1. *In search of India: the empire of Vijayanagara through European eyes*

THE PROBLEM OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION IN RENAISSANCE EUROPE: A RETROSPECTIVE VIEW

The India made famous by seventeenth-century European travellers and which occupied an increasingly prominent space in the exotic imagination of the Enlightenment was essentially the India of the Muslim-dominated Mughal empire, with its syncretic court splendour and treacherous imperial politics set against the background of a brahmin-dominated society of naked ascetics, idolatrous temples and inflexible caste rules.[1] Although Akbar's empire was first described in detail by Jesuit missionaries in the 1580s, the Mughal theme effectively belongs to a number of well-educated travellers of the seventeenth century. Some worked for the English or Dutch East India companies, although the majority were largely independent observers, mostly French. Their accounts can be conventionally classified as belonging to the post-Renaissance, a period when these travellers could work from a sophisticated understanding of the difference between the analysis of religious diversity and the analysis of diversity in forms of civilization. This is perhaps the key distinction which characterized early modern ethnology. Our question here will not be what these independent and curious travellers saw and wrote, but rather how they came to be able to describe non-European societies as they did in the light of the ethnological practices of the preceding centuries.

[1] For a general discussion of the eighteenth-century view of Asia see S. Murr, 'Les conditions d'émergence du discours sur l'Inde au siècle des Lumières', in *Inde et littératures* (Paris, 1983), pp. 233–84. Specifically dealing with British perceptions of Asia, see the detailed study by P. Marshall and G. Williams, *The great map of mankind. British perceptions of the world in the age of Enlightenment* (London, 1982), especially chaps. 4 and 5.

The most sophisticated European writers in the East in the sixteenth century were often Jesuit missionaries, and it is precisely when read against the images which they created that the post-Renaissance lay discourse becomes most meaningful. The importance of the Jesuits in the early history of orientalism is therefore enormous. However, they must be analysed as participating in a specialized clerical discourse, one which to some extent they shared with other religious orders. The Portuguese Fróis in Japan, the Catalan Monserrate in Mughal India, and the Italian Ricci in China – to mention three outstanding early writers – were the privileged observers of new areas of Jesuit activity, but their very condition as missionaries also limited their attitudes towards foreign cultures, however much they knew about Strabo or Aristotle and despite the fact that they learned languages which gave them access to indigenous literary traditions. It is in fact necessary to retrieve the attitudes which preceded this Counter-Reformation discourse, and this requires discussing an earlier phase in the production of travel descriptions – those written by laymen with a limited access to the authoritative languages of law and theology which only a university education could secure.

The importance of the travel literature which grew during the first half of the sixteenth century is not simply that it gave Europe many informed descriptions of non-European lands and peoples, but also that it structured the genre on the basis of the practical interests of merchants, soldiers and crown officials. These interests were reflected in the character of the two most comprehensive early Portuguese accounts of the East, the *Suma Oriental* by Tomé Pires (*c*. 1512) and the *Livro* of Duarte Barbosa (*c*. 1516). They took the form of geographical treatises that followed trade routes along the coasts of the Indian Ocean, displaying both economic and ethnological information. Remarkably full and systematic, they superseded an earlier genre, the many letters and 'relations' that had been composed following the first voyages to India and the New World, and which had been read not only in Lisbon and Seville, but also in distant commercial centres such as Florence, Venice and Nuremberg (often the letters were written by foreign merchants who in fact played an important role in these early expeditions). A few of these early accounts were published, the most important collection of this kind being the *Paesi novamenti retrovati* which first appeared in Vicenza in 1507, apparently edited by the humanist scholar Francanzano da Montalboddo. It is interesting, however, that the much more detailed descriptions by Barbosa and Pires only circulated in manuscript form and were difficult to consult until they were assembled by the Venetian civil servant Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557) in

the three volumes of his ambitious collection *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550–9).[2]

