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CRONISTAS
ESQUECIDOS
DO EXTREMO
ORIENTE

SÉCULOS
XVI-XVIII

FORGOTTEN
CHRONICLERS
OF THE FAR EAST
16TH-18TH
CENTURIES



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RC é uma revista de Cultura e, domínio do Espírito, é Livre. Avassalada ao encontro universal das culturas, servente da identidade cultural de Macau, agente de mais íntima relação entre o Oriente e o Ocidente, particularmente entre a China e Portugal. RC propõe-se publicar todos os textos interessantes aos objectivos confessados, pelo puro critério da qualidade. Assim, as opiniões e as doutrinas, expressas ou professas nos textos assinados, ou implícitas nas imagens de autoria, são da responsabilidade dos seus autores, e nem na parte, nem no todo, podem confundir-se com a orientação da RC. A Direcção da revista reserva-se o direito de não publicar, nem devolver, textos não solicitados.

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RC is a cultural magazine published quarterly in two versions — Chinese and International (Portuguese/English)—whose purpose is to reflect the unique identity of Macao. The magazine also seeks to promote freedom of expression and through the articles published we hope to stimulate ideas and discussion of topics related to Western/Eastern cultural interchange, especially between China and Portugal.

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A globalização do conhecimento começou em Macau no século XVI quando os *saberes* do Oriente e do Ocidente se cruzaram nesta terra singular do Sul da China.

No século XXI, o intercâmbio cultural entre os *dois mundos* continua a ser a vocação de Macau.

A *Revista de Cultura* é o veículo dessa vocação.

Knowledge entered into an age of globalisation in Macao in the 16th century when the *wisdoms* of East and West met in this unique part of South China.

In the 21st century, Macao remains dedicated to cultural interchange between *both worlds* in a vocation maintained by *Review of Culture*.



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A NOSSA CAPA

Na vasta escuridão da História irrompe, qual candeia, a pena dos cronistas mais ou menos oficiais, mais ou menos preparados para o ofício de registar para os vindouros o modo dos tempos que viam e viviam. Este número de *Revista de Cultura* é um pleito a esses cronistas desconhecidos ou pouco conhecidos, estudados ou divulgados. Reúne crónicas de missionários, homens de ciência, mercadores, burocratas e aventureiros de diversas *empresas* Orientais, fossem elas de índole religiosa, mercantil, imperial ou meramente individual.

As particulares visões e observações de portugueses, luso-asiáticos, espanhóis, holandeses, ingleses, franceses e também asiáticos, revelam-se nestas páginas, como que desvelando *segredos* por séculos guardados. São fontes que complementam, enriquecem e humanizam as descrições mais canónicas do encontro euro-asiático nos séculos XVI a XVIII.

OUR COVER

The quills of chroniclers who recorded what they saw and experienced flicker through the mists of time for the benefit of future generations. This issue of *Review of Culture* pays tribute to those men who are little or completely unknown, studied or discussed. It brings together the accounts of missionaries, scientists, merchants, bureaucrats and adventurers from a range of religious, mercantile, imperial or simply individual endeavours in the Orient.

Portuguese, Eurasians, Spaniards, Dutch, English, French and also Asian perspectives and observations are revealed in accounts so scarce it is as if secrets guarded for centuries are being exposed. These sources complement, enrich and cast a human light on the canons of Eurasian encounter over the 16th to 18th centuries.

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Pormenor de "Plano e perspectiva da cidade de S. Tomé de Meliapor, e seus domínios, tomada pelos Ingleses em Outubro de 1749 à Coroa de Portugal", in Walter Rossa, *Cidades Indo-Portuguesas*. Lisboa, CNCDP, 1997.



Fr. Paulo da Trindade, O. F. M., Cronista Macaense

VÍTOR GOMES TEIXEIRA*



A historiografia portuguesa tem dedicado esforços e atenções à história reíol e às suas figuras, instituições, momentos, processos, ciclos, entre muitos outros enfoques, secundarizando de forma acentuada a história da Expansão, remetida para um pequeno número de investigadores e centros de estudos, em proporção com o arco temporal, os contextos histórico-geográficos, as suas figuras, enfim, toda a gigantesca construção multisseular e pluricontinental da presença de Portugal além-mar. Daí que estudar uma figura portuguesa nascida nos confins do Império constitua um desafio e a sensação de um minúsculo passo para lutar contra o esquecimento, retirar alguns fantasmas do armário mental que palavras como “império”, “ultramar”, entre outras, suscitam ainda e parecem afugentar não só muitos historiadores de todas as idades como o público em geral.

Neste sentido, recordar a figura de Fr. Paulo da Trindade (c. 1570-1651), um franciscano da Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus de Macau, é ainda um desafio maior, já que a história religiosa portuguesa da Expansão, fora do contexto brasílico, tem conhecido ainda menos

projectos de investigação para além do universo jesuítico. A história das Ordens Mendicantes (Franciscanos, como Fr. Paulo, Dominicanos, Carmelitas e Agostinhos, qualquer uma em ambos os ramos masculino ou feminino e nas suas diversas observâncias) no Império Português está ainda a trabalhar, pontualmente, o plano institucional, faltando estudos na área da cultura, das mentalidades, da própria acção missionária, da arte e da sua influência a nível social, quando não no plano económico e político. E porque não falar da história das lutas e desafios entre os religiosos do Padroado Português do Oriente e os do *Patronato* de Manila, hispano-americano-filipinos, de que Macau foi um dos pólos de contenda e de acção missionária e diplomática fulcrais?

Para já, comece-se, por assim dizer, por uma figura, Fr. Paulo da Trindade, porventura o mais ilustre franciscano português nascido em Macau. Um frade letrado, com uma carreira importante no seio da sua Ordem, no plano provincial, uma figura com um terreno de acção que abrangia o Extremo Oriente português. Se se destacou pela sua condição religiosa, dentro da Ordem dos Frades Menores (Franciscanos), importa desde já contextualizar, sinteticamente, o franciscanismo no Extremo Oriente, até ao século XVII, já que foi nesta centúria que faleceu o então octogenário frade macaense, em 25 de Janeiro de 1651.¹

Os primeiros franciscanos portugueses, em número de oito (na Idade Média outros frades desta ordem chegaram ao Extremo Oriente e à Índia por terra e mar, como Rubruck, Montecorvino, Pian de

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CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

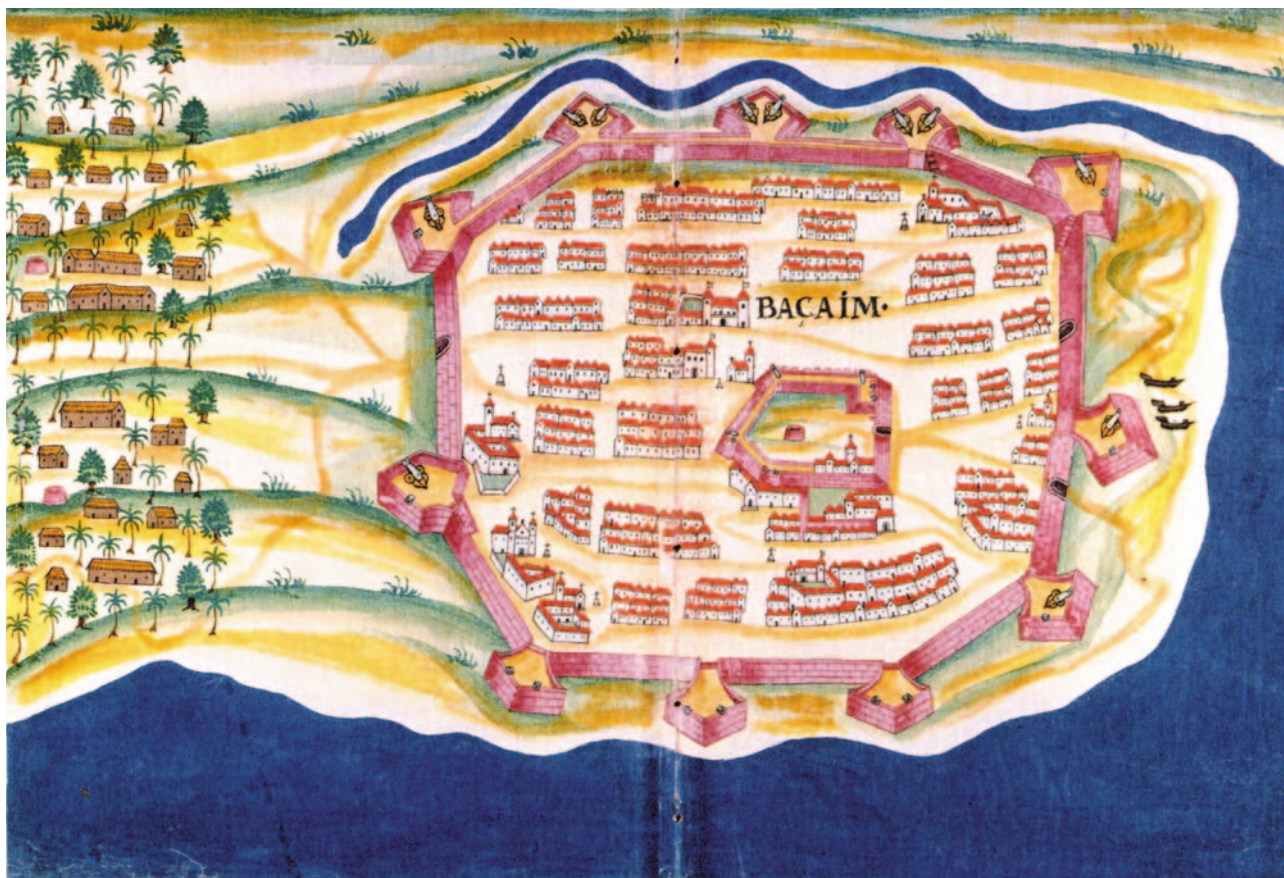
Carpine, Odorico de Pordenone, Jaime da Irlanda) chegaram à Ásia – Índia – em 22 de Agosto de 1500 na esquadra liderada por Pedro Álvares Cabral. Os religiosos eram chefiados por Fr. Henrique de Coimbra que celebrara, aliás, em fins de Abril daquele ano, a primeira missa no Brasil, então “descoberto” por Cabral nesta segunda viagem à Índia. Ficaram então na Índia os frades que, em 1518, com novas incorporações de religiosos reinóis, eram já talvez vinte, formando um comissariado dependente da recém-criada Província [Franciscana] de Portugal da Regular Observância (1517). Em 1542 erigiu-se em Custódia, devido ao forte *élan* missionário dos Jesuítas na Ásia desencadeado pela chegada do Pe. [S.] Francisco Xavier S. J., a estas paragens. Numa estratégia de reorganização missionária e no sentido de vincar o seu papel e acção no contexto do império português da Ásia, os Franciscanos da Índia encetaram uma reestruturação, que originou um crescimento dos efectivos da Ordem na região. Deste modo, em 1583 criou-se juridicamente a primeira província franciscana portuguesa na Ásia, neste caso em Goa, Índia, também o centro da acção religiosa dos Frades Menores. Essa primeira província foi a de S. Tomé, que teve apenas a sua implementação efectiva a partir de 1619. Em 1585, a então designada ainda como Custódia de S. Tomé tinha 123 sacerdotes, 22 frades leigos e 54 estudantes e coristas. Dez anos depois, acrescente-se, registava um acentuado crescimento, com 232 sacerdotes activos, 23 irmãos leigos e 90 religiosos estudantes e coristas, entre os quais, provavelmente, já Fr. Paulo da Trindade.²

