, Decretamentos de Serviços*, Maço 165, n.º 8.

⁹⁸ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 355, fls. 207-208v. No Arquivo Histórico Militar de Lisboa há um conjunto de papeletas correspondentes a soldos não pagos e a serviços não remunerados de Gonçalo Lourenço. A sua documentação pessoal no referido acervo consiste apenas nesses registros. AHM, Cx. 429.

sem ser remunerado pelo exercício daquele emprego. Além disso, em termos de possíveis ganhos simbólicos, não havia muito o que esperar, pois a capitania era demasiadamente periférica na hierarquia dos postos da governação ultramarina. E, por mais que um dos vetores da política colonial portuguesa, àquela altura, fosse a «fixação de limites territoriais favoráveis para o Brasil, impedindo nomeadamente a penetração francesa na zona amazônica, a partir da Guiana»⁹⁹, tal preocupação foi cara aos governadores e capitães-generais do estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (ao qual o Piauí estava subordinado), em Belém. Nas fontes referentes à administração de Gonçalo Lourenço encontradas, por exemplo, no Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, em Lisboa, não há indícios de uma ação governativa voltada para a questão defensiva, ao passo que avultam documentos sobre doações de terras e conflitos com grupos indígenas.

Àquela altura, a política externa portuguesa amparava-se em um sistema de alianças envolvendo, sobretudo, a Grã-Bretanha e os acordos diplomáticos com ela firmados entre o final do século XVII e o início do XVIII, cujos efeitos se prolongaram pela centúria. A política de neutralidade portuguesa, muito cultivada no período pombalino, procurava evitar a aproximação com a França e a Espanha enquanto buscava reafirmar o apoio britânico ao Reino a fim de que essa «proteção» não se convertesse em um ataque a Portugal e aos seus domínios ultramarinos, como acreditava Pombal.

No início do reinado mariano, por volta de 1778-1779, Portugal teve que renegociar a sua neutralidade com a Grã-Bretanha, que naqueles anos entrara em guerra, respectivamente, com a França e a Espanha. A Corte de Lisboa andava em tratativas com a Corte de Madrid por conta da demarcação do Tratado de Santo Ildefonso (1777), na América, e menos de um ano depois assinou com os espanhóis um novo acordo de «amizade e garantia» que, nas palavras de Valentim Alexandre, «passou a constituir uma das bases da política externa portuguesa, no último quartel do século»¹⁰⁰. Assim, a neutralidade portuguesa renegociada com a Grã-Bretanha, que não desejava o expansionismo espanhol, apoiado pela França, na Península Ibérica, passou a interessar a Espanha para diminuir a influência britânica sobre Portugal.

⁹⁹ Cf. Valentim ALEXANDRE, *Os sentidos do império. Questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime português*, Porto, Edições Afrontamento, 1993, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ V. ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

A política de neutralidade portuguesa se manteria, apesar do início da Revolução Francesa, até 1792, defendida pelo secretário dos Negócios Estrangeiros e da Guerra, Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho. E, embora pendesse para o lado britânico, equilibrava-se entre a França e a Grã-Bretanha. Esse cenário sofreu nova reviravolta em fins de 1792, quando a Corte de Madrid exigiu de Lisboa a colaboração militar portuguesa para conter a França revolucionária, fazendo valer os acordos de 1778, o que desembocou na Campanha do Rossilhão (1793-1795), em que Portugal, Grã-Bretanha e Espanha formaram uma coalização contra a França¹⁰¹.

De finais do século XVIII até cerca de 1803, Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho continuou pautando a política externa lusa pela aproximação com a Grã-Bretanha em benefício da «prosperidade econômica» de Portugal e pelo afastamento dos riscos de alianças com a França e a Espanha. Nesse momento, outro nome a despontar na diplomacia foi o de Antônio de Araújo de Azevedo, que foi a Paris negociar o reatamento das relações entre Portugal e França depois da Campanha do Rossilhão, a fim de manter a neutralidade lusa e ao mesmo tempo garantir os princípios da aliança com a Grã-Bretanha¹⁰².

Resumidamente era este o quadro político e diplomático em que Portugal estava inserido no final do século XVIII e início do século XIX. O cenário internacional exibia as condições que deram sentido às promoções de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro na carreira militar, ocorridas justamente nos anos de 1790, bem como ao seu ingresso na Sociedade Real Marítima, Militar e Geográfica, fundada no mesmo contexto de beligerância que exigia de Portugal um conhecimento mais racional e sistemático do seu próprio território e de suas conquistas ultramarinas. Na confluência entre o plano geral da política externa e o plano privado, dois dos principais responsáveis pela condução da diplomacia portuguesa no período – Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho e Antônio de Araújo de Azevedo – tinham laços de parentesco com a esposa de Gonçalo Lourenço, como se mostrou anteriormente. Esses elementos formaram o amálgama que deu sentido aos percursos do personagem no Real Serviço e se refletiram em sua ascensão social.

No entanto, o esforço de nobilitação de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro resultou em uma conquista pessoal que não pode ser transferida para seus descendentes diretos, pois não os teve. Não é sabido também se

¹⁰¹ V. ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

¹⁰² Cf. V. ALEXANDRE, *op. cit.*, pp. 103ss.

parentes colaterais, ao menos aqueles de gerações mais próximas, beneficiaram-se ou sentiram os efeitos do seu enobrecimento. Dos irmãos inteiros, Antônio foi o primeiro a falecer sem que haja certeza se deixou ou não filhos¹⁰³. Ricardo morreu poucos meses antes de Gonçalo e, embora fosse casado, não declarou geração legítima ou ilegítima. Entre abril de 1825 e fevereiro de 1826 desapareceram, respectivamente, Bernardo Maria e Rita Inácia; ele casado, mas sem filhos legítimos ou ilegítimos, e ela solteira¹⁰⁴.

Ao menos nesse aspecto, a busca de nobilitação por Gonçalo Lourenço diferenciou-se daquela empreendida por outro militar que, de certo modo, lhe foi contemporâneo (vide nota 3). José Joaquim de Lima da Silva construiu, não sem grande esforço pessoal, uma carreira bem-sucedida no Rio de Janeiro entre o final do século XVIII e o início da centúria seguinte, aproveitando-se, sobretudo, das transformações na organização militar desencadeadas pela transferência da Corte portuguesa em 1808. Inseriu-se em círculos de prestígio na nova sede da monarquia pelo casamento com uma senhora de família nobilitada e foi agraciado com símbolos de distinção social em reconhecimento de seus préstimos, como o hábito da Ordem de Cristo e o foro de fidalgo cavaleiro da Casa Real. Segundo Adriana Barreto de Souza, «quando o marechal de campo José Joaquim de Lima morreu em 1821, parte da família havia completado sua metamorfose, e seus filhos mais velhos se apresentavam como nobres», usufruindo mercês régias na forma de comendas e de foros de fidalguia¹⁰⁵.

Nesse estudo de caso da trajetória de Gonçalo Lourenço Botelho de Castro, procurou-se demonstrar que a construção dos percursos de um personagem na sociedade de Antigo Regime demanda a observação de fatores e de estratégias que ultrapassam a cotação de feitos de armas ou o exercício da governação do Império. A conjuntura política e, no âmbito privado, o casamento e a trama de relações de poder e de parentesco tecida a partir dele foram a chave para o acesso do militar e administrador colonial ao favorecimento régio e para a concretização de suas aspirações à nobreza.

¹⁰³ ANTT, *Arquivo do Arquivo, Avisos e Ordens*, Maio 5, n.º 8.

¹⁰⁴ ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 351, fls. 12v-13v (Ricardo Lourenço Botelho de Lemos). ANTT, *Registro Geral de Testamentos*, Liv. 375, fls. 313v-315v (Bernardo Maria Lourenço Botelho de Castro). ANTT, *Feitos Findos, Inventários*, Letra R, maio 29, n.º 17. Autos de conta de testamento da Exma. D. Rita Inácia Lourenço Botelho Abreu Rego Castro Castelo Branco.

¹⁰⁵ Adriana Barreto de SOUZA, «A metamorfose de um militar em nobre: trajetória, estratégia e ascensão social no Rio de Janeiro joanino», *Tempo – Revista do Departamento de História da UFF*, Vol. 12, N.º 24, (janeiro, 2008), pp. 68-73. Citação à página 72.