Ramusio's edition was important both for the quantity and the quality of the material which it contained, and is the logical starting point for any analysis of early sixteenth-century interpretations of Indian civilization. This raises the question of why a collection of similar characteristics was not produced in Portugal in the first place. First of all, it must be borne in mind that the practice of collecting accounts about the new discoveries had been continuous throughout the first half of the century, so that through the hands of Germans and Italians based in Lisbon or Seville much material had made its way into the manuscript collections of the Florentine Piero Vaglienti, the Venetian Alessandro Zorzi or the Augsburg humanist Conrad Peutinger.[3] The fact that much unpublished material circulated makes the publication of the earlier major travel collections in Italy and Germany unsurprising. In this context, some historians have explained the limited initial circulation of accounts such as those by Barbosa and Pires as a result of the attempt by the Portuguese crown to prevent rival powers from having access to navigational and geographical information. The success of this policy – to the extent that it existed – was only relative, since as early as 1524 the book of Duarte Barbosa was available for translation into Castilian for Charles V (in his struggle against King John III of Portugal to claim the Spice Islands for his Spanish subjects).[4] While it seems likely that these

[2] G. B. Ramusio, *Navigazioni e viaggi*, ed. by M. Milanesi, 6 vols. (Turin, 1978–88), vol. II, pp. 541–780. Milanesi publishes the complete collection as it appeared in 1606. However, the three original volumes of Ramusio's collection were published in 1550 (vol. I), 1556 (vol. III) and 1559 (vol. II). There had been a second edition of the first volume in 1554, with additions by Ramusio, who died in 1557 (the 'second' volume, although finished in 1553, was published posthumously). The editions of 1563, 1574 and 1606 contained further additions, some of which (like Cesare Federici's narrative, only written in 1587) Ramusio could not have planned. In his edition of 1551, Ramusio only published a fragment of Pires' work, missing some of the more original parts. He did not even know its authorship.

[3] Piero Vaglienti's collection is now in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence (ms. 1,910). The Venetian Alessandro Zorzi's more important manuscripts are in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze (B.R. 233). Peutinger's Augsburg collection was dependent on the materials sent to him by Valentim Fernandes, a Moravian publisher settled in Lisbon and deeply involved in the early circulation of information concerning the Portuguese discoveries. See especially B. Greiff, *Tagebuch des Lucas Rem aus den Jahren 1494–1541* (Augsburg, 1861), and Valentim Fernandes, *O Manuscrito 'Valentim Fernandes'* ed. by A. Bião (Lisbon, 1940). A number of early letters by Florentine merchants in India have been recently collected by Marco Spallanzani, *Mercanti fiorentini nell'Asia portoghese* (Florence, 1997).

[4] For Barbosa's manuscript circulation and translation see D. F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, vol. I, p. 186, which must be complemented by G. Schurhammer, *Gesammelte Studien*, 4 vols. (Lisbon and Rome, 1965), vol. II, pp. 23–5. The Spanish translation was completed in Vitoria by the Genoese ambassador Martín Centurión with the help of

books were indeed not meant for a general public, probably the lack of a sufficient publishing infrastructure and book market in Portugal was as important as any attempt to prevent valuable information from leaking into foreign hands.[5] In any case it was difficult to prevent the Venetians, those most affected by the diversion of the spice trade through the new Atlantic route, from sending agents to collect information in Lisbon, or even interviewing in their own city independent travellers like the Italian adventurer Ludovico de Varthema or the Castilian Jew Francisco de Albuquerque.[6]

Ramusio's collection represents the application of humanist methods of faithful documentary edition and humanist ideals of systematic geographical reconstruction to the interests of Venetian commercial imperialism. Different principles, albeit no less imperialistic, dominated the public production of images of the East in Portugal. It was not until the second half of the sixteenth century that major narratives about India

Diogo Ribeiro, the Portuguese cosmographer now in the service of Charles V, to prepare for the Badajoz-Elvas junta of 1524 (the main manuscript is in Barcelona, but there are others in Madrid and Munich). It was also used for Ribeiro's important world maps of 1527 and 1529, which insisted on giving the Moluccas to Spain. It is likely that Charles secured the copy through Diogo Ribeiro himself or through any other of the various Portuguese sailors and cosmographers who abandoned King Manuel during these years seeking better prospects in Castile.