Outra província foi depois criada em 1622, chamada da Madre de Deus, que conheceu a partir de 1629 um maior vigor institucional. Em 1635, refira-se, ainda em tempo da vida de Fr. Paulo da Trindade, as duas circunscrições agrupavam na Ásia cerca de 600 religiosos, com um espaço de acção missionária que englobava, para além da Índia, também Moçambique, Birmânia, Ceilão, Indonésia, Malaca, Tailândia, Macau e Sul da China.

A época em que viveu Fr. Paulo da Trindade foi ainda, do ponto de vista religioso, extremamente agitada, dir-se-ia, no Sul e Sudeste Asiático, com destaque para a China, Japão e Filipinas, onde a concorrência em torno da hegemonia político-militar e económica entre Portugal e Espanha ou entre estes e a calvinista *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*

(VOC, Companhia das Índias Orientais holandesa) despoletou conflitos e rivalidades. A somar a este quadro estiveram todas as consequências na região da União Ibérica de 1580-1640, toda ela vivida por Fr. Paulo da Trindade. Hegemonias religiosas, com rivalidades entre Padroado Português do Oriente e *Patronato* de Manila, entre a Companhia de Jesus e as Ordens Mendicantes, entre as igrejas ibéricas e a *Propaganda Fide* a partir da década de 20 do século XVII. Enfim, se juntarmos a Inquisição e a questão da cristandade nipónica até 1638 e toda a conflitualidade e belicosidade suscitada pela VOC, o cenário de fundo da vida de Fr. Paulo da Trindade foi, dentro do ideal de missão em que um religioso vivia naquela região, no mínimo conturbado e exigente de diplomacia e capacidade política. Fr. Paulo não deixou, todavia, de ser um dos actores destes tempos, também de expansão missionária e de conquista espiritual, de paixões acaloradas e até acerbas na esfera religiosa do Império oriental. Fr. Paulo viveu ainda um dos fenómenos nunca lembrados na história religiosa das missões católicas do Oriente, o das querelas e rivalidades entre os frades “da terra”, nascidos no Oriente, e os reinóis, vindos de Portugal.

Mas revisitemos então Fr. Paulo da Trindade, franciscano macaense. Com efeito, é segura a vinda ao mundo deste frade na Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus por volta de 1570, embora alguns refirm o ano seguinte. Seguimos aqui a proposta do preclaro e sempre avisado historiador franciscano português do século XX, Fr. Fernando Félix Lopes (1902-1990),³ que advoga o ano de 1570.⁴ Era provavelmente filho de portugueses, ou pelo menos de pai português, de origem ilustre, pelo que nos refere Diogo Barbosa Machado na sua *Bibliotheca Lusitana*.⁵ Não se sabe ao certo quando entrou na Ordem dos Frades Menores, mas poderá ter sido entre finais da década de 80 e 1595, data em que nos aparece como o mais novo dos coristas do convento de Santo António de Baçaim, da província de S. Tomé, à qual sempre pertenceu como franciscano. Diogo Barbosa Machado refere que se fez frade no “Convento de S. Francisco da Custódia de S. Thomé”, o qual pode ser o convento homónimo fundado em Goa em 1520-21 e onde funcionava um noviciado. Terá provavelmente transitado depois para a casa de Baçaim, findo o noviciado. Todavia, a dar fé ao autor da *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, se entrou no convento de S. Francisco da “Custódia” de S. Tomé

FORGOTTEN CHRONICLERS OF THE FAR EAST (16TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Fortaleza de Baçaim, in António Bocarro, *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1635). Lisboa: INCM, 1992.

poder-se-á acreditar que o terá feito com menos de 13 anos de idade, já que foi em 1583 que aquela custódia passou a província. Por outro lado, se se pensar que só se implementou efectivamente como província em 1619, podemos pensar que a sua referência como custódia poder-se-á ter prolongado até então. Mas se Barbosa Machado compôs a sua obra no século XVIII, já só a conhecia como província: para a referir como custódia estaria a fazê-lo para ser mais preciso?

Em Goa teve como mestre Fr. Manuel de Mont'Olivete, O. F. M., reinol, então na Índia com mandato de fomentar os estudos entre os Franciscanos do Oriente, num claro cumprimento de directivas tridentinas e dos próprios Frades Menores de formação qualitativa dos seus efectivos e de orientação para a cultura. Fr. Paulo estudou então Artes e Teologia, depois de 1590, tendo alcançado provavelmente projecção escolar e uma sólida formação. Assim o entendemos pelo facto de ter substituído Fr. Manuel de Mont'Olivete a partir de 1609, quando este

regressou ao Reino, nas cadeiras que aquele leccionava na casa de formação seráfica (dos Franciscanos) de Goa, tendo durante muitos anos “lido Theologia” aos estudantes seráficos (provavelmente até se jubilar). Alcançou o cargo de leitor de “Prima de Teologia”, pelo que teve a incumbência de dar a lição solene de abertura na inauguração do curso teológico do Colégio de S. Boaventura de Goa, em 13 de Julho de 1618, a nova casa de formação da província de S. Tomé fundada por Fr. Miguel de S. Boaventura O. F. M., alguns anos antes, em 1 de Dezembro de 1604, sob a bênção do arcebispo de Goa, D. Fr. Aleixo de Meneses. Versado não apenas em Teologia, Fr. Paulo também deixou manuscritos de Direito Canónico e de Direito Civil.⁶ Também as Sagradas Escrituras mereceram o interesse deste ilustre religioso macaense, que refere que naquele colégio se ensinava não apenas Teologia mas também Artes e a “língua da Terra para os que se houverem de ocupar na cristandade”, além de que ali os “leitores lêem a doutrina de Escoto”.⁷ Refira-se