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recensões



Pedro Martínez García, *El cara a cara con el otro: la visión de lo ajeno a fines de la Edad Media y comienzos de la Edad Moderna a través del viaje*, Frankfurt am Mein, Peter Lang Edition, 2015, 356 pp. ISBN: 9783631659793.

O tema deste livro são os relatos de viagens realizadas por europeus no fim da Idade Média e no começo da Época Moderna, vistos sob a perspectiva da descoberta do *Outro*, o ser humano que vivia na periferia do continente, dentro ou fora dele.

Na primeira parte, o autor começa por abordar o conceito de alteridade, do *Outro*, que, por contraste, ajuda a definir o próprio, viajante e narrador. A percepção em que essa operação assenta vai-se transformando com o tempo, conduzindo a uma nova conceção do mundo, nos planos geográfico e antropológico.

São igualmente consideradas a viagem e a mobilidade na Idade Média, mencionando as principais causas de deslocações: missões diplomáticas, acompanhamento de cortes, viagens de negócios para procura de novos mercados, peregrinação a grandes centros religiosos como Compostela, Roma e Jerusalém, procura de nobilitação pela prática de ações militares e outras. Refere-se também a viagem como espaço de sociabilidade: o quotidiano dos participantes e o contacto com outros viajantes, de diferentes condições sociais e modos de comportamento, as formas de preencher o tempo, como os jogos, a execução de instrumentos musicais, as orações, a leitura e a escrita. E mostram-se os principais assuntos focados pelos relatos: desde as atribulações próprias das viagens, como o perigo dos caminhos e dos navios, as condições de alojamento até ao que era visto nas terras visitadas, como a grandeza das cidades, os sistemas de defesa, os monumentos, mercados e festas, povos e animais exóticos, e costumes invulgares. Por vezes as viagens eram aproveitadas para compra de mercadorias, como escravos e outras. As deslocações marítimas davam frequentemente lugar à realização de contratos com os transportadores, que incluíam as condições de alimentação a bordo, por vezes com direito a cozinheiro próprio, tripulação e armas de defesa contra assaltos e os criados de

que os viajantes se podiam fazer acompanhar. Alguns relatos, quando publicados, incluíam gravuras alusivas às cidades visitadas e a pessoas e animais desconhecidos.

A segunda parte, referente à viagem na Baixa Idade Média, inicia-se pelas *Andanças e viagens por diversas partes do mundo*, do cordovês Pero Tafur, através de vários países europeus e mediterrânicos. Seguem-se-lhe as deambulações de três centro-europeus pela Península Ibérica: do suábio Georg von Ehingen, do boémio Leo von Rozmital e do alemão Hieronymus Munzer.

As viagens do cavaleiro castelhano Pero Tafur iniciaram-se em 1436 com um périplo por cidades italianas, seguido de outro, em 1437-1438, pelo Egito, Palestina, Bizâncio e Turquia, e de um terceiro, pouco posterior, à Polónia, Sacro Império, Norte de Itália e Sardenha. Da primeira viagem destaca-se no relato a descrição de Roma, dos seus monumentos e do estado de decadência da cidade. No Egito impressionou o viajante a visão de crocodilos, girafas e elefantes; em Rodes assistiu à eleição de um novo mestre e em Constantinopla conviveu com o imperador e a família. De Adrianópolis recordou a receção pelo grão-turco e o seu grande poderio militar, descrevendo os Turcos com admiração. Em Jerusalém e na Palestina referiu minuciosamente sítios e edifícios religiosos, bem como as indulgências que neles se podiam alcançar e respetivos preços, parecendo o viajante, segundo o autor do livro, «mais um turista que visita um parque temático do Antigo Testamento que um devoto peregrino».

Pero Tafur mostra um particular e invulgar interesse por aspetos da vida prática como o frio e o sistema de aquecimento na Polónia e o modo de obtenção de água potável em Veneza. Compara cidades de diferentes países, sistemas de estudo de universidades, valorizando a prosperidade comercial e a administração das colónias e povos submetidos.

O autor defende que o viajante transmite a visão de um grupo social em processo de transformação, por um lado, pelo interesse que demonstra quer por aspetos cavaleirescos, nobiliárquicos e piedosos, mais ligados à mentalidade medieval, quer pela evocação de monumentos clássicos, próprios do Homem Renascentista; por outro lado, por interesses comerciais e pela complacência por certa liberdade de costumes, no que se aproxima mais da mentalidade moderna.

Apesar de o Oriente constituir o principal objeto de interesse dos viajantes, os países do Ocidente europeu foram também procurados, nomeadamente por indivíduos do centro do continente. Um deles foi o cavaleiro alemão Georg von Ehingen, que, de 1453 a 1458, percorreu, numa primeira viagem, Rodes, onde lutou 11 meses contra os Turcos, e Damasco, onde esteve preso; e, num segundo périplo, França, Espanha, Portugal, África, Inglaterra e Escócia. Dessas deslocações resultou a obra autobiográfica *Viagem à cavalaria*, redigida entre 1467 e 1481. Como se infere do título, o seu principal objetivo era participar em combates contra os infééis, em que pudesse conquistar honra e fama.

Depois de, com outro cavaleiro, um intérprete, um criado e dez cavalos, ter deixado o país natal, ao chegar a Portugal visitou a corte de D. Afonso V e integrou as tropas que o monarca enviou em socorro de Ceuta, participando num combate singular com um cavaleiro mouro, que venceu. Regressando a Castela, tomou parte na guerra de Henrique IV contra Granada, tendo nela sido ferido.

Em 1465 teve início a viagem de Leo von Rozmital, cunhado do rei da Boémia, Jorge de Podiebrad. Este tinha aderido à dissidência hussita, razão pela qual foi excomungado pelo papa. Por isso, o objetivo do viajante era diplomático, destinado a romper o isolamento do seu soberano junto dos países ocidentais. Foi acompanhado por uma comitiva de 40 pessoas, entre cavaleiros e criados, incluindo um intérprete que falava 17 línguas, um bobo e vários músicos. Foram percorridas a Alemanha, Países Baixos, França, Inglaterra, Espanha e Portugal e, no regresso, o Sul de França, Itália e Áustria. Da viagem resultaram dois relatos: um do checo Václav Sasek, escudeiro de Rozmital, mais oficial e descritivo, e o outro do alemão Gabriel Tetzl, membro do patriciado de Nuremberga, que passou a integrar a comitiva à passagem desta pela cidade e com um estilo mais livre e pessoal.

Sasek achou os castelhanos semelhantes aos sarracenos, pela cor e vestuário, mas igualmente pelos costumes impuros e pouco cristãos. Considerou os catalães malvados, piores que infiéis. Em Portugal Rozmital foi recebido pela família real, que lhe ofereceu dois escravos etíopes e um símio. Sasek refere-se aos negros como seres inumanos, pertencentes a outro mundo. Além deles e do *Outro* hispânico, com cujos hábitos e comportamento nem sempre se identificaram, características que atribuíram à influência dos infiéis, os viajantes contactaram nos países ibéricos com sarracenos vindos do Oriente e com granadinos, muçulmanos autóctones.

Entre 1494 e 1495 veio à Península o médico alemão radicado em Nuremberga Hieronymus Munzer, com o fim de contactar comerciantes e humanistas e adquirir conhecimentos de geografia e cartografia. Já antes viajara pela Itália e pela Holanda. Da sua deambulação pela Hispânia resultou o texto em latim *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio*. Os conhecimentos de cartografia permitiram-lhe elaborar um mapa da Europa Central, que veio a ser incluído no *Liber Chronicarum*, publicado por Hartmann Schedel, supondo-se que também influenciou a produção do primeiro globo terrestre, por Martin Behaim.

As descrições de terras que conheceu são muito amplas, englobando aspetos urbanísticos, demográficos, económicos e sociais. Elogiou os mouriscos de Guadix, pela sua sobriedade e produtividade; em Granada, que o fascinou, impressionaram-no as canalizações de água; e em Valência, onde viu escravos das Canárias, apreciou o horário das lojas de comestíveis, que só fechavam à meia-noite. Em Portugal interessou-se pelas viagens marítimas e pelas questões geográficas por elas suscitadas. Referiu-se aos negros que viu a trabalhar nas forjas reais de Lisboa

como ciclopes no antro de Vulcano. O autor do livro admite que Munzer, como membro da oligarquia económica e cultural de Nuremberga, procurasse em Lisboa contactos que favorecessem os interesses alemães, como a participação de mercadores, cartógrafos, artilheiros e militares nos empreendimentos lusos.