[5] In his analysis, Lach repeatedly puts forward the traditional argument for a Portuguese 'control of information'. See Lach, *Asia*, vol. I, pp. 151–4. The view has received much criticism. It seems difficult to prove that there was a systematic attempt to prevent *any* information about the new lands to 'leak' into the hands of foreign competitors, but there is little doubt that, at least in the sixteenth-century Iberian Peninsula, governments organized their own sources of information relating to colonies as a matter of state. A selective process concerning what kind of information was made available was part of the business of running an overseas empire, and the fierce competition between Portugal and Castile over the Spice Islands, for instance, certainly advised some control in the early decades of the sixteenth century. It is also true that Portuguese writers found it difficult to publish in their own country (such was the case of Mendes Pinto), and that many important chronicles, for instance the *Lendas da Índia* by Gaspar Correa and parts of Diogo do Couto's *Decadas*, were not published. Sometimes influential noblemen who did not wish the revelation of details which diminished their prestige conspired against certain chroniclers and forced revisions or even interrupted projects.

[6] For Albuquerque, see R. Cessi (ed.) 'L'itinerario indiano di Francesco dal Bocchier', *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VIII, 6 (1951): 232–49, and J. Aubin, 'Francisco de Albuquerque, un juif castillan au service de l'Inde Portugaise (1510–15)', *Arquivos do Centro Cultural Português*, 7 (1973): 175–88. Cessi wrongly assumed that the author of the report was a Venetian merchant. The correct identification is given by Jean Aubin, who offers an interesting biographical sketch. Albuquerque was apparently a Jewish merchant from the kingdom of Castile who travelled to India from Cairo but was then enslaved by the Portuguese (1510) and became one of Governor Affonso d'Albuquerque's informants and interpreters. His new name was the result of conversion to Christianity in 1511, but apparently on his return to Cairo he recovered his original faith. See Braz de Albuquerque, *Comentários de Affonso d'Albuquerque*, ed. by A. Bião, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1922–3), vol. II, p. 454, and (more precisely) Aubin, 'Francisco de Albuquerque', 182–4.

came to light, namely the chronicles of the Portuguese expansion written by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1551–61), João de Barros (1552–1615) and Braz de Albuquerque (1557).[7] These chroniclers, in their efforts to summarize their information, tried to synthesize ethnographical observations in short descriptive chapters, in this way making available evaluative generalizations about the oriental Indians to the European public. Although some chroniclers like Castanheda could claim a direct and long personal experience of the East, generally speaking these narratives could only give a limited role to first-hand ethnographical descriptions, because they were ruled by the aims and conventions of the epic genre.[8] There was certainly room for a degree of antiquarian curiosity within the well-written and remarkably informed narrative by the humanist court historian and bureaucrat Barros, but his *Ásia* was nevertheless dominated by a very medieval-looking synthesis between patriotic aims and chivalric ideals.

The material collected by Ramusio and the Portuguese chronicles thus offered distinct images of India for European readers, but rarely attempted to define Indian civilization – a reflection of the problems of developing a lay discourse on cultural diversity outside limited practical concerns. In fact the first attempt to define Indian civilization from a comparative perspective and on the basis of personal experience was the result of the development of Christian missions in the East. Alessandro Valignano (Chieti 1539 – Macao 1606), the Jesuit Visitor to the province of India between 1574 and 1606, wrote extensively about Asian lands and peoples in the different *Summaria* which he sent to the General of the Society in Rome. His three reports became the basis for a more ambitious historical narrative written in Castilian, the *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales*, the first part of which was sent to Europe in 1584. This work influenced Jesuit historians like Giovan Pietro Maffei, who provided Europe with authoritative descriptions of the East in the late sixteenth century. Besides its focus on

[7] These chroniclers were followed by the historians of the reign of Manuel I, Damião de Góis and Jerónimo Osório, whose accounts of Asia were largely derivative, although not without merit. It should be noted that the work of Braz de Albuquerque has a distinctive structure. It is not a general chronicle, but it focuses on the deeds of his natural father, the famous governor Affonso de Albuquerque – hence the classical form of *commentaries* (although not written by Affonso himself, the narrative was mainly based on his papers). Braz, whose mother was a morisco slave, shared the peculiar destiny of Hernando Colón (1488–1539) of having to promote his personal cause by becoming the historian of a distinguished but ill-starred natural father.