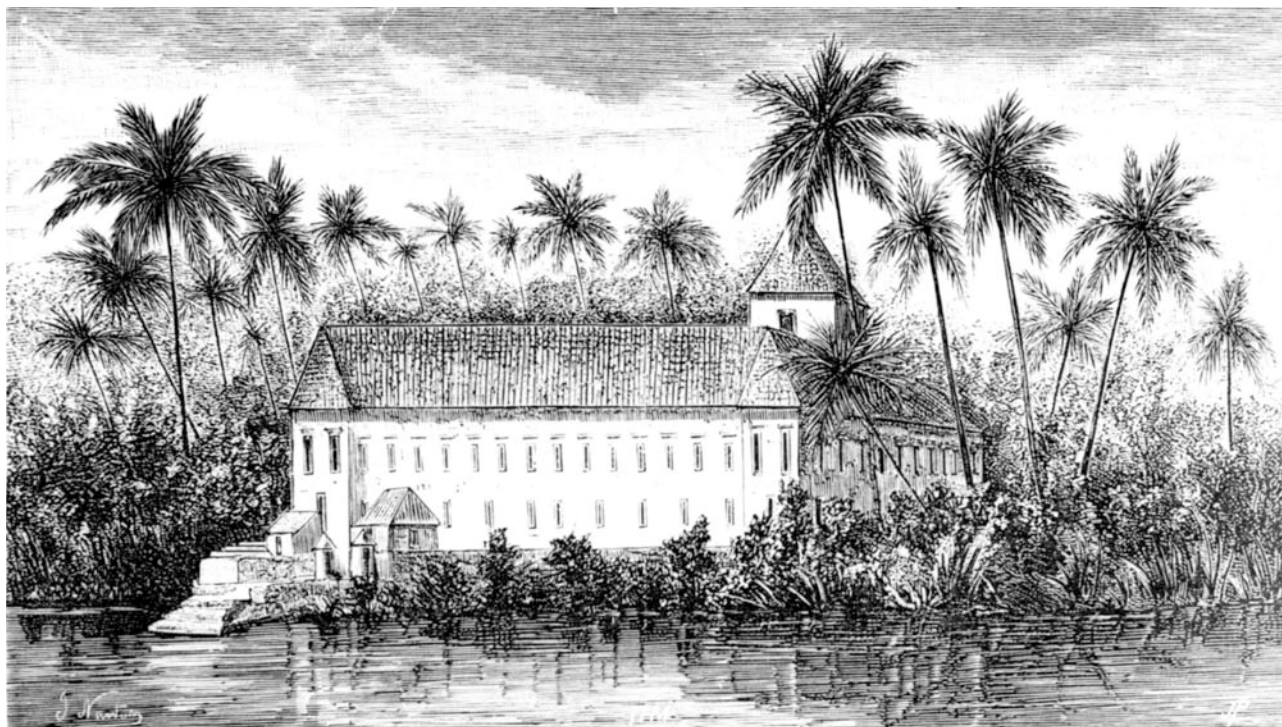
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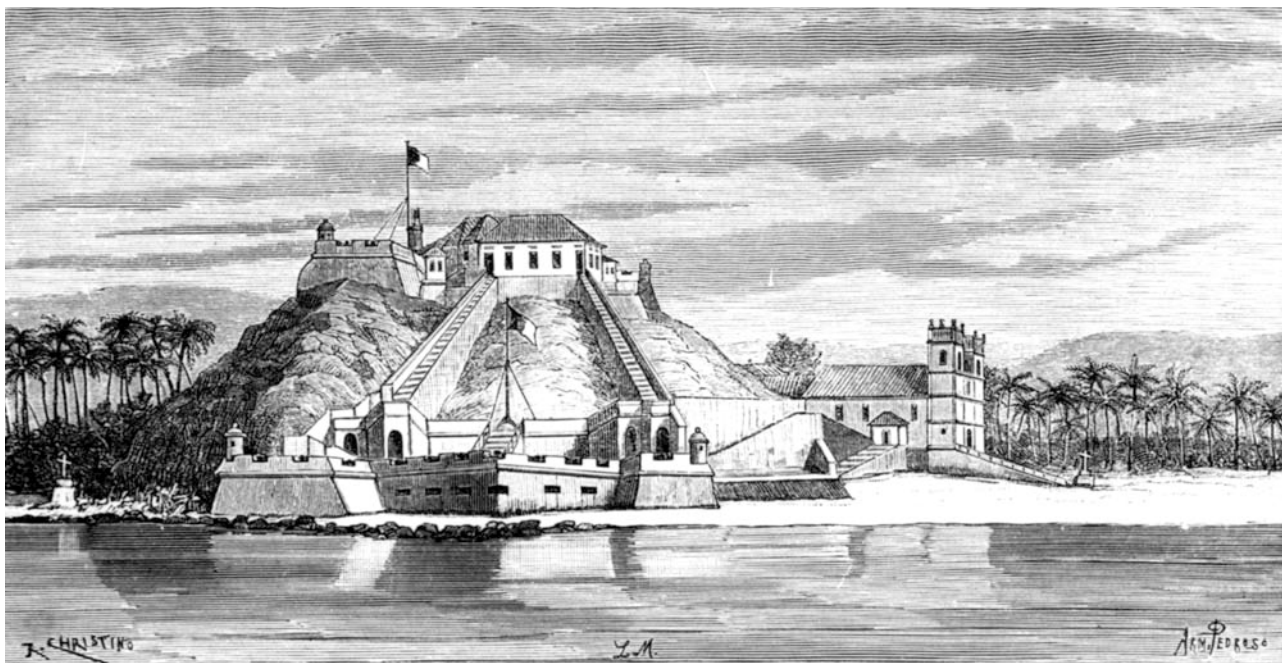
que, em 1618, era custódio e comissário-geral dos Franciscanos da Índia Fr. Sebastião dos Santos, que ocupou estes cargos entre 1614 e 1619.

Fr. Paulo da Trindade, que se terá ordenado presbítero em finais do século XVI, em Goa, deverá ter estado ligado aos estudos e formação na Índia até à segunda década de Seiscentos, já que na seguinte a sua competência em Direito e estatuto e prestígio entre os Franciscanos do Indostão o terão feito projectar-se mais nas lutas institucionais e querelas franciscanas que então animavam os frades daquela região. Com efeito, as lutas por uma maior autonomia dos Franciscanos da Índia em relação aos seus congéneres do Reino consumiram uma boa parte da actividade e zelo dos religiosos na Ásia na primeira metade do século XVII, com inúmeras queixas em Roma contra os frades de Lisboa e inúmeras intrigas e acusações. Aí surge Fr. Paulo, “homem de sancta vida e exemplar”, na opinião dos seus confrades da província de S. Tomé, queixosos a Roma, que o queriam para ministro provincial, por altura do Capítulo Provincial de 1629. Todavia, a fama e prestígio de Fr. Paulo chocaram com a inimizade do comissário-geral dos Franciscanos da Índia, Fr. João de Abrantes, que tudo fez para contrariar a tendência eleitoral do Capítulo, que pendia claramente

para Fr. Paulo. Fr. Simão da Nazaré, reinol, foi o “eleito”, graças à pressão do referido comissário-geral. A questão de fundo prende-se talvez não com a recusa de Fr. Paulo pelo seu valor ou qualidades religiosas e humanas, mas pela intenção clara dos Franciscanos do Reino em manterem o controlo das províncias seráficas do Império, restringindo a elevação a cargos governativos decisivos de frades autóctones. Não sabemos se Fr. Paulo da Trindade lutou por protagonismo, se se envolveu voluntariamente neste processo polémico ou se para ele foi arrastado por outros, que nele viam um confrade com maior gabarito e preparação. De notar ainda que, depois da “derrota” de 1629, Fr. Paulo foi arrolado entre um grupo de 13 frades que a Congregação da *Propaganda Fide* queria afastar de Goa e Bardez, devido a queixa recebida em Roma, proveniente da Índia. Em 1630, o próprio Fr. Paulo andaria em trabalho de missão naquelas regiões, em concreto na zona de Sirulá, onde recorda algumas experiências com brâmanes locais. Estes 13 “frades irrequietos e fautores de discórdias”, como dizia Fr. Félix Lopes, entre os quais que se contava Fr. Paulo, seriam provavelmente os resistentes à nomeação de Fr. Simão da Nazaré para o provincialato em S. Tomé da Índia. S. Salvador de Sirulá, no território

Colégio de S. Boaventura, in A. Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886.



FORGOTTEN CHRONICLERS OF THE FAR EAST (16TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Forte de Bardez ou dos Reis Magos, in A. Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886.

de Bardez, era, eclesiasticamente, uma reitoria curada pelos Franciscanos, em regime quase paroquial.

O relevo que Fr. Paulo tinha na Índia não deverá ter sido beliscado por estas questões franciscanas, pois a sua obra escrita mais famosa, a *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente...* foi precisamente lavrada entre 1630 e 1636, o que faz supor que, para além de algum recolhimento ou recato necessários a tal empresa, além da estabilidade que a docência poderia permitir, o frade macaense terá mantido uma posição importante, com um estatuto que lhe permitia aceder a arquivos e registos para a elaboração de tão notável obra. Uma leitura mais atenta da obra permite-nos depreender que Fr. Paulo da Trindade esteve bastante empenhado durante todo esse tempo na sua feitura, principalmente da primeira metade, já que depois tudo se lhe alterou. Na verdade, outros ventos sopraram a partir de então na Índia franciscana e particularmente na vida daquele frade. Em 1633 fora nomeado um novo comissário-geral da Índia em substituição de Fr. João de Abrantes. Todavia, o novo comissário morreu durante a viagem de Lisboa para a Índia, pelo que Fr. Paulo foi indigitado pelo vigário-geral dos Franciscanos, Fr. António Henriques, para substituir o malgrado frade no cargo, nomeação que teve efeito em Setembro daquele ano. Esta promoção atesta a proeminência de Fr. Paulo entre os Franciscanos

do Oriente, além da ideia de que a sua experiência e formação o devem ter abonado mesmo durante a querelas institucionais. Demorou-se três anos naquele cargo, pois em Janeiro de 1637 já era comissário-geral da Índia Fr. Valério de S. Miguel. Naquele triénio, porém, Fr. Paulo palmilhou os caminhos da Índia e do Sudeste Asiático, talvez mesmo Macau ou o mar da China Meridional, dado que os franciscanos portugueses em missão naqueles territórios eram superintendidos por Goa, onde estava sediado o comissário-geral. Este cargo estava acima dos superiores das duas províncias menores do Oriente, ou sejam, S. Tomé e Madre de Deus e todas as suas dependências e missões. Presidia a ambos os seus Capítulos provinciais e era a instância que as representava perante outras instâncias eclesiásticas superiores. Apesar de tal ocupação, a *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente...* não foi interrompida; pelo contrário, tantas viagens e fácil acesso a fontes de informação em vários lugares permitiram mesmo o seu enriquecimento. No exercício do seu comissariado, como em quase todos os outros, sabe-se que se realizaram “muitos” batismos gerais (colectivos), como um de “quinhentas almas” em Goa, em 1634, e no ano seguinte, também naquela cidade, outro de “quatrocentas e tantas pessoas”. Ainda em 1634, em Jafanapatão, localidade indiana, e Agosto, foram baptizadas 400 pessoas, repetindo-se outro igual,