A terceira parte do livro incide sobre a visão do *Outro* suscitada pelas viagens no mundo atlântico, começando pela conquista do arquipélago das Canárias no começo de Quatrocentos pelos franceses Gadifer de la Salle e Jean de Béthencourt, em nome de Castela, da qual resultaram as crónicas dos franciscanos Jean de Verrier e Pierre Boutier. Esses textos descrevem as ilhas e os seus habitantes, realçando aspetos inéditos como a linguagem dos naturais de la Gomera, que falavam «com os beiços, como se não tivessem língua». Da Grã-Canária referem a nudez dos nativos, o uso de tatuagens e o cabelo amarrado atrás, em forma de trança. Sobre a ilha de Lanzarote mencionam a poliandria, o costume de as mulheres terem vários homens. Do conjunto das ilhas destacam a forma física dos habitantes, altos e esbeltos, o seu carácter aguerrido, sendo difíceis de capturar, assim como os sacrifícios religiosos, provavelmente de cabras.

A seguir são tratadas as viagens à América e os respetivos relatos, nomeadamente a *Primeira viagem à volta do mundo*, de António Pigafetta, assim como a *História das Índias*, do dominicano Bartolomé de las Casas, e a *História do Almirante*, de Hernando Colón, estas sobre a primeira viagem de Cristóvão Colombo.

Os autóctones são vistos nessas descrições ora como simples e pacíficos, facilmente convertíveis ao Cristianismo, ora como demoníacos, destacando-se neste aspeto o canibalismo, que passou a ser lugar-comum da literatura sobre o novo continente. Colombo interpretava assim o nome da tribo de antropófagos dos Caniba: «não deve ser outra coisa senão a gente do Gran Can, que deve estar muito próxima daqui». Como pensava ter chegado à Ásia, o descobridor procurava identificar os territórios encontrados entre as regiões referidas por Marco Polo e Toscanelli, como a ilha de Cipango (Japão), quando estava nas Bahamas e procurou, por isso, entrar em contacto com o Grão Can.

A título de conclusões do livro o autor aponta o facto de não existirem diferenças substanciais entre os relatos tardo-medievais e os do início da etapa atlântica, pois muitos dos relatos mais recentes têm mais de medieval, como a religiosidade e a mentalidade feudal, que de moderno, como o individualismo e o espírito mercantil. Uns são a evolução dos outros. Defende também que, nesses relatos, o *Outro* radicalmente novo não existe, pois os viajantes procuram sempre integrar o que veem no catálogo ontológico do já conhecido. O modo de descrever o que é novo é determinado pela cosmovisão de quem vê, influenciada pelas leituras já feitas. Não parece nunca que se descobre alguma coisa, antes que se identifica e se verifica o que já se conhecia antes. Além disso, os discursos

produzidos parecem construídos mais para transmitir uma certa imagem aos que os vão ler do que uma visão autêntica e pessoal de ver o mundo. As próprias diferenças encontradas variam com a proveniência geográfica dos observadores. O que os Espanhóis veem como diferença nos Judeus ou Sarracenos de Espanha é para os viajantes do centro da Europa semelhança com os Espanhóis.

Parafrazeando o autor, «o livro de viagens é, em conclusão, uma heterotopia sem espaço nem tempo definido, onde a confluência do narrador, viajante, leitor e sujeito narrado faz com que a epifania do rosto se converta numa construção simbólica e imaginária do *Outro* e de si mesmo».

Ao terminar a leitura deste oportuno e original trabalho sobre um tema que parece voltar a interessar a comunidade científica portuguesa, penso estarmos em presença de uma linha de investigação que, através da descoberta de novos ou pouco divulgados relatos de viagem e pelo respetivo confronto e análise crítica, muito pode contribuir, no futuro, para alargar o conhecimento das épocas a que dizem respeito.

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Gleydi Sullón Barreto, *Extranjeros integrados. Portugueses en la Lima virreinal, 1570-1680*, Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, (Estudios Americanos. Tierra Nueva, 2), 2016, 303 pp., ISBN: 978-84-00-10130-5.

La presente publicación se integra en una colección que recientemente ha comenzado a editar el Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas. *Estudios Americanos. Nueva Tierra* abarca una serie de monografías que abordan distintas épocas y temáticas relacionadas con América Latina con el objetivo de contribuir a la difusión de la investigación científica y al conocimiento histórico del referido territorio americano. El segundo volumen, al que se refiere esta reseña, aborda la presencia y la integración portuguesa en Lima entre 1570 y 1680. Sin duda, un objeto de estudio de gran interés para el conocimiento de la Historia Social latinoamericana, especialmente del Virreinato del Perú durante el periodo de la agregación portuguesa la Monarquía Hispánica (1580-1640).

El trabajo se presenta con una organización muy clara y con una estructura ordenada. La publicación se divide en cuatro capítulos dedicados al estudio del

marco legal y la práctica social, la integración y asimilación social, las actividades económicas y, por último, a la religiosidad y la vida cotidiana de la comunidad lusa en la Lima virreinal. Además de estos bloques, el libro incorpora una introducción y unas conclusiones que permiten encuadrar los objetivos y sintetizar las principales aportaciones a las que ha llegado la investigadora, la profesora Sullón Barreto. Asimismo, cabe destacar, la síntesis bibliográfica al final de la obra y los apéndices, especialmente el que se refiere a los portugueses que conforman la muestra de estudio.

En cuanto a la cronología abordada, la autora extiende su investigación más allá del período de la Unión Ibérica. 1570 y 1680 son los límites temporales que emplea con el objetivo de conocer las repercusiones de la mencionada agregación portuguesa.

¿Es posible cuestionar el estereotipo dominante acerca del origen converso o judaizante de los portugueses que se establecieron en Perú? Con esta interrogante parte Sullón Barreto la introducción a su obra. Como ella misma indica, la historiografía especializada había recalado hasta la fecha el carácter judaizante de todos los portugueses que emigraron al Perú. A partir de un extenso repaso bibliográfico, concluye que esta imagen de los portugueses se debe a que los estudios se han dirigido principalmente a los partícipes de la complicidad grande. Subraya la autora que el estudio de este colectivo, casi exclusivamente a través de los procesos inquisitoriales, ha sido insuficiente para su conocimiento desde una perspectiva integral. En este sentido, este trabajo parte del estudio de los registros notariales como fuente principal. Sin duda, el empleo de esta documentación obedece al interés de evaluar el comportamiento social, económico y cultural de este peculiar colectivo.

Conocido el objeto de estudio y los objetivos de la investigación, esta publicación aborda en el primer capítulo el marco legislativo y la práctica social de la comunidad lusa en Lima. Igualmente trata la legislación de la época entendida desde una realidad teórica. Desde el punto de vista jurídico, los portugueses fueron extranjeros en todos los territorios de la Monarquía Hispánica. Sin embargo, la propia legislación proponía diversos mecanismos, como la naturalización o el vecindamiento, para regular los procesos migratorios. La Corona, aunque dictaba leyes prohibitivas para los forasteros en América, también propiciaba fórmulas para su regularización como la carta de naturalización, la licencia real y la composición. No obstante, cabe destacar que la mayoría de estos emigrantes portugueses se hallaron en situación irregular.

Cuantificar la presencia lusa en Indias es una tarea difícil, tanto por la limitación de las fuentes como por el carácter ilegal de buena parte de esta comunidad. Aun así, la autora ha conseguido reconstruir la huella portuguesa a partir de la elaboración de una muestra. A partir de esta herramienta, ha podido concluir que

mayoritariamente esta población portuguesa fue masculina y que conformaron una población más o menos estable, lo que sugiere que Lima era el destino final del proceso migratorio. Además, procedían de regiones muy diversas de Portugal y se dedicaron a muy diversos oficios, lo que evidencia el carácter heterogéneo de estos portugueses en cuanto a sus características sociales, económicas y culturales. También cabe destacar que, del conjunto de la muestra, más del 97% de los portugueses no tuvieron problemas con el Santo Oficio a causa del delito de judaizante.

Finalmente, resaltamos en este capítulo el tratamiento hacia las mujeres portuguesas en Lima. Aunque la muestra es escasa, el trabajo consigue vislumbrar algunas particularidades, como la estabilidad de este colectivo y el desempeño de actividades comerciales de casi todas ellas.