[8] On the Portuguese chroniclers see J. B. Harrison, 'Five Portuguese historians', in C. H. Phillips (ed.) *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon* (London, 1961); C. R. Boxer, *João de Barros, Portuguese humanist and historian of Asia* (New Delhi, 1981); Lach, *Asia*, vol. I, pp. 187–92.

the sanctification of Francis Xavier and in all Jesuit activities, the main interest of the *Historia* lay in the chapters describing the 'qualities' and 'customs' of the oriental Indians, the Japanese and the inhabitants of the kingdom of China.[9] Although Valignano is better known for his importance in re-shaping the Jesuit missions than for his intellectual legacy, his writings can be seen as an important landmark in the sixteenth-century European discourse on the Orient. They provided a sophisticated framework for the comparison of different peoples under the concept of rational behaviour, enshrining an idea of civility (not yet 'civilization') which was nevertheless combined with racial and religious forms of classification.

In this sense his reports, informed by a privileged education in law and theology, can be seen to express an original development that went beyond the impressive collection of travel narratives published by Ramusio a few decades earlier. While Ramusio's work had consolidated a powerful model of a world-wide empirical geography based on eyewitness accounts which benefited from humanist philological methods and thus superseded Ptolemy, Valignano and his fellow Jesuits carried European views of non-Europeans to a new natural and historical order which was in fact a meeting point between practical and theological concerns. These writings therefore represent the achievements and, at the same time, contradictions of Renaissance ethnology, and can be usefully taken as a point from which to obtain a perspective on both previous and later developments.

Perhaps the most important question is the place of India in this cultural process. It is significant that as late as 1574 European observers, having had a long history of contact with the Indian subcontinent and its peoples, acknowledged the difficulty of providing a unified image of India that made sense of its diversity. Valignano, aware of this problem, preferred to limit his observations to the western coast 'running from the city of Diu to Cape Comorin'.[10] This was, of course, the area where the Portuguese were able to exercise some direct political and religious influence by means of a regular military pressure – a long strip of land,

[9] See Alessandro Valignano, *Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales 1542–64*, ed. by J. Wicki (Rome, 1944), chaps. 4 (pp. 22–40), 17 (pp. 126–63) and 26–27 (pp. 214–56). For a general view, see Lach, *Asia*, vol. I, pp. 257ff. A more detailed study of Valignano's policies in Japan, his key area of activity, is to be found in the introduction by J. L. Álvarez-Taladriz to Alessandro Valignano, *Sumario de las cosas del Japón*, ed. by J. L. Álvarez-Taladriz (Tokyo, 1954); J. F. Schütte, *Valignano's mission principles for Japan*, 2 vols. (Institute for Jesuit Sources, St Louis, 1980–5), and J. F. Moran, *The Japanese and the Jesuits: Alessandro Valignano in sixteenth-century Japan* (London, 1993).

[10] Valignano, *Historia*, p. 22. This corresponds to the coastline of the modern states of Gujarat, Maharastra, Karnataka, Goa and Kerala.

separated from the interior by a chain of mountains, where the Europeans had set up their earliest commercial factories and forts and a few important settlements, including the capital Goa. And yet within this limited area the difficulty of drawing a distinct image of India and its peoples was solved by recourse to a contemptuous generalization. Valignano ruthlessly described the Indian gentiles 'of many nations and languages' as inferior to Europeans: 'These people, who are almost black and go half naked, are universally contemptible and held to be base by the Portuguese and other Europeans; and the truth is that compared to them they are of little substance and lack refinement. They are, as Aristotle says, of a servile nature, because they are commonly poor, miserable and mean, and for any gain they will do the lowest things'.[11] He went on to explain that avaricious kings and lords exploited the lower castes without conscience and only kept peace and justice in order better to exploit them, that their elevated concept of *honra* and politeness did not prevent a vicious licentiousness towards women, and that the caste system was in fact an expression of tyranny and superstition. As for their religion, he noted that it contained a core of theological truth to which they added 'many chimeras and monstrosities'.[12] In conclusion, in Valignano's hierarchy of civilizations the dark-skinned Indians occupied a position slightly superior to the black Africans, since they were not entirely without reason, but were of a lower nature than the Europeans and other white peoples.[13]