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no mesmo sítio, alguns meses depois.⁸ Estes baptismos gerais eram em média um em cada triénio dos comissários-gerais ou superiores provinciais, consoante não apenas a fecundidade da acção catecumenal mas também as esmolas para se vestir os baptizando, normalmente régias ou dos potentados portugueses na Índia. A considerar o número de baptismos gerais e o de baptizando no triénio de Fr. Paulo, que ele próprio documenta, embora, por modéstia, não tenha querido referir mais, poder-se-ia considerar a sua obra missionária como fecunda e activa, um zelo apreciável se atendermos às lutas entre estratégias e institutos missionários na época.

Pouco tempo depois de ter deixado o comissariado (ou durante o exercício deste, pois Mons. Manuel Teixeira refere que foi a 16 de Abril de 1636, quando ainda deveria estar a exercer o cargo⁹), foi nomeado deputado do Santo Ofício na Inquisição de Goa, instituída em 1560. Mais tarde seria mesmo nomeado Inquisidor, cargo e funções que todavia nunca chegou a ocupar porque lhe adveio a morte, ocorrida a 25 de Janeiro de 1651, num convento franciscano de Goa, com 80 anos de idade. Pouco se sabe pois da vida de Fr. Paulo desde 1536-37 até à sua morte. Alguns dão-lhe o título de bispo de Malaca, como o Pe. Casimiro Cristóvão de Nazaré (1830-1828),¹⁰ mas cremos ser inverosímil tal ideia, aliás omitida em todos os episcopologios modernos dignos de nota.

Fr. Paulo da Trindade passou a maior parte da sua vida nas casas franciscanas da Índia Portuguesa, ensinando Teologia, missionando, evangelizando, não apenas cantando responsos ou celebrando missas. A sua *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente...* é reflexo do seu conhecimento da história da evangelização do oriente, em particular do papel exercido pela Ordem dos Frades Menores a que pertencia. Mais comedido que Fr. Jacinto de Deus, sempre mais esdrúxulo nos relatos e descrições, nas emoções narrativas, Fr. Paulo procurou manter a sua perspectiva de missionário, de homem do Oriente, de filho do Império, de franciscano, além de atento aos desenvolvimentos históricos, políticos e religiosos coevos, manifestando uma mundividência esclarecida, ainda que intransigente na defesa do Franciscanismo como instrumento de eleição na acção de catequização, traduzida acima de tudo no conceito de “conquista espiritual”, não tanto de encontro de culturas por via acomodatória ou observando as idiossincrasias locais. A sua obra é de reacção, de resposta e de contra-ataque.

De reacção, com efeito, num palco de perfeita “disputa missionária” com a Companhia de Jesus, ao livro do Pe. Maffei, jesuíta italiano, *Historiarum Indicarum*, com destaque para o *Liber Duodecimus* [Antuérpia, 1605, p. 306], onde o sacerdote inaciano referia que

“Até ao tempo em que aportaram à Índia S. Francisco Xavier e companheiros, não haviam ali promovido a evangelização nem os soldados e governantes asoberbados pelos cuidados da conquista nem os já ali estabelecidos Franciscanos, presos que estavam a cantar em suas igrejas as litúrgicas salmodias e os responsos pelos mortos”.

Mais acrescentou ainda que “os frades de S. Francisco na Índia não se ocupavam em fazer cristandade, mas somente em enterrar defuntos e cantar missas de Requiem.”

S. Francisco Xavier chegara em 1542 a Goa e com ele os primeiros missionários da Companhia de Jesus. As *Cartas Anuais* dos padres da Companhia mobilizaram a Cristandade em torno do esforço missionário português – e, claro da Companhia – no Oriente, aumentando a informação e sua circulação, sobre esta parte do mundo. Os escritos e relatos jesuíticos reforçaram ainda mais o prestígio da Companhia, secundarizando os esforços missionários anteriores de outros institutos religiosos, como os Franciscanos de Fr. Paulo da Trindade, estabelecidos no Oriente desde a segunda Armada da Índia, comandada em 1500 por Pedro Álvares Cabral.

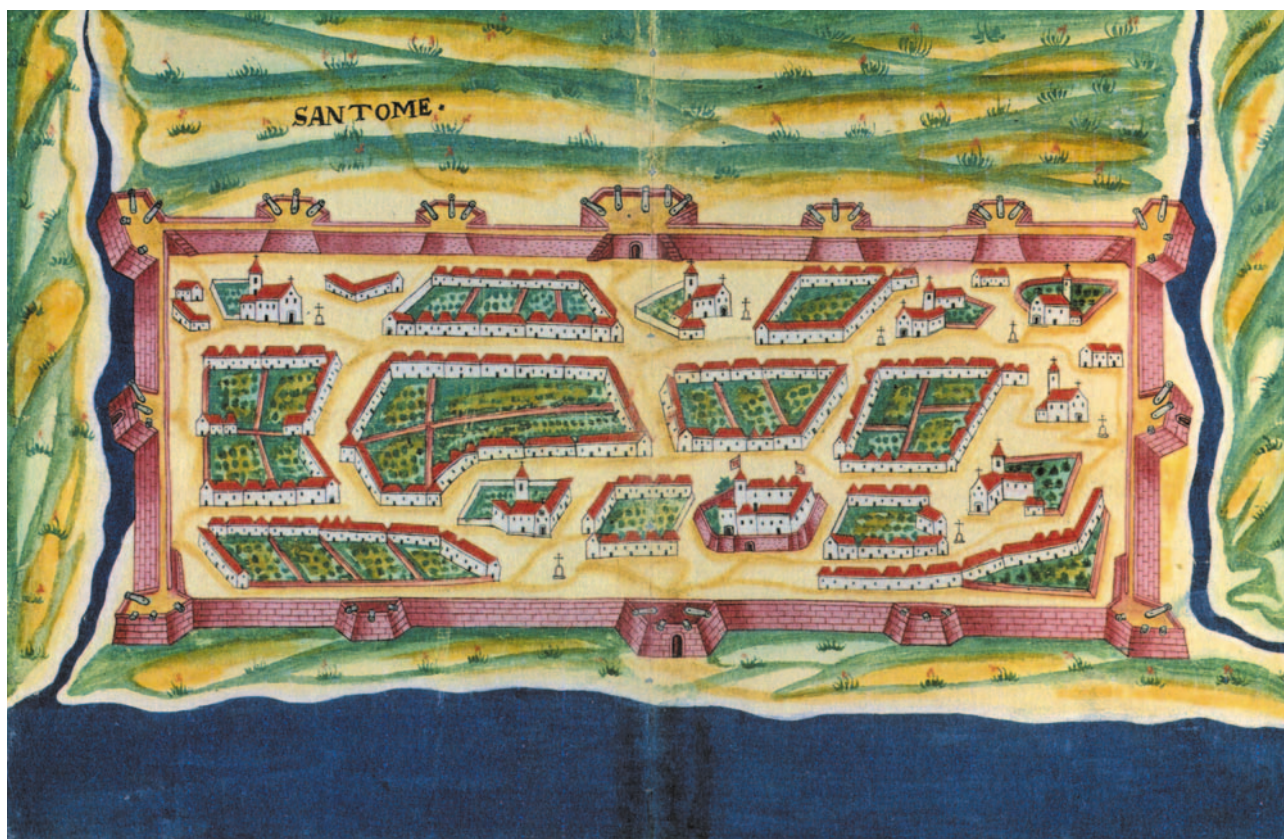
Todavia, os Franciscanos, como os demais Mendicantes, persistiram durante muito tempo numa estratégia tardo-medieval de missiões, de “cruzada”, na lógica da “conquista espiritual”, transplantando modelos, estratégias e meios que usavam na Europa para populações e culturas diferentes, mesmo que sob a saraivada de críticas que os Reformados lhes zurziam na forma de críticas metodológicas e operativas. Ou seja, no Oriente, línguas, culturas, civilizações, religiões instituídas milenarmente, impunham uma metodologia missionária diferente, que os Mendicantes, maioritariamente, não souberam observar, trabalhar e adaptar, num ideal de observância e acomodação activa, de paciência e perseverança na aproximação aos catecúmenos e à sua história e identidade, naquilo a que se chamaria de “encontro de culturas”. Não se tratando aqui de julgar métodos e práticas, objectivos e processos, não podemos deixar de constatar uma certa

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modernidade e um êxito maior na prática e metodologia missionária dos Jesuítas, embora não possamos alinhar inteiramente com Maffei na sua crítica verrinosa ao trabalho missionário dos Franciscanos na Índia antes de S. Francisco Xavier que, aliás, durante quase toda a vida não andou longe dos métodos dos menoritas, com particular destaque para os seus “baptismos gerais”. Estava-se, à época da lavra da *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*... , em plena disputa ideológica entre Jesuítas e Mendicantes relativamente às estratégias missionárias

de Manila, espanhol. E se acrescentarmos o facto de que Portugal estava submergido na União dinástica de 1580-1640, percebemos também o forte carácter identitário e autonómico das cristandades e províncias das ordens religiosas do Oriente, na ressaca do concílio de Trento (1545-1563), fortemente congregacionista.