El segundo capítulo reconstruye el entono social y la incorporación a la vida cotidiana limeña de estos portugueses. Un lugar, la ciudad de Lima, desde donde crearon nuevos vínculos y afectos y, para muchos, el espacio definitivo para asentarse. El estudio de los registros notariales ha permitido concluir a Sullón Barreto que los lusos que se establecieron en Lima en este período no constituyeron un grupo cerrado y, aunque mantuvieron trato con los de su misma nación, interactuaron abiertamente con todos los sectores de la sociedad limeña. Estos portugueses no circunscribieron sus actividades a una única zona, todo lo contrario. La presencia de éstos se hizo notar en los distintos espacios públicos, por lo que no se puede establecer un patrón entre el lugar origen y el lugar en el que se establecen o la parroquia a la que pertenecen. La elección de esta distribución espacial obedeció principalmente a intereses económicos y sociales.

En los últimos años, se está asistiendo a un cambio historiográfico en cuanto a la percepción de las sociedades hispanoamericanas, concebidas durante mucho tiempo como estructuras fijas o estables. No obstante, esta publicación manifiesta la clara movilidad espacial y económica de estos portugueses por los distintos barrios y calles, pero no para escapar o huir del control de las autoridades, sino por la propia necesidad surgida de sus negocios.

Estos individuos se relacionaron con la población indígena, como se desprende de la documentación consultada. Aunque el mestizaje biológico fue escaso, no faltaron los casos de declaración de hijos naturales habidos con indias o mujeres indígenas casadas con portugueses. Asimismo, los lusos tuvieron trato con la población negra, fuera esclava o libre. Los negros esclavos aparecen en los documentos como bienes transmisibles, pero también como beneficiarios de mandas testamentarias. En este caso, el mestizaje biológico fue mayor que con los indígenas y así se refleja en el número de matrimonios.

La segunda parte de este capítulo está dedicado al estudio de las dinámicas de integración y asimilación. En este sentido, cabe matizar que, si bien existió en el

colectivo luso la voluntad de integración, esta coexistió con el deseo de preservar su identidad portuguesa. Para llegar a esta conclusión, Sullón Barreto analiza los matrimonios de la comunidad lusa. Aunque casi un tercio de éstos contrajeron nupcias con otros coterráneos, los que se casaron en Lima optaron preferiblemente por conyugues naturales del Virreinato del Perú y, en menor número, con españolas.

Otra fórmula empleada por la autora para reconstruir el proceso de integración ha sido el análisis de las inversiones económicas en Lima, tales como la adquisición de bienes inmuebles, la compra de lugares de sepultura en capillas de iglesias, la fundación de capellanías o las donaciones a diferentes instituciones religiosas y sociales del lugar. Esta inversión evidencia la voluntad del emigrante luso de echar raíces en esta tierra de acogida. Igualmente ha sido analizado la pertenencia de estos lusos en las distintas cofradías de Lima. Finalmente, Sullón Barreto afirma que las distintas devociones no fueron patrimonio exclusivo ni de los naturales de Lima ni de los portugueses, sino universales o, por lo menos, atlánticas.

En el tercer capítulo de este libro se analizan las actividades económicas, pero entendidas como otro mecanismo para indagar en la capacidad de integración de este colectivo foráneo. La autora considera el espacio peruano como un conjunto de zonas o regiones interrelacionadas entre sí. En este contexto, los portugueses se dedicaron principalmente al comercio, a la navegación y a la artesanía. Con el objetivo de profundizar en las repercusiones de la agregación y posterior separación del reino de Portugal de la Monarquía Hispánica, el estudio de las distintas situaciones económicas se divide cronológicamente en tres periodos. Entre 1570 y 1610, los productos dominantes en manos de los portugueses de Lima fueron los esclavos, los cordobanes de Chile y el vino. También tuvieron interés por introducir textiles de China y objetos suntuosos de carácter religioso. Entre 1611 y 1650, se añaden además a este comercio las manufacturas de seda y algodón. Cabe destacar dos rasgos que caracterizan a esta época: la diversificación de la actividad económica y la conformación de redes. Por último, entre 1651 y 1680 participan únicamente el 19,72% de los comerciantes portugueses localizados. En cuanto a los productos, destacaron especialmente la ropa importada de Europa y el vino.

Después del comercio, la navegación fue la segunda actividad más relevante dentro de la comunidad lusa que llegó a Lima, en su mayoría sirviendo en los galeones de Su Majestad en los años de la agregación portuguesa. Cabe resaltar que casi todos estos navegantes tuvieron algún tipo de vínculo con el puerto de Callao, ya fuera porque hubiesen fijado su residencia allí, por alguna relación con la cofradía de los marineros de Nuestra Señora del Buen Viaje o porque se hallasen ingresados en alguno de los hospitales para navegantes de Lima.

El último capítulo de la publicación constituye una aportación bastante significativa al estudio de la religiosidad, las mentalidades y la cultura material.

Comienza la autora este apartado cuestionándose si esta comunidad de portugueses en Lima constituyó un bloque homogéneo en cuanto a sus creencias o, por el contrario, si hubo prácticas y manifestaciones diversas de su fe. La documentación notarial que se emplea en esta investigación permite concluir que no todos los individuos estudiados fueron judaizantes. Para este análisis de las creencias religiosas, Sullón Barreto partió del estudio de aquellos individuos que testaron y de los documentos que éstos dejaron. Este análisis, ha permitido profundizar en los vínculos afectivos con el lugar de origen. La autora detalla cómo estas relaciones no tienen un carácter jerárquico, sino más bien son de tipo horizontal en el que los intervinientes se conocían entre sí. De esta forma, la seguridad y la confianza basada en el paisanaje justificaron este tipo de relaciones.

Respecto al rastro dejado por la cultura material, Sullón Barreto estudia los bienes que presentaban mayor incidencia entre los portugueses de Lima. A este respecto, destaca la relevancia del ajuar doméstico y también de los vestidos y los calzados. Asimismo, aparecen representados los objetos de culto, entre otros. A partir de un análisis exhaustivo de estas referencias, la autora se adentra en los distintos espacios de una casa típica de Lima en el siglo XVII. Del mismo modo, la aproximación a la indumentaria ha permitido analizar la imagen personal y los gustos de estos individuos y la capacidad de acceso de los portugueses al mercado textil importado y sus posibilidades económicas. Con todo ello, la autora afirma que existía cierta integración de los portugueses con el medio a través del estudio del ropaje.

Como consideraciones finales a esta obra, recalcar en primer lugar la diferencia que establece la autora entre la legislación indiana acerca de las movi­lidades de los forasteros y la situación de clandestinidad que caracterizó a la emigración portuguesa. En segundo lugar, el carácter estable de la población lusa de Lima y la comunicación fluida que mantenía ésta con otros miembros de la sociedad sin conformar vínculos exclusivamente endogámicos. En tercer lugar, la organización de la actividad económica, especialmente del comercio, determinó en cierto sentido la forma de vida de los portugueses mediante la conformación de acuerdos. Por último, cabe valorar positivamente el uso de la documentación notarial en esta investigación como alternativa y complemento a otras fuentes –como la inquisitorial– para profundizar en la historia social y cultural de la comunidad portuguesa en Lima durante los siglos XVI y XVII.

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procedimentos & normas editoriais

Os *Anais de História de Além-Mar* (AHAM) são uma revista científica de periodicidade anual, publicada pelo CHAM - Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além Mar (FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores) e referenciada e indexada em bases de dados internacionais.

Foram fundados em 2000, por Artur Teodoro de Matos, com o objetivo principal de divulgar trabalhos académicos originais e relevantes sobre a expansão portuguesa, desde as primeiras «grandes navegações» (século xv) até ao final do «Império Ultramarino» (século xx), no seu enquadramento histórico, contemplando a comparação com fenómenos paralelos e as articulações entre as histórias e as sociedades dos espaços envolvidos. Apesar de a maioria dos artigos publicados focar a realidade portuguesa, os AHAM estão abertos à submissão de artigos sobre outras regiões, especialmente quando contenham visões inovadoras de uma perspectiva comparativa e analítica.

Os AHAM acolhem propostas de publicação de artigos originais, documentos/fontes inéditas, recensões críticas e notícias, em português, espanhol, francês, inglês e italiano. Aceitam, igualmente, propostas de *dossiers* de carácter temático.