The negative bias that pervades this description cannot be analysed simply as a personal opinion, even though Valignano's condition as the son of a Neapolitan aristocrat certainly contributed to the formation of his attitudes, while his education at the university of Padua helped him develop a theoretical explanation based on Aristotle. The important contrast is that in the same period a more limited contact with the Chinese or the Japanese offered to the educated missionaries led by the same Valignano not only an apparently homogeneous image of a different people with particular customs, qualities and institutions (what we would now call a different 'culture' or 'civilization'), but also higher hopes for evangelization and even a feeling of genuine admiration for their civil achievements. The non-European could actually be perceived

[11] Ibid. pp. 24–5.
[12] Ibid. pp. 25–32.
[13] Valignano never explains the exact relationship between his Aristotelian concept of nature, his racial classification and his cultural classification. It seems, however, apparent that he thought that cultural differences responded to natural, not simply accidental, differences, so that the Indians were not likely to become as capable Christians as the Japanese. Furthermore, colour was also an expression of these natural differences: the more vile Indians were, the more logical it appeared to him that they were also black.

as superior in the pursuit of an ideal of a well-organized society, a superiority measured by justice, education and prosperity.[14]

Valignano's views were expressed with particular clarity and forcefulness, but they do not contradict the opinions found in contemporary writers, especially among missionaries. Why were the Indians made to play such a negative role in the first clearly formulated Renaissance interpretations of Asian peoples? The answer lies partly in the very frustration of the European Catholics in their attempts to evangelize the Hindus (Muslims were from the beginning effectively regarded as a hopeless enemy). The evangelization of the gentiles, in contrast to war against the 'Moors', was more than an initial strategy to justify taking away the valuable Asiatic trade from the hands of existing merchant communities: it was an ideological imperative that went deep into Hispanic traditions of conquest and crusade. Its meaning in terms of practical needs (such as the search for indigenous allies) cannot be dissociated with the idealism that allowed the Portuguese crown to keep the empire together despite centrifugal forces and to justify it in Europe. A success so limited that in many ways amounted to failure was an important problem for European identity, especially for the missionaries themselves. For example, their greatest success in India was among the low-caste Paravas of the Fishery coast – the kind of ignorant and miserable people which Valignano despised.[15] It was largely the Jesuits' concern with the quality of their converts in India that prompted them to place hopes in other lands.

This process can already be observed in the letters of Francis Xavier (1506–52), which were read by all his followers and inspired their first ideas on the Asians. He would preach to the poor Indians of the Fishery

[14] The Chinese were the main focus of this idealization – the Japanese played a far more ambiguous role. For sixteenth-century European views of China see C. R. Boxer (ed.) *South China in the sixteenth century*, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series (London, 1953) and R. d'Intino (ed.) *Enformação das cousas da China. Textos do século XVI* (Lisbon, 1989). See also the recent work by Rui Loureiro, *A China na cultura Portuguesa do século XVI* (forthcoming).

[15] The Paravas were baptized by Franciscans. Their conversion in 1535–6 was apparently their own communal initiative: they sought the protection of the Portuguese fleets against rival native Muslim converts from Kayal who, with the help of Gujarati merchants, threatened their control of the pearl fisheries of the straits of Manaar (see K. McPherson, 'Paravas and Portuguese. A study of Portuguese strategy and its impact on an Indian seafaring community', *Mare Liberum*, 13 (1997): 69–82). For the Portuguese the Tirunelveli coast was of strategic navigational value, and after crushing Muslim shipping they sent the energetic Jesuits to strengthen their indirect control. In the middle of the century the Paravas flocked again to the protection of Portuguese arms against the depredations of Telugu-speaking warriors of northern origin representing the authority of the Vijayanagara captains in the area. By the time of Valignano perhaps as many as 100,000 converts were being looked after by a very small group of Jesuits.

coast, but brahmins were perfidious liars and subtle manipulators of popular ignorance, 'the most perverse people in the world'. His dreams really went towards Japan, 'the best people among the infidels', honour-loving, courteous, monogamous, without idolatry, lettered, rational and desirous to learn. Given that they had their own universities, a missionary with a good theological training would certainly be able to engage in rational disputation and convert the best among them. As it turned out, experience proved things to be more difficult, and in particular the Buddhist bonzes put up a solid intellectual resistance. Undaunted, Xavier left a few men in Japan and tried China instead, where people were generous, understanding of politics, peaceful and extremely scholarly: if they converted, the Japanese would surely follow suit.[16]