Não espanta assim, neste contexto, a tal reacção que é a *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*... por parte do seu autor, Fr. Paulo da Trindade, notadamente no Capítulo 14,¹¹ designado “Como a Conquista Espiritual



Fortaleza de São Tomé de Meliapor, in António Bocarro, *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental* (1635). Lisboa: INCM, 1992.

com a Santa Sé e os superiores da Companhia, além dos Governos e administração colonial observarem e intervirem, pontualmente, na contenda entre as ordens, mais do que entre processos. Uma disputa que acabou por minar o trabalho missionário ibérico, principalmente o dos portugueses, no Extremo Oriente, com destaque para as cristandades nipónica (“fechada” em 1638) e sínica, fortemente divididas e afectadas pelas querelas de evangelização, como entre rivalidades entre o Padroado Português do Oriente e o *Patronato*

do Oriente por razão da antiga posse se devia por direito aos Frades Menores [Franciscanos], e como eles foram os primeiros que vieram à Índia para efeito desta espiritual conquista”.

Um capítulo extremamente pensado e aturado antes da sua escrita, estribado em obras incontornáveis publicadas até 1630, quando o metódico e conhecedor Fr. Paulo da Trindade – conhecedor do Oriente, da sua Ordem, da história pátria... – iniciou a sua obra mais famosa e a que temos aludido. Diogo do Couto,

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João de Barros, Damião de Góis, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Castanheda, Fr. João dos Santos – autor da *Etiópia Oriental* – e até mesmo João de Lucena, S. J. (o primeiro biógrafo de S. Francisco Xavier), para não citar o franciscano Fr. Marcos de Lisboa, bispo do Porto e grande cronista da Ordem dos Frades Menores, muitos foram os autores em que Fr. Paulo se documentou para a escrita daquele seu capítulo da *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, não esquecendo ainda os arquivos e bibliotecas franciscanas na Índia, que em Goa deviam ter já consideráveis acervos, a avaliar pelo abundante recurso aos mesmos. Fr. Félix Lopes, O. F. M., chega a lançar a hipótese de Fr. Paulo ter mesmo recorrido às *Crônicas dos Frades Menores da Custódia de S. Tomé da Índia Oriental*, do seu confrade Fr. Francisco Negrão, as quais já deveriam circular na forma manuscrita à época de execução da *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*.... Fr. Paulo recuou ainda mais na cronística, lendo textos mais antigos, coevos das epopeias missionárias medievais dos Franciscanos na Ásia, suporte histórico da primazia e precedência menorita na evangelização da Ásia, usurpada por institutos modernos, como a Companhia, na óptica do frade. A obra no seu todo, e este capítulo principalmente, é toda ela eivada das características típicas da cronística monástica, género em que a *Conquista*... se pode enquadrar, apesar do criticismo mais desenvolvido e da mundividência mais alargada, mas sempre num escopo laudatório, abonatório das excelências e prioridades menoritas, num tom apologético, num registo autonomista e de disputa missionária. O capítulo, apesar do escopo reivindicativo, em registo laudatório, pauta-se por uma formulação em moldes pouco inovadores, ou seja, convocando martírios de frades na Idade Média na Índia (os mártires de Taná, em 1321) como marcos iniciais da missão menorita na Ásia. Todavia, tem o discernimento suficiente para contrariar uma lenda que referia que S. Francisco de Assis andara na Índia em vida, concretamente em Bengala. Mas não deixa de aludir veementemente ao facto de terem sido os Franciscanos, chefiados por Fr. Henrique de Coimbra, os primeiros missionários portugueses enviados pela corte ao Oriente. No seguimento desta primazia exarada no referido capítulo, não deixou Fr. Paulo de nos seguintes esmaltar a virtude e santidade dos frades que seguiram nas armadas posteriores à de Cabral, até à criação da custódia e depois província de S. Tomé e suas sucedâneas franciscanas na Índia.

No entanto, apesar da riqueza da polémica e reacção, uma obra tão importante como a *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*... não chegou ao prelo senão em 1962, permanecendo manuscrita em várias cópias – já que o original de 1636 se perdeu – de amanuenses até ser declarada a existência, em 1924, por Leonard Lemmens, O. F. M., na Biblioteca Apostólica Vaticana, de um traslado feito, em 1679, em Madrid para envio à Cúria Geral dos Franciscanos em Roma, a partir do exemplar enviado pelo próprio autor. Fr. Paulo da Trindade lutou até à sua morte pela sua publicação, mas a falta de apoio financeiro bem como a pobreza que regulava e pautava a sua vida e múnus impediram que o valioso manuscrito chegasse ao prelo. Conseguiu mesmo a licença da Inquisição, passando ainda pelo crivo da Censura da Ordem e do Paço em Madrid, mas nunca passou da condição de manuscrito. Fr. Félix Lopes refere que a censura poderá ter feito frustrar as tentativas de publicação, adiando-a, por motivo de inúmeras alusões a factos de administração do Império ou mesmo por reacção às defesas literárias da primazia jesuítica na evangelização do Oriente. Apesar de conhecida em Portugal e referida por cronistas franciscanos como Fr. Fernando da Soledade (*História Seráfica da Ordem dos Frades Menores*) ou autores como Jorge Cardoso (*Agiologio Lusitano*).

Nada mais se sabe de Fr. Paulo da Trindade, à luz das informações, directas ou indirectas, que se podem exumar da documentação ou referidas em títulos vários. Acima de tudo, foi um frade na sua mais verdadeira essência dentro daquilo que era um religioso do seu tempo, do barroco, da Reforma Católica, ou Contra-Reforma, do tempo de afirmação da acção missionária católica na Ásia, apesar das disputas e querelas, de maturidade de processos e de urgência de inovações. Fr. Paulo foi um “filho da terra” oriental, asiática, uma figura do Império numa dimensão religiosa. Um homem de estabilidades e de segurança, se não teria professado, mais fácil e comodamente, no convento franciscano de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos na sua terra natal de Macau. Ou então, de lá poderá ter sido enviado para noviciar e estudar em Goa, onde a formação era mais tranquila, avisada e garantida, além da estabilidade. Macau era território de disputa missionária, mesmo entre os próprios Franciscanos, de Portugal (Goa) e de Espanha (Manila), de instabilidade missionária, sem capacidade formativa na esfera mendicante, nomeadamente menorita. A comunidade franciscana

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ali deveria ser incipiente, o que também poderá ter motivado a ida do jovem macaense para Goa. Fr. Paulo teria 9 ou 10 anos quando se deu a fundação da casa franciscana de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos em Macau, levada a efeito por franciscanos hispano-filipinos (Fr. Pedro de Alfaro, mais tarde expulso), na dependência da província franciscana espanhola de S. Gregório Magno de Manila (Filipinas).

Longe da Europa, do fulgor barroco metropolitano, não deixou Fr. Paulo de o beber na sua linguagem luso-oriental, de que foi uma das penas mais ilustres, ainda que tardiamente trazidas ao prelo, mas desde sempre reconhecido pela ilustração e cultura. Fr. Paulo é o exemplo da capacidade dos filhos do império oriental em versarem e singrarem nas letras, mesmo fora dos centros culturais eurocêntricos ou não pertencendo ao alforge do universo jesuítico, o mais activo e prolífico no Oriente, além de mais notabilizado.