Anais de História de Além-Mar (AHAM) (*Annals of Overseas History*) are a scientific journal published yearly by CHAM – Portuguese Centre for Global History (FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores), referenced and indexed in international data bases.

The journal was founded in 2000 by Artur Teodoro de Matos with the main objective of publishing original and relevant academic works about the Portuguese overseas expansion, from the outset of the first “great navigations” (15th century) to the end of the “Overseas Empire” (20th century). The historical framework, and the comparison of parallel phenomena and articulations between the history and societies of the spaces involved should also be contemplated in these works. Although most of the articles published focus on the Portuguese reality, the AHAM are open to articles about other regions, especially if they offer innovative visions from a comparative and analytical perspective.

The AHAM welcome original articles, unpublished sources, critical reviews, and news in Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Italian. They also accept proposals of thematic *dossiers*.

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A fim de garantir as boas práticas e a sua transparência, explicitam-se abaixo os principais passos de todo o processo editorial, em particular dos procedimentos de avaliação.

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Prazo estimado: uma semana.

5. preparação dos materiais necessários aos árbitros

Muito embora se peça aos autores que tenham o cuidado de omitir quaisquer elementos que possam indicar a sua identidade, o secretariado do CR procede a uma segunda despistagem desses indícios, antes da conversão dos ficheiros enviados aos AHAM num formato que garanta a integridade dos originais.

Ao secretariado do CR, cabe igualmente personalizar as fichas de avaliação.

6. árbitros seleccionados: verificação de disponibilidade

Os árbitros seleccionados são questionados pelo CR sobre o seu interesse pelo tema proposto e a sua disponibilidade para assumirem o compromisso de realizar a avaliação em cerca de um mês.

7. avaliação dos artigos

Após aceitação do convite, o secretariado do CR remete aos árbitros os materiais necessários à avaliação.

Os árbitros devem preencher todos os campos da «ficha de avaliação» e fundamentar o seu parecer sobre se os artigos se adequam ou não a publicação. Os árbitros são ainda encorajados a fazer sugestões ao autor, no sentido de proceder a alterações e ao desenvolvimento de ideias ou de aspectos particulares que melhorem significativamente o seu trabalho.

Após o seu preenchimento, a ficha de avaliação deve ser enviada ao CR, por correio electrónico, dentro do prazo acordado.

Cabe ao coordenador do CR, assessorado por um segundo integrante do mesmo conselho, interpretar a classificação resultante das avaliações recolhidas. Se os pareceres externos não forem unânimes, o desempate é feito pelo coordenador do CR, podendo ser solicitada uma avaliação a um terceiro árbitro.

Feita sempre com base nos mesmos quesitos, a avaliação deve ficar concluída em cerca de três meses.

8. comunicação de resultados

Os autores são notificados da aceitação ou recusa dos artigos para publicação nos AHAM no prazo de 15 dias após a conclusão do processo de avaliação.

No caso de serem necessárias alterações aos textos, estabelece-se um prazo de duas a quatro semanas para a sua entrega.

Se as alterações recomendadas forem substanciais, o artigo pode ser reencaminhado para o(s) árbitro(s) para reavaliação.

9. ajustes finais

A eventual permanência de aspectos menos precisos ou em desacordo com a avaliação realizada pode levar a um novo diálogo entre o coordenador do CR e os autores das propostas, para um conjunto de últimos ajustes.

Este passo não deve exceder duas semanas.

10. revisão de prova

Será facultada aos autores uma prova para revisão e eventual introdução de pequenas correcções. Nesta fase, não são permitidas alterações significativas à estrutura e à dimensão do texto. A prova deve ser devolvida à Redacção dos AHAM num prazo máximo de duas semanas.

11. oferta de separata e de exemplar

A cada autor será oferecido um exemplar impresso do volume da revista onde o seu texto for publicado, bem como uma separata do artigo em formato digital.

12. direito de autor e acesso aberto

O conteúdo dos trabalhos é da responsabilidade dos seus autores e não dos AHAM ou do CHAM.

A aceitação de um texto para publicação supõe a transmissão dos direitos de *copyright* para o editor da revista.

Os direitos sobre as eventuais imagens introduzidas nos artigos são da exclusiva responsabilidade dos autores, o que deverá ser referido nos casos em que se aplique.

Após a publicação de cada volume, o CHAM reserva-se o direito de disponibilizar todos os conteúdos em acesso aberto no sítio Web da revista e no RUN – Repositório da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, abrangidos por uma Licença Creative Commons BY-NC 4.0.

A política de auto-arquivo em repositórios institucionais dos AHAM é a seguinte: o autor pode arquivar a versão pós-impressão/PDF do editor | cor RoMEO: azul.

DOCUMENTOS, RECENSÕES & NOTÍCIAS

A publicação de fontes inéditas (documentos), recensões críticas e notícias está sujeita aos mesmos procedimentos editoriais indicados nos pontos 1, 2, 10, 11 e 12 referentes aos ARTIGOS (ver 1.º capítulo dos PROCEDIMENTOS).

1. avaliação

A selecção dos textos cabe ao CR, que procede à leitura de todas as propostas e decide sobre a sua publicação.

O coordenador do CR, assessorado por um segundo integrante do mesmo conselho, tem em linha de conta a originalidade, a relevância, o rigor metodológico, a actualidade da bibliografia citada, a qualidade da redacção da proposta e a pertinência do tema escolhido para o perfil da revista.

Na ausência de acordo, o caso pode ser debatido por todo o Conselho e/ou ser solicitado um parecer externo.

Todas as decisões tomadas sobre as propostas recebidas são comunicadas aos autores.

2. livros para recensão

Os AHAM aceitam obras para recensão, devendo ser remetidas ao cuidado de João de Figueirôa-Rêgo, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, CHAM, FCSH/NOVA, Av. de Berna 26C, 1069-061 Lisboa, Portugal.

DOSSIERSTEMÁTICOS

1. submissão de propostas

Os AHAM aceitam propostas para *dossiers* temáticos. Estas poderão ser submetidas por via espontânea ou a convite do CR.

As propostas devem considerar:

- a coordenação do *dossier* por, pelo menos, dois especialistas, um dos quais de uma instituição estrangeira;
- notas biográficas dos coordenadores (máximo de 200 palavras);
- um texto de apresentação do tema em português e inglês (máximo de 250 palavras cada);
- uma lista de tópicos de interesse;
- adicionalmente, os coordenadores poderão submeter uma lista de artigos a integrar o *dossier* por autores convidados.

2. notificação de recepção

Realiza-se no prazo máximo de uma semana. Da responsabilidade do secretariado do CR.

3. apreciação

A selecção das propostas cabe ao CR, que decide sobre a originalidade, relevância e pertinência do tema para o perfil editorial dos AHAM e sobre a sua possível calendarização.

A decisão é comunicada aos proponentes até um mês depois de formalizada a recepção das propostas.

4. cronograma e chamada para artigos

Após a aprovação da proposta de *dossier* temático, o secretariado dos AHAM prepara o cronograma para a publicação e o documento para divulgação da «chamada para artigos», em colaboração com o coordenador do CR e os coordenadores do *dossier*.

A «chamada para artigos» é difundida através do sítio Web dos AHAM e dos canais oficiais do CHAM, recomendando-se a participação activa dos coordenadores do *dossier* nesta tarefa, com a divulgação através dos seus contactos e redes.

5. notificação de recepção de propostas de artigos

Realiza-se no prazo máximo de uma semana. Da responsabilidade do secretariado do CR.

6. avaliação prévia das propostas de artigos

A selecção das propostas cabe aos coordenadores do *dossier* e ao CR, que decidem sobre o interesse dos tópicos para a análise do tema.

A notificação de aceitação ou recusa das propostas é comunicada aos autores no prazo indicado na «chamada para artigos».

Depois de aceites as propostas, os artigos devem ser enviados pelos autores no prazo indicado na «chamada para artigos».

A partir desta fase, o procedimento é o mesmo seguido para os ARTIGOS (ver 1.º capítulo dos PROCEDIMENTOS).

NORMAS PARA ELABORAÇÃO E APRESENTAÇÃO DE TEXTOS

SUBMISSÃO E FORMATAÇÃO: DIRECTRIZES GERAIS

1. submissão

Todos os textos devem ser submetidos por *e-mail* para o endereço dos AHAM (anais.cham@fcs.unl.pt).