Valignano was a heir to these images, including the preference for white people as more likely to be rational, but with him a new conception of evangelization clearly emerged too, one based on the idea of adaptation, what might be described as a consciously oriented cultural exchange.[17] It was thus in the more remote China and Japan, rather than in India or south-east Asia, where this new strategy was given stronger support, almost as if Valignano's personal judgement about the inferior civilization of the brahmins directed well-trained missionaries like Matteo Ricci away from the Indian hinterland. It is not entirely coincidental that Roberto de Nobili only started his experimental work in the interior of South India in the seventeenth century, right after Valignano's death. The fact that Nobili's very different attitude towards Indian culture was *also* related to his background as a well-educated Italian aristocrat who had read Aquinas proves (if proof is needed) that the elite culture of Europe was far from rigid and homogeneous, and that social or national background did not determine a specific response to other cultures.

Xavier's and Valignano's prejudice about what they saw as the superstitious ignorance of the Indian gentiles was not inevitable, but generally

[16] All the letters are collected in Francis Xavier, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xavierii*, ed. by G. Schurhammer and J. Wicki, 2 vols. (Rome, 1944–5). See in particular numbers 20, 90, 96, 97, 110 (in the above description of Xavier's view of Japanese qualities I have extracted some of the contents of letter 90, written to the Jesuits in Goa from Kagoshima on 5 November 1549; his views on brahmins can be found in a letter to the brothers in Rome from Cochin on 15 January 1544; his views on China in his letter to Ignatius of Loyola from Cochin on 29 January 1552). The saint's career in India is studied in detail in G. Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier: his life, his times*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1977), vol. II: *India 1541–45.*

[17] Background information for this 'new concept of evangelization' in Lach, *Asia*, vol. I, pp. 245–331, and J. D. Spence, *The memory palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984). See also chapter 9 below.

speaking it was shared by the Portuguese ecclesiastical bodies established in the East. It was a negative judgement of Indian civility based on apparent dissimilarities with Europe, legitimized by the immediate applicability of the concept of idolatry, and compounded by decades of missionary frustration. However, the strength of this attitude was also related to the difficulty of using a simple political image to articulate an understanding of the customs and institutions of the peoples inhabiting India. Less than in Japan, and especially unlike in China, the Europeans in India did not face a unified political system with which they could have economic, military and cultural dealings, but rather a collection of small and often volatile sultanates, principalities and semi-independent city–ports involved in oceanic trade. As Valignano recognized, it was difficult to speak about 'India' in general, because 'taking this name as it is commonly used in Europe, India contains such a great diversity of provinces and kingdoms, that it is not possible to comprehend except for those who have travelled part of them'.[18] For European observers, the fact that many of the more important states were ruled by Muslim elites was less of a problem that the fact that they were so fragmented and unstable, at a time when the ideas of political independence and stability were fundamental to the image of a successful civil life.

Akbar's Mughal empire might be seen as a clear exception, and yet this was a country in the periphery of the European vision, not really hegemonic until the latter decades of the sixteenth century and then still quite remote from Goa. Serious contacts with Akbar's court did not come until the first Jesuit mission, led by Father Rudolf Aquaviva, was sent in 1579, of which the best account is Antonio Monserrate's *Mongolicae legationis commentarius*.[19] The author belonged to a selected group of well-trained Jesuits who had been led by Valignano in 1574 to infuse a new vigour and a new orientation to the missionary path opened by Francis Xavier, despite and beyond the previous efforts of other religious orders.[20] Although the *Commentarius* did not reach Europe, Monserrate's briefer 'Relation of Akbar, king of the Mughals', written in 1582 under the illusion that Akbar might convert to Christianity, offered a powerful image of Indian (albeit not Hindu) kingship which was destined to have great impact in Europe, and which contrasts with

[18] Valignano, *Historia*, p. 22.

[19] Antonio Monserrate, 'Mongolicae legationis commentarius', ed. by H. Hosten, *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. III (Calcutta, 1914). There exists an English translation: *The commentary . . . on his journey to the court of Akbar*, translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee (Oxford, 1922).

[20] During the first century of contacts, the Franciscan and Dominican friars in Portuguese India wrote remarkably little concerning indigenous customs and religion – in stark contrast with those sent by the Spanish to the New World.