Franciscano, missionário, professor, escritor, canonista, Fr. Paulo da Trindade, filho de Macau, é sem dúvida uma das figuras menos conhecidas do Império, longe dos corredores e intrigas da Corte, afastado das dignidades e prebendas retiradas de uma carreira eclesiástica que nunca ultrapassou os muros dos conventos da Índia por onde andou ou

as amuradas dos navios em que navegou nas suas investigações e trajectos missionários no oceano Índico, que, como já referimos, parece ter conhecido muitas vezes mais *in loco* do que apenas através dos documentos conservados nos arquivos franciscanos goeses ou propalados através de relatos e memórias de velhos frades missionários. Um espírito livre, pelas posições defendidas na Ordem, Fr. Paulo foi também um lutador pela autonomia dos seus confrades menoritas na Índia face à preponderância dos frades reinóis ou das províncias metropolitanas, que governavam e geriam as missões orientais sem as conhecerem e através de políticas centralistas que em nada ajudavam à adaptação e esforço missionário dos religiosos no terreno, além de que culturalmente se afastavam em relação aos frades indígenas, mestiços ou portugueses nascidos no Oriente, que reconheciam maior importância a Goa do que a Lisboa. Como seria o caso de Fr. Paulo da Trindade, como se viu aquando das suas pretensões autonomistas. Fr. Paulo da Trindade, uma figura a reler nas suas obras¹², que são ainda uma das fontes não jesuíticas mais importantes e relevantes para o estudo do império português do Oriente e, em particular, das missões naquele território. **RC**

NOTAS

- 1 Nunca se deverá esquecer um estudo consagrado aos Franciscanos em Macau da lavra de Mons. Pe. Manuel Teixeira (1912-2003), que leva o título de “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, publicado em *España en Extremo Oriente: Filipinas, China, Japón. Presencia Franciscana, 1578-1978*, dir. Victor Sánchez, OFM, e Cayetano S. Fuertes, OFM, Madrid: Publicaciones Archivo Ibero-Americano, 1979, pp. 309-375.
- 2 Cf. Fernando Félix Lopes, O. F. M., “Os Franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1584 a 1590”, in *Colectânea de Estudos de História e Literatura*, t. III, pp. 265-351. Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa de História, 1997. Original em *Studia* n.º 9, Jan. 1962.
- 3 Cf. “Introdução” à edição de Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente* por Fr. F. Félix Lopes, O. F. M., Vol. I. Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962. Cf. p. VII.
- 4 O referido autor baseia-se num seu estudo, “Missões Franciscanas na Índia Oriental em 1595. Casas, pessoal e legislação”, in *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, 13, Madrid: AIA, 1953, p. 185, estudo que nos merece o maior crédito.
- 5 Diogo Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*. Lisboa: Of. António Isidoro da Fonseca, 1741-1759, tomo III, p. 535.
- 6 De recordar o inédito conservado na Biblioteca Nacional, em Lisboa, *Breve Recompilação do poder e autoridade que tem os Confessores Mendicantes...*, [escrito em Goa, 1619].

- 7 Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, Vol. I, p. 265.
- 8 *Ibidem*, pp. 333-334.
- 9 Mons. Manuel Teixeira, *op. cit.*, p. 358.
- 10 Casimiro Cristóvão de Nazaré, *Mitras lusitanas no Oriente: catalogo chronologico-historico dos prelados da Egreja Metropolitana de Goa e das Dioceses Suffraganeas*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1887, Vol. II, p. 256.
- 11 Cf. Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, cap. 14, pp. 72 e ss. [na edição de F. Félix Lopes, O. F. M.].
- 12 Bibliografia de Fr. Paulo da Trindade: *Breve Recompilação do poder e autoridade que tem os Confessores Mendicantes, assim súbditos como Prelados, por virtude dos seus Privilegios, para absolver e dispensar, particularmente em partes remotas como as da Índia Oriental e Occidental* [Goa, 1619], na Biblioteca Nacional, Lisboa; *Conquista Espiritual do oriente, em que se dá relação de algumas cousas mais notáveis, que fizeram os Frades Menores da Santa Província de S. Thomé da Índia Oriental em a propagação, e conversão dos infieis em mais de trinta Reinos do Cabo da boa Esperança até as remotissimas Ilhas do Japão repartida em três livros; Theologia Moral* [desaparecido]; *Juramento del Rey D. Affonso Henrique; Embaixada que El Rey D. Manoel mandou a Roma; Inventario do prezente, que o Embaxador levava a Sua Santidade, e outras noticias curiosas*.

PURCHAS

HIS

PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The first, Contayning the Voyages and Peregrinations made
by ancient Kings, Patriarkes, Apostles, Philosophers, and
others, to and thorow the remoter parts of the knowne World:

*Enquiries also of Languages and Religions, especially of the
moderne diuersified Professions of*
CHRISTIANITIE.

The second, *A Description of all the Circum-Nauigations*
of the GLOBE.

The third, Nauigations and Voyages of *English-men*, alongst the Coasts
of Africa, to the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to the Red Sea,
the Abassine, Arabian, Persian, Indian, Shoares,
Continents, and Ilands.

The fourth, *English Voyages beyond the East Indies, to the Ilands of Japan,*
China, Cauchinchina, the Philippine with others, and the Indian Nauigations
further prosecuted: Their iust Commerce, nobly vindicated against *Turkish*
Treacherie; victoriously defended against *Portugall* Hostilitie;
gloriously advanced against Moorish and Echnike Persidie;
hopefully recovering from *Dutch* Malignitie; iustly maintayned
against ignorant and malicious Calumnie.

The fifth, Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, Discoueries, of the *English Nation*
in the Easterne parts of the World: continuing the *English-Indian* occurrents,
and contayning the *English* Affaires with the *Great Samorine*, in the *Persian*
and *Arabian* Gulfes, and in other places of the Continent, and Ilands of and
beyond the *Indies*: the *Portugall* Attempts, and *Dutch* Disasters,
diuers Sea-fights with both; and many other remarkable
RELATIONS.

The First Part.

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.



LONDON

Printed by William Stansby for Henrie Fetherstone, and are to be sold at his shop in
Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Rose.

1625.

Macao in Samuel Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes* (1625)

ROGÉRIO MIGUEL PUGA*



"The Portugals in our Grandfathers dayes found the way by Sea into the Indies"
Samuel Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, vol. 1, p. 119.

The historian, clergyman¹ and travel writer Samuel Purchas (c. 1577-1626), vicar of Eastwood (1604-1614),² and rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate (1614-1626) published several editions of his *Purchas his Pilgrimage, or Relations of the World and the Religions observed in all Ages and places Discovered from the Creation unto this Present* (1613, 1614, 1617 and 1626). In 1619 he published a religious work, *Purchas his Pilgrim. Microcosmus, or, the histories of Man. Relating the wonders of his Generation, vanities in his Degeneration, Necessity of his Regeneration. Meditated on the Words of David*, and in 1625 he published his most famous collection of English and translated European sources, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes; contayning a History of the World, in Sea Voyages and Land Travells, by Englishmen and others*, considered a survey on peoples and religions of the world.³ This last publication is a collection of exploration narratives based in part on Purchas's evaluation and revision of the manuscripts left by his master, Richard Hakluyt (1552?-1616),⁴ which accounts for the work's title. Purchas explains how he compiled the sources without

any help and how they were transformed into the work the reader has in his hands, explaining:

"as for Master Hakluyts many yeeres Collections, and what stocke I received from him in written Papers, in the Table of Authors you shall find: whom I will thus farre honour, that though it be but Materials [...] the whole Artifice (such as it is) being mine" (1: xli).

In England, the pioneer in collecting and translating travel reports and narratives was Richard Eden, followed by Hakluyt and Purchas among others; they had few rivals as translators because no translators emerged from a merchant background as had the Elizabethans Thomas Nicholas and John Frampton before them.⁵ Information contained in Portuguese sources stolen from the Portuguese or published by other European travelers was crucial for European decision-makers and English or Dutch investors, and descriptions of newfound countries and possible future trading ports/partners were carefully studied by the East India Company.⁶ The Companys' ability to make informed decisions depended on reliable information, and especially on new knowledge about recently discovered routes, trade partners and the power of the competition. In England, such information was very often obtained through Portuguese manuscripts⁷ or other European descriptions of Portuguese routes and trade in the East and West Indies, such as Giovanni Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1550-1559). The Jesuits arrived in China in 1582, and Purchas was

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already familiar with their letters from China, India, and Japan, some of which were available in Richard Wille's *The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies* (1577).⁸ Purchas had also read the narratives of Damião de Góis, João de Barros, Gaspar da Cruz, Galeote Pereira, António Galvão, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, Fernão Mendes Pinto and others, and based on these sources had published descriptions of several important episodes in the history of Macao: most importantly the expedition of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira (1508-1510) and the conquest of Malacca by Afonso de Albuquerque in 1511 (32-33), both of which opened the way into China.⁹ In the 17th century, all this data was informative material for the East India Company (EIC), which explains the close relationship both Hakluyt and Purchas had with that institution, and the importance of their work when it came to making decisions regarding the development of the English trade. Both editors desired to celebrate English travels and achievements abroad, and published material describing the areas that held potential for the expansion of English trade¹⁰ in the Far East.¹¹