2. formatação

Os originais devem ser enviados em ficheiros Word, com a seguinte formatação: fonte Times New Roman, tamanho 12 pt, alinhamento justificado com espaçamento 1,5 pt, parágrafos não indentados, numeração das páginas sequencial, notas de rodapé em numeração automática.

3. extensão

É recomendável que os artigos não excedam as 10 000 palavras.

4. título, resumo e palavras-chave

O título deve ser claro e sintético, sendo opcional a escolha de um subtítulo.

Os resumos dos artigos, até 100 palavras (máximo), devem ser entregues em português e em inglês.

Para cada artigo deverão ser indicadas quatro a seis palavras-chave, em português e em inglês.

5. autoria

As propostas de artigo devem ser entregues livres de marcas de autoria, acompanhadas de um documento em separado com a indicação do nome do autor, afiliação institucional, endereço institucional e contacto de *e-mail* actualizados e breve nota biográfica (máximo de 200 palavras).

6. línguas de publicação e questões de estilo

Aceitam-se artigos em português, espanhol, francês, inglês e italiano.

Para cada uma das línguas de publicação devem seguir-se as normas ortográficas vigentes e as regras de estilo mais indicadas.

Nomes próprios e apelidos de origem europeia citados no corpo do texto têm a sua grafia modernizada.

Em cada circunstância, o tipo de aspas recomendado (angulares rectas, curvas ou plicas) varia de acordo com a língua de redacção. Em textos escritos em português, os AHAM recomendam, de um modo geral, o uso de aspas angulares rectas ou francesas («»), e aspas curvas ou inglesas (“”) em situações de aspas dentro de aspas.

Os subtítulos de divisões do texto devem ser grafados a negrito.

O uso de itálico restringe-se a expressões estrangeiras e a destaques realizados em citações.

No caso de os artigos integrarem palavras em outros alfabetos ou com sinais diacríticos, os autores devem providenciar o respectivo *software* de leitura, no acto de entrega do texto.

7. citações

As citações de documentos ou textos até três linhas figuram no corpo do texto, entre aspas. Com mais de três linhas, destacam-se em parágrafo próprio, tamanho 11, indentação de 1,25 cm à esquerda e espaço simples, sem aspas.

A introdução de palavras ou termos no corpo das citações assinala-se entre parênteses rectos - [] .

Omissões de trechos de citações identificam-se por reticências, entre parênteses rectos - [...]. Citações em línguas estrangeiras devem fazer-se no original, disponibilizando-se em nota de rodapé a respectiva tradução para a língua do texto, sempre que o original seja em língua diversa das admitidas pelos AHAM (português, espanhol, francês, inglês e italiano).

8. transcrição de manuscritos

Accepta-se o estrito respeito pela grafia dos textos manuscritos, a sua modernização ou, ainda, uma via intermédia, desde que as normas de transliteração sejam expressas pelos autores.

9. notas de rodapé

Identificadas com algarismos indo-arábicos, as notas de rodapé devem ser escritas em letra de tamanho 10 e espaço simples.

FONTES E DOCUMENTOS INÉDITOS | CRITÉRIOS:

- primeira ocorrência | exemplos:

BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA [BA], Cód. 54-VI-1 a 5 («Catálogo de marcas de água consoante os documentos existentes na Biblioteca da Ajuda», de Jordão Apolinário de Freitas).

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL [BNP], Reservados, Cód. 864, fls. 302-304 (Lista do auto da fé celebrado na Igreja de Santo Antão de Évora, 26 de Janeiro de 1716). [Consultado em 20/03/2012]. Disponível em http://purl.pt/15393/2/cod-864/cod-864_item2/index.html.

HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA [HAG], *Monções do Reino*, n.º 6-B, fl. 27 (Carta do rei [Filipe II] para o vice-rei, D. Martim Afonso de Castro, Lisboa, 23 de Março de 1605).

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU], *Conselho Ultramarino*, São Tomé, Cx. 14, doc. 1 (Ofício do capitão-mor Vicente Gomes Ferreira, para o Secretário de Estado da Marinha e do Ultramar, Martinho de Melo e Castro, São Tomé, 26 de Fevereiro de 1772).

- ocorrências seguintes | exemplos:

BA, Cód. 54-VI-2, fl. [8].

BNP, *Reservados*, Cód. 864, fl. 303.

HAG, *Monções do Reino*, n.º 6-B, fl. 27.

AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, São Tomé, Cx. 14, doc. 1.

REFERÊNCIAS BIBLIOGRÁFICAS | CRITÉRIOS:

- primeira ocorrência | exemplos:

José Júlio RODRIGUES, *Les colonies portugaises*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Nationale, 1888 (Extrait des Bulletins de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers).

Gilberto FREYRE, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*, 25ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio Editora, 1987.

C. R. BOXER, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, [2nd ed.], Manchester, Carcanet/Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991.

C. R. BOXER, *Fidalgos no Extremo Oriente 1550-1770. Factos e Lendas de Macau Antigo*, trad. Teresa e Manuel Bairrão Oleiro, Macau, Fundação Oriente/ Museu e Centro de Estudos de Macau, 1990, pp. 10-21.

Francisco BETHENCOURT e Kirti CHAUDHURI (dir.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 («A Formação do Império, 1415-1570»), [Lisboa], Círculo de Leitores, 1998.

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD, «Men under stress: the social environment of the Carreira da Índia (1550-1750)» in Luís de Albuquerque e Inácio Guerreiro (eds.), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1985, pp. 19-35.

Jean AUBIN, «Deux Chrétiens au Yémen Tâhiride», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 3, Nº 1 (April, 1993), pp. 33-52.

Fernando BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, «Entre dos reinos, una patria rebelde. Fidalgos portugueses en la Monarquía Hispánica después de 1640», *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna*, nº 20 (2004), pp. 83-104. [Consultado em 20/03/2012]. Disponível em <http://centros.uv.es/web/departamentos/D235/data/informacion/E129/PDF118.pdf>

- ocorrências seguintes | exemplos:

J. J. RODRIGUES, op. cit., pp. 117-120.

F. BETHENCOURT e K. CHAUDHURI (dir.), op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 203.

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD, art. cit., p. 20

F. BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, art. cit., p. 90.

G. FREYRE, op. cit., *passim*; C. R. BOXER, *Fidalgos*, cit., p. 39, e J. AUBIN, «Deux Chrétiens», cit., pp. 30-31.

10. bibliografia

No fim dos artigos, deve figurar a relação integral das fontes e bibliografia citadas ao longo do texto. A bibliografia deve ser disposta alfabeticamente pelos apelidos dos autores.

- Exemplo:

AUBIN, Jean, «Deux Chrétiens au Yémen Tâhiride», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 3, Nº 1 (April, 1993), pp. 33-52.

BETHENCOURT, Francisco e CHAUDHURI, Kirti (dir.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 («A Formação do Império, 1415-1570»), [Lisboa], Círculo de Leitores, 1998.

BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, Fernando, «Entre dos reinos, una patria rebelde. Fidalgos portugueses en la Monarquía Hispánica después de 1640», *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna*, nº 20 (2004), pp. 83-104. [Consultado em 20/03/2012]. Disponível em <http://centros.uv.es/web/departamentos/D235/data/informacion/E129/PDF118.pdf>

BOXER, C. R., *Fidalgos no Extremo Oriente 1550-1770. Factos e Lendas de Macau Antigo*, trad. Teresa e Manuel Bairrão Oleiro, Macau, Fundação Oriente/ Museu e Centro de Estudos de Macau, 1990, pp. 10-21.

BOXER, C. R., *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, [2nd ed.], Manchester, Carcanet/ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991.

FREYRE, Gilberto, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*, 25ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio Editora, 1987.

RODRIGUES, José Júlio, *Les colonies portugaises*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Nationale, 1888 (Extrait des Bulletins de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers).

RUSSEL-WOOD, A. J. R., «Men under stress: the social environment of the Carreira da Índia (1550-1750)» in Luís de Albuquerque e Inácio Guerreiro (eds.), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1985, pp. 19-35.

11. ilustrações

Fotografias, desenhos, tabelas, gráficos, mapas devem ser fornecidos em ficheiros jpg. ou tiff. Com uma resolução mínima de 300 dpi's (mínimo). A revista é impressa a uma cor.