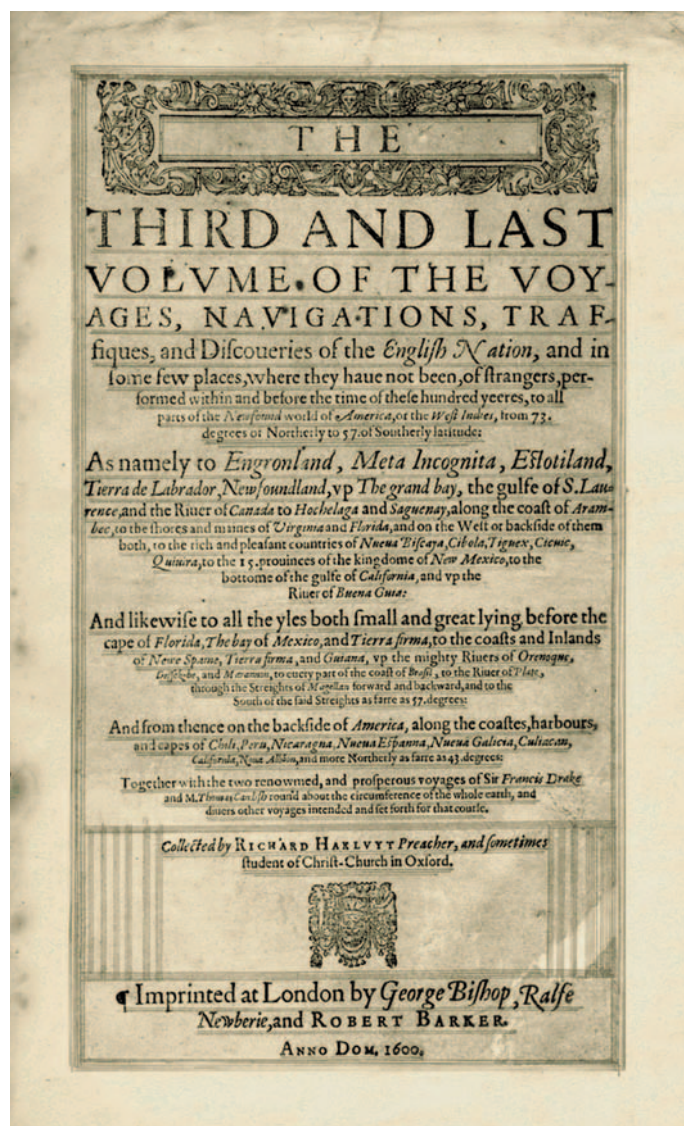
According to Donald F. Lach, Europeans responded to the newly-found cultures of Asia with constantly changing degrees of enthusiasm or revulsion, and the images created by travel writers bear the heavy imprint of the artistic preconceptions of historical sculptors¹² like Purchas,

while the material available to him and the limitations on access to European sources influenced both his work and his comments on the material he published. As Lach mentions, outside Portugal enterprising printers tried to publish both official and unofficial accounts, either separately or in collections, and until 1550, the date when Ramusio's great collection of voyages began

to appear, the available materials were few in number and generally of untested veracity.¹³

In Purchas's day, the Cathay of medieval times had already been identified with the China where the Portuguese had established Macao; and, according to J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, China looms larger than any other part of the Far East in Purchas's collection, the materials on China were current, varied, detailed, and contain considerable historical depth.¹⁴ These materials included texts written by Mendes Pinto, Pereira, Galeote, Mendoza, and by Jesuits such as Matteo Ricci, Francis Xavier, António Almeida, Nicholas Trigault, Niccolo Longobardi, Diego de Pantoja, and Bento de Goes. In fact, although Purchas was anti-Papist and anti-Jesuit, like many Englishmen at the time, he had to rely on the sources available

to him, which were mainly texts produced by Jesuit missionaries based at the College of Saint Paul's in Macao, the first western-style university in the Far East.¹⁵ In his work on the representation of China in English literature of the 17th century, Ch'ien Chung-Shu (Qian



Title page of the 3rd volume of Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, London 1600.

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Zhongshu 钱钟书) discusses four Portuguese accounts of China used in *Pilgrimes*, and refers to Purchas's account of China in *Pilgrimage* as the first ever written by an Englishman.¹⁶ As noted elsewhere, some of the EIC material that Purchas published is no longer extant,¹⁷ and, in fact, he, like Hakluyt before him, had access to all sorts of documentation from the EIC, for which he was also a publicist.

In the beginning of the 17th century Macao was still relatively unknown to most Europeans, especially in England,¹⁸ although this situation had changed somewhat due to the English voyages to Japan (Hirado), which Hakluyt reported on in his *Navigations*. Purchas could not have published any English sources about Macao because the first English crew arrived in Macao only in 1635 (aboard the *London*, an EIC ship rented by the Portuguese in Goa), and the first truly English fleet, commanded by John Weddell, visited Macao in 1637, well after the publication of *Pilgrimes*. Although the Portuguese and English kings had established the oldest alliance in Europe in the 14th century, traders from these countries were rivals in Asia, and the former tried to keep the latter away from Macao as long as they could.¹⁹ Thus the territory was still rather unknown in England when Hakluyt published his work, but by the time Purchas published *Pilgrimes*, the English had already established themselves in Japan and the supercargoes' journals and correspondence described the Luso-Chinese enclave. With help from William Adams, the East India Company established a factory in Hirado (1613–1623), through which, as we will see, supercargoes tried to establish direct trade with China without having to go through Macao, where the Portuguese defended their own interests at all costs.²⁰

Pilgrimes, Purchas' major work, consists of two sections of ten books each. The first section contains accounts of voyages to the "Elder World," that is, the Mediterranean, Africa and the Far East, while China and Japan are included in the New World because "the Ancients knew not [of them]" (1: xlvi). The anthology also advances a great deal of information concerning English relations and conflicts with both the Portuguese and Dutch overseas ("Indian Voyages and Affaires of the English, with Portugall and Dutch intercourse; in which is observed a tolerable order of time from Queene Elizabeths Times to the present", 1: xlv). The second

section describes the attempts to discover the Northwest Passage,²¹ the Muscovy expeditions, the explorations of Florida and the West Indies, England's relations with the Spaniards, and the observations of foreign explorers in the New World—topics that are also covered in the sources published by Hakluyt. As an assistant to Hakluyt in his later years, the younger compiler of travel literature inherited his master's maritime manuscripts²² and published *Pilgrimes*, which some authors²³ consider inferior to his master's work, even though their aims were the same: to collect, translate and publish documents that would glorify England and prove the country's presence in the seas from an early age. In the "The Epistle Dedicatorie," Purchas addresses Charles, Prince of Wales, informing him that the present book contains descriptions of the exotic dimensions of his princely court as well as the "English Inheritance dispersed thorow the World." (1: xxxvii) Mariners and merchants, he suggests, travel to unknown worlds and discover new places, "multiplying new Sceptres to his Majestie and His Heires in a New World" (1: xxxviii):

"The Magnificence of Your princely Court hath entertained Men of many Nations, yea hath admitted (in Parkes and Places fitting) Beasts, Fowles, Plants of **remoter Regions**: and now much more, in a World of acclamations to Your joyfull designes, a world of Pilgrimes seemed sutable; each of which presents one or other Countrey; and all, the **rarities** and **varieties** of all" (1: xxxvii–xxxviii, my emphasis).

The section dedicated "To the Reader" describes the diversity of lands and living beings on Earth, "so every Region excelleth all others in some peculiar Raritie, which may be termed extraordinary respectively, though otherwise most common and ordinary in its own place" (1: xl). The first book, the Introduction, deals with Biblical images, man's life as a pilgrimage, and the journey of Christ and his apostles, among other themes. The editor then recalls famous voyages like those of Magellan, Columbus, Drake and Cavendish before giving the reader access to excerpts of diaries and reports by European travellers. Unlike Hakluyt before him, Purchas was already able to present a collection of sources about England's voyages East, towards the commercial areas where the Portuguese and Dutch were fighting as rivals. In Chapter Six of Book I ("Commendations of Navigation"), the compiler



TO THE MOST
HIGH AND EX-
CELLENT
PRINCE,
CHARLES,
PRINCE OF
WALES.

Most Excellent Prince,



*As a poore Pilgrime salute Your High-
nesse in the words of a better SAMUEL ^{1.Sam.9.20.}
and SEER, On whom is the desire of
all Israel? is it not on Thee and all thy
Fathers House? In this House we ad-
mire the innumerable Royall Ancestrie,
wee triumph in His Maiesties present
light, wee praise God and pray for the two hopefull Columnes,
that they may be Pillars of Stabilitie and Strength in the ^{1.Kin.7.21.}
Lords House, firmer then SALOMONS IACHIN and ^{Apoc.3.12.}
BOAZ.*

*SIR, hauing out of a Chaos of confused intelligences fra-
med this Historicall World, by a New way of Eye-evidence;
Your Princely pietie, innate clemency, and the Time it selfe
(festiuall both in the ordinarie season and extraordinarie pre-
paration) emboldned my obtrusion on Your Highnesse. The
Magnificence of Your Princely Court hath entertayned Men of*

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refers to the explorations and obstacles that his fellow countrymen have to overcome, and asks:

“What reputation of courage, what increase of State, did the Portugals hereby attaine in Africa and Asia? Cooping up the Natives within their shoares, possessing themselves of divers petty Kingdomes, enriching themselves with the richest Trade in the World, and that maugre of the Moores, of the Egyptian and Turkish Sultans? The sea was the Work-house, and Navigation the Anvile, whereon the fortitude of a Woman, wrought the safetie of her Subjects” (1: 53–54).