Deverá ser entregue um ficheiro independente com a lista de todas as ilustrações (imagens, tabelas, etc.) numeradas sequencialmente, com legenda e fontes/créditos associados, e menção ao seu local exacto a inserir no texto.

12. direitos relativos a ilustrações (*copyright*)

Cabe exclusivamente aos autores assegurarem que as imagens têm as autorizações exigidas pela legislação vigente em matéria de direitos de autor e assumir os eventuais encargos associados à sua obtenção.

13. recensões

As recensões críticas devem ter entre 500 e 2000 palavras.

A obra recenseada deverá ser identificada da seguinte forma: autor/coordenador, *título*. local de edição: editora, ano, (colecção, n.º). ISBN; DOI:

A citação de outras obras para além da recenseada deve ser feita em nota de rodapé.

Deve ser indicado no final do texto o nome do autor da recensão, afiliação institucional e contacto de *e-mail*.

As recensões deverão seguir as restantes normas dos artigos, designadamente: 1, 2, 6, 7 e 9.

PUBLISHING PROCEDURES

In order to ensure good practices and transparency in the publishing process, listed below are the main steps, with emphasis on the evaluation stage.

ARTICLES

1. submission of proposals

- a) Spontaneous proposals: no specific deadline. The AHAM are permanently open to spontaneous proposals.
- b) Proposals resulting from “calls for articles” divulged in the journal’s website and through official channels of CHAM.
- c) Proposals of thematic dossiers by invitation of the coordinators and the Editorial Board (EB).

2. notification of reception and brief explanation of the procedure

The secretary of the EB is responsible for notifying authors within the space of a week. Authors may be advised at this stage to make formal alterations to their texts in order to comply with AHAM’s “norms of elaboration and presentation of texts”.

3. first evaluation

The selection of texts for publication is done by the EB. After an initial appraisal of all proposals those eligible for external scientific evaluation are chosen.

In this initial evaluation the coordinator of the EB, advised by a second member of the Board, evaluates the originality, relevance, methodological soundness, currentness of the bibliography, writing style and pertinence of the theme to the profile of the journal.

If an agreement is not reached, the case may be discussed by the full Board.

Authors are informed of all decisions taken concerning the proposals.

A rejection notification will be issued within 15 days after the receipt of proposals is formalized.

4. preparation of external referees

In accordance with standards for international scientific journals, all articles selected in the first evaluation are submitted to two referees for external scientific evaluation. This journal uses double blind peer review to provide double anonymity.

Proposals ensuing from formal invitations by coordinators of thematic *dossiers* or from the EB are submitted to review by the above mentioned coordinators and coordinator of the EB. An external referee is also consulted on a double anonymity basis.

Referees must:

- be external to the administration and EB of the AHAM;
- not have any impediments of an ethical or professional nature that could hinder a correct and impartial evaluation – like belonging to the same institution as an author, or having worked with them in the last three years;
- be from different institutions, or even from different countries.
- one of the evaluators must be a native speaker of the language of the text under evaluation.

Estimated deadline: one week.

5. preparation of materials necessary for the referees

Although the authors are requested to omit anything that could indicate their identity, the secretary of the EB does a second screening before the files sent to the AHAM are converted into a format that guaranties the integrity of the originals.

It is also the responsibility of the secretary of the EB to personalize the evaluation forms.

6. selection of referees: confirmation of availability

Selected referees are questioned by the EB about their interest in the proposed subject and their availability to commit to an evaluation within a month.

7. evaluation of articles

Once an invitation has been accepted, the secretary of the EB delivers the necessary evaluation material to the referees.

The referees must fill in all the fields of the “evaluation form” and substantiate their view about whether the articles are appropriate or not for publication. The referees are also encouraged to make suggestions to the author regarding alterations, development of ideas, or specific aspects that could significantly improve their work.

Once the evaluation form has been filled out, it must be sent to the EB by e-mail within an agreed time limit.

It is up to the EB, advised by a second member of the board, to interpret the classification resulting from the (collected) evaluations. If feedback from the external evaluators is not unanimous, a decision is taken by the coordinator of the EB, whereby an opinion may be solicited from a third referee.

Based always on the same criteria, the evaluation should be concluded within three months.

8. disclosure of results

Authors are notified of acceptance or rejection of their articles for publication in the AHAM within a 15 day period after the close of the evaluation process.

If alterations are necessary, an additional 2 – 3 week period will be allotted for submission.

If there is a substantial amount of recommended alterations, the article may be forwarded to the referee(s) for re-evaluation.

9. final adjustments

If any aspects are less precise or in divergence with the evaluation, there may be further dialogue between the EB coordinator and authors of proposals to decide on a set of final adjustments.

This stage should not exceed two weeks.

10. proof reading

A manuscript will be given to the authors for revision and possible inclusion of small corrections. In this stage major alterations in the structure and length of the text are not permitted. The manuscript should be returned to the editorial staff of the AHAM within a maximum period of two weeks.

11. free offprint and copy

Each author will be given a printed copy of the edition of the journal in which his/her text is published, as well as an offprint of the article in digital format.

12. copy right and open access

The content of all work is of the responsibility of the authors and not of the AHAM or CHAM. The acceptance of a text for publication infers transferal of the copyright to the publisher of the journal.

Rights over any images included in the articles are the exclusive responsibility of the authors, and should be mentioned.

After the publication of each volume, CHAM reserves the right to provide open access of the contents, making them available in the journal's website and RUN - Repositório da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa covered by a Creative Commons license BY-NC 4.0.

The policy of self-archiving in institutional repositories of the AHAM is as follows: the author may file a printed version/PDF to the publisher / colour RoMEO: blue.

DOCUMENTS, REVIEWS AND NEWS

Publication of unpublished sources (documents), critical reviews and news follows the publishing procedures indicated in points 1, 2, 10, 11 and 12 referring to Articles (see 1st chapter of the Procedures).

1. evaluation

Selection of texts is done by the EB, who read all the proposals and decide whether they will be published.

The coordinator of the EB, advised by a second member of the board, assesses the originality, relevance, methodological soundness, currentness of the bibliography, writing style and pertinence of the subject to the journal's profile.

In the absence of an agreement, the case may be debated by the full Board and/or an external opinion may be solicited.

Authors are informed of all decisions concerning the proposals.

2. book reviews

The AHAM accept works for review, which must be delivered to the care of João de Figueirôa-Rêgo, *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, CHAM, FCSH/NOVA, Av. de Berna 26C, 1069-061 Lisboa, Portugal.

THEMATIC DOSSIERS

1. submission of proposals

The AHAM accepts proposals for thematic dossiers. These can be submitted spontaneously or by invitation of the EB.

Applications should consider:

- Coordination of the *dossier* by at least two specialists, one of which should be from a foreign institution;
- Biographical notes of the coordinators (maximum of 200 words);
- A text of presentation of the subject in Portuguese and in English (maximum of 250 words each);
- A list of important topics;
- In addition, the coordinators may submit a list of articles by invited authors to be part of the *dossier*.

2. notification of receipt

Notification takes place within a week. It is the responsibility of the secretary of the EB.

3. appraisal

Selection of proposals is done by the EB, who evaluate the originality, relevance and pertinence of the subject for the editorial profile of the AHAM and future scheduling.

Applicants are informed within a month after the receipt of proposals has been formalized.

4. schedule and call for articles

Once the proposal of a thematic *dossier* has been accepted, the secretary of the AHAM prepares the publication schedule and the document for putting out the “call for articles”, in collaboration with the EB coordinator and the *dossier* coordinators.

The “call for articles” is made known through the AHAM website and official channels of CHAM. *Dossier* coordinators are recommended to participate actively by divulging through their contacts and networks.

5. notification of receipt of article applications/proposals

Notification will be given within a week and is the responsibility of the EB secretary.

6. previous evaluation of submitted articles

Selection is done by the *dossier* coordinators and the EB, who assess the interest of the topics for analysis of the subject.

Authors are notified of acceptances or rejections before the closing date indicated in the “call for articles”.

Accepted articles must be sent by the authors before the closing date indicated in the “call for articles”.

After this phase the process is the same as for ARTICLES (see 1st chapter of PROCEDURES).

NORMS FOR ELABORATION AND SUBMISSION OF TEXTS

SUBMISSION AND FORMAT: GENERAL GUIDELINES

1. submission

All texts should be submitted by e-mail to the AHAM (anais.cham@fcsh.unl.pt).

2. format requirements

Originals should be sent in Word files, in the following format: font Times New Roman, size 12 pt, justified alignment with 1.5 pt spacing, non-indented paragraphs, pages numbered sequentially, and footnotes in automatic numeration.

3. length

It is recommended that articles do not exceed 10 000 words.

4. title, abstract and keywords

The title should be clear and concise. Use of a subtitle is optional.

The abstract, with a maximum of 100 words, must be submitted in Portuguese and in English.

Each article should have between four and six keywords, in Portuguese and in English.

5. authorship

Articles must be submitted without any indication of the authors' identity (in a "blinded" version), and accompanied by a separate document with the name of the author, institutional affiliation, current institutional address and *e-mail* contact, and a brief biographical note (maximum of 200 words).

6. languages of publication and style

Articles can be submitted in Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Italian.

Current spelling rules and appropriate style guidelines for each language must be followed.

First names and surnames of European origin cited in the body of the text must have updated spelling.

The type of quotation marks recommended (angled, curved or straight) will vary according to the language the text is written in. For Portuguese texts the AHAM generally recommend the use of straight angled or French quotation marks («»), and curved or English (""") for quotations within quotations.

Section headings/subheadings in the text must be written in bold.

The use of italics is restricted to foreign expressions, and for emphasis in citations.

If an article contains words in other alphabets or with diacritical marks, the author must provide the respective *software* upon submission of the text.

7. citations

Citations of documents or texts of up to three lines are included in the body of the text, in quotation marks. Citations that consist of more than three lines should be placed in a separate paragraph, size 11, left indentation of 1.25 cm, single spaced, without quotation marks.

Words or terms introduced in the body of citations must be indicated by square brackets - [].

Omissions of excerpts of citations are indicated by suspension points between square brackets - [...].

Citations in any language other than those accepted by the AHAM (Portuguese, Spanish, French, English and Italian) must be original, with a translation into the language of the text provided in a footnote.

8. transcription of manuscripts

Strict respect for the spelling of the manuscript texts is accepted, their modernization, or also, an intermediary way, as long as the norms of transliteration are specified by the authors.

9. footnotes

Identified in Hindu-Arabic numerals, footnotes must be written in size 10 and single-spaced.

SOURCES AND UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS | CRITERIA:

- first instance/case | examples:

BIBLIOTECA DA AJUDA [BA], Cód. 54-VI-1 a 5 (“Catálogo de marcas de água consoante os documentos existentes na Biblioteca da Ajuda”, de Jordão Apolinário de Freitas).

BIBLIOTECA NACIONAL DE PORTUGAL [BNP], Reservados, Cód. 864, fls. 302-304 (Lista do auto da fé celebrado na Igreja de Santo Antão de Évora, 26 de Janeiro de 1716). [Accessed on 20/03/2012]. Available at http://purl.pt/15393/2/cod-864/cod-864_item2/index.html.

HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA [HAG], *Monções do Reino*, n.º 6-B, fl. 27 (Carta do rei [Filipe II] para o vice-rei, D. Martim Afonso de Castro, Lisboa, 23 de Março de 1605).

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU], *Conselho Ultramarino*, São Tomé, Cx. 14, doc. 1 (Ofício do capitão-mor Vicente Gomes Ferreira, para o Secretário de Estado da Marinha e do Ultramar, Martinho de Melo e Castro, São Tomé, 26 de Fevereiro de 1772).

- recurrent instances | examples:

BA, Cód. 54-VI-2, fl. [8].

BNP, Reservados, Cód. 864, fl. 303.

HAG, *Monções do Reino*, n.º 6-B, fl. 27.

AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, São Tomé, Cx. 14, doc. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES | CRITERIA:

- first instance | examples:

José Júlio RODRIGUES, *Les colonies portugaises*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Nationale, 1888 (Extrait des Bulletins de la Société Royale de Géographie d’Anvers).

Gilberto FREYRE, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*, 25ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio Editora, 1987.

C. R. BOXER, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, [2nd ed.], Manchester, Carcanet/Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991.

C. R. BOXER, *Fidalgos no Extremo Oriente 1550-1770. Factos e Lendas de Macau Antigo*, trad.

Teresa e Manuel Bairrão Oleiro, Macau, Fundação Oriente/ Museu e Centro de Estudos de Macau, 1990, pp. 10-21.

Francisco BETHENCOURT e Kirti CHAUDHURI (dir.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 («A Formação do Império, 1415-1570»), [Lisboa], Círculo de Leitores, 1998.

A. J. R. RUSSEL-WOOD, “Men under stress: the social environment of the Carreira da Índia (1550-1750)” in Luís de Albuquerque e Inácio Guerreiro (eds.), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1985, pp. 19-35.

Jean AUBIN, “Deux Chrétiens au Yémen Tāhiride”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 3, Nº 1 (April, 1993), pp. 33-52.

Fernando BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, “Entre dos reinos, una patria rebelde. Fidalgos portugueses en la Monarquía Hispánica después de 1640”, *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna*, nº 20 (2004), pp. 83-104. [Accessed on 20/03/2012]. Available at <http://centros.uv.es/web/departamentos/D235/data/informacion/E129/PDF118.pdf>

- recurrent instances | examples:

J. J. RODRIGUES, op. cit., pp. 117-120.

F. BETHENCOURT e K. CHAUDHURI (dir.), op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 203.

A. J. R. RUSSELL-WOOD, art. cit., p. 20

F. BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, art. cit., p. 90.

G. FREYRE, op. cit., *passim*; C. R. BOXER, *Fidalgos*, cit., p. 39, e J. AUBIN, «Deux Chrétiens», cit., pp. 30-31.

10. bibliography

The entire list of sources and bibliography used throughout the text should figure at the end of the articles. The bibliography should be ordered alphabetically, by the authors' surnames.

- Example:

AUBIN, Jean, «Deux Chrétiens au Yémen Tāhiride», *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Third Series, Vol. 3, Nº 1 (April, 1993), pp. 33-52.

BETHENCOURT, Francisco e CHAUDHURI, Kirti (dir.), *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. 1 («A Formação do Império, 1415-1570»), [Lisboa], Círculo de Leitores, 1998.

BOUZA ÁLVAREZ, Fernando, «Entre dos reinos, una patria rebelde. Fidalgos portugueses en la Monarquía Hispánica después de 1640», *Estudis: Revista de historia moderna*, nº 20 (2004), pp. 83-104. [Accessed on 20/03/2012]. Available at <http://centros.uv.es/web/departamentos/D235/data/informacion/E129/PDF118.pdf>

BOXER, C. R., *Fidalgos no Extremo Oriente 1550-1770. Factos e Lendas de Macau Antigo*, trad. Teresa e Manuel Bairrão Oleiro, Macau, Fundação Oriente/ Museu e Centro de Estudos de Macau, 1990, pp. 10-21.

BOXER, C. R., *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825*, [2nd ed.], Manchester, Carcanet/ Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1991.

FREYRE, Gilberto, *Casa-Grande & Senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime da economia patriarcal*, 25ª ed., Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio Editora, 1987.

RODRIGUES, José Júlio, *Les colonies portugaises*, Lisbonne, Imprimerie Nationale, 1888 (Extrait des Bulletins de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers).

RUSSEL-WOOD, A. J. R., «Men under stress: the social environment of the Carreira da Índia (1550-1750)» in Luís de Albuquerque e Inácio Guerreiro (eds.), *II Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1985, pp. 19-35.

11. illustrations

Photographs, drawings, tables, graphs, maps should be submitted in jpg. or tiff files. A minimum resolution of 300 dpi's is required. The journal is printed in greyscale.

A separate file with the list of all the illustrations (images, tables, etc.) sequentially numbered, with captions and sources/ credits, and indication of their exact placement in the text.

12. copyrights regarding illustrations

It is exclusively the authors' responsibility to ensure that images have legal authorization to be reproduced according to their copyright status, and authors must assume any expenses incurred.

13. reviews

Critical reviews should have between 500 and 2000 words.

The reviewed work must be identified as follows: author/coordinator, *title*, place of publication: publishing company, year, (collection, no.). ISBN:, DOI:

Citations of works other than the one being reviewed must be done in a footnote.

The name of the author of the review should be indicated at the end of the text, as well as his/her institutional affiliation and *e-mail* contact.

Reviews should follow the rest of the regulations for articles, namely 1, 2, 6, 7 and 9.





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