The introduction of *Pilgrimes* deals with the travel to and the location of Ophir (1: 83–95), as well as the ancient expeditions of the Romans, Greeks, Marco Polo and other pilgrims such as Saint Isidore and the apostles. One of Purchas's aims is also to correct ancient authors regarding “voyages and remoter travelles” (1: 185) like those of the Trojan Aeneas and other mythological expeditions and philosophical quests for knowledge. He mentions Europe (1: 244–255) as the epicentre of the discoveries; Portuguese writers and explorers (João de Barros and the “Peregrin” Fernão Mendes Pinto). Other Englishmen and Europeans who travelled either with the Portuguese or to their dominions are, as in Hakluyt's work, mentioned as sources of information about the East and West Indies (1: 74–75, 89–93, 110–112). When discussing the importance of the “two Arts, Printing and navigation,” Purchas reminds the reader that Europe followed ‘Papist’²⁴ Portugal on the great seas:

“This Art [navigation] was before obscure and rude, but by the industry of the Portugals lifted up to higher attempts, with care of their Kings (employing Astronomie to her better furniture) enabled to new Discoveries in Africa, and after that in all the East, whose example the Spaniard following happily encountered a new World” (1: 172–173).

Thus the image of the Portuguese as pioneers is recurrent in Purchas's work:

“the prayse of Application thereof to these remote Discoveries is due to the Portugals, who first began to open the Windowes of the World, to let it see itselfe [...] and occasioned those Spanish Discoveries in the New World, by Colombo's Industry” (1: 8, 5).

The homage first takes shape in the figures of King John I and Prince Henry the Navigator,²⁵

respectively husband to and son of Philippa of Lancaster (1460–1415), daughter of John of Gaunt who married John I of Portugal in 1387 and became mother to an “illustrious generation”²⁶ of princes, namely Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), and D. Fernando (1402–1433).

The “Epistle Dedicatorie” describes Purchas's work as an entertaining mirror of the travels, trade, progress, new worlds, and exoticism which were enriching the English Kingdom, an idea continued in the section called “To the Reader” (1: xl–xliii). “The Situation of Ophir” references European and Portuguese maritime deeds and several travel narratives—especially texts that deal with the trade of precious stones in India and Pegu—by: Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, Ralph Fitch, the Italians Cesare Frederici²⁷ and Gasparo Balbi, John Dee, the Jesuits, and Fernão Mendes Pinto, who “places Calaminhan twixt Pegu and China” (1: 92). All these references support the idea that the Biblical port of Ophir is located east of Europe, while “Commodities of Ophir” mentions the texts of Garcia de Orta, John Saris and Fitch, as well as other sources already published by Hakluyt (1: 95–108), now reviewed and corrected by Purchas (1: 119). This last section enumerates the works of João de Barros and João de Castro (1: 108–113), and “The Glory of the Apostles” represents the Portuguese as pioneers who brought East and West together. Ophir is therefore a recurrent presence in the beginning of the anthology,²⁸ and, according to Carol Urness, Purchas begins his *Pilgrimes* with the 10th-century BC voyages of Solomon in order to present historical and theological approval for English trade and navigation.²⁹

The texts of the second volume deal mainly with circumnavigations, the beginning of the Portuguese Discoveries,³⁰ and the conflicts between the English and the Dutch overseas. Francis Pretty's description of the third circumnavigation by Thomas Cavendish (1586–1588), also published by Hakluyt, mentions the knowledge of the Portuguese, namely that of Nicholas Roderigo, “who hath been in Canton, and other parts of China, in the Islands of Japon, being a countrey most rich in silver mines, and in the Phillipinas” (2: 172). Chapter 5 (“The Voyage of Oliver Noort round about the Globe, being the fourth Circum-Navigation of the same, extracted out of the Latine Diarie,” 1598) describes how, after visiting the Philippines during the circumnavigation (1598–1601), the Noort's crew took

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a Chinese junk from Canton on its way from Manila, and how its master was “expert in the Portugall tongue” (2: 199) due to his frequent trade with the Portuguese. In January 1601, the debilitated crew of the *Mauritius*, commanded by Oliver van Noort, also met a vessel from Japan commanded by a Portuguese called Emanuel Luís (2: 203-204), and such examples show the usefulness of speaking Portuguese and the strong Lusitanian presence in the East Indies.

The English explored the possibility of trading with China from early on, as shown by the plans of the third East India Company’s voyage, commanded by Benjamin Wood (1596). This voyage was intended “to pierce as farre as China, obtained the gracious Letters of Queene Elizabeth of famous memory to the King of China in their behalfe” (2: 288). “The Voyage of Captaine John Davis [c. 1550-1605], to the Easterne India, Pilot in a Dutch Ship; Written by himselfe” (1600) enumerates the Portuguese ports in the East Indies that the captain intends to visit, including the “Citie of Macao, in the province of Canton in the famous Kingdome of China” (2: 305). Regarding Aceh, it says:

“There are in Achen many Chinese that use trade, of whom I have been kindly used, and can well informe your Lordship [Robert, Earl of Essex] of that worthy Kingdome of China. The trade of Gusarate are very ample. All which the Portugals with the locke of discretion have providently long concealed, which now through Gods favour are made knowne unto us” (2: 306).

The text mentions several important issues at the time, especially the strategic silence policy and the commercial monopoly held by the Portuguese, as well as the value of the native people as informers who could provide the English with information on trade routes and on their relationship with the Portuguese, essential information for the development of England’s permanent trade in these areas. Most of the English sailors collected and used information about the Portuguese interaction with different native peoples of the East Indies (3: 433, 442), and the narrative of the first EIC voyage (commanded by Master James Lancaster, 1600) also mentions Chinese sailors as informants of the English crew and spies working for the Portuguese (2: 418), “proud enemies” of the English at sea (2: 541; 3: 69, 89, 109, 200, 348, 362; 4: 380, 461, 495-501; 5: 243-255, 256; 9: 2-13; 10: 343-345).

The English also profited during their early voyages from the knowledge and experience of the Portuguese themselves (3: 71), especially after capturing Portuguese ships (3: 253-326).

In the beginning of the 17th century, Macao was still relatively unknown to most Europeans, especially in England, although this situation had changed somewhat due to the English voyages to Japan (Hirado), which Hakluyt reported on in his Navigations.

The two letters written in 1611 by William Adams (1564-1620), the first Englishman to visit Japan,³¹ describe Portuguese trade and the missionary activity of the Jesuits in Japan, as well as the voyage of the *nau do trato* or “Great Ship from Amacau”³² that set sail from Macao for Nagasaki every year since 1571. The profits from this voyage were essential for the economy of the enclave, and lasted until 1639, when all Portuguese were expelled from Japan. Adams writes: “After two or three dayes space, a Jesuite came unto us from a place called Langasacke, to which place the carake of Macao is yeerely wont to come, which with other Japoners, that were Christians, were our Interpreters; which was ill for us, they being our mortal enemies” (2: 332), and further on he informs that two Dutch ships had come to Japan in 1609 and “their intention was to take the caracke, that yeerely came from Macao” (2: 338).³³ In a letter to his wife, Adams mentions the rivalry between Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch in the Far East (2: 341-346), and so does John Saris (1607),³⁴ who describes the conflicts between the Dutch and the Portuguese from Macao (3: 495-498). During the first English voyage to Japan (1611-1614) and the eighth expedition of the EIC, that of the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*,

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Captain John Saris traveled along the coast of China (3: 478) and described the Macao trade as well as the political situation in China, namely the imperial prohibition of Chinese trade with Japan, of which the Portuguese took good advantage (3: 448). In 1613, another English supercargo in Japan, Richard Cocks, also referred to the *somas* that left Japan heading for Macao (3: 537).³⁵ If, as Michael Cooper says, William Adams was the first Englishman to arrive in Japan when his ship, the *Liefde*, finally made it to Bungo, Kyushu, in April 1600, Richard Cocks can claim to be the second. He arrived at Hirado in June 1613 on the *Clove* with a group of English merchants, and was placed in charge of the English factory for ten years³⁶ until the dissolution of the trade agency in 1623.³⁷ As we can see from the factory's documentation, the English watched the Portuguese and learned from their experience, actions and mistakes both in Macao and Japan, using that information to try to establish direct trade with China from Hirado. This much we can see in a letter sent by Cocks to London in early 1617:

"The China Captains which labours to get us entrance into China do tell me that your Worships cannot send a more preciouser thing to present to the Emperour of China then a tree of currall [...]. They say the Portingales of Macau gave a white corral tree to the Emperour of China many yeares past, w'ch he doth esteem one of the richest jewells he hath. And were it not for hope of trade into China, or for procuring som benefit from Syam, Pattania and (it may be) Cochin China, it were noe staying in Japon."³⁸

At that time, there were three European trading ports in the Far East: Macao, Hirado and Nagasaki. The arrival and actions of the Protestants in Japan made the position of the Portuguese Catholics vulnerable. In 1614 Cocks informed his colleagues that the Japanese emperor had banished all the Jesuit priests (not the merchants) from Japan,³⁹ that some of them had fled to Manila and to "Amacau in China" (3: 551), and that he was hopeful that direct trade with China could be established with the help of Chinese traders⁴⁰ in Japan. Establishing this trade was one of the Hirado English Factory's main objectives, and Cocks goes on to describe the Japanese ambassador's disdain for the gifts from the Portuguese who came "in the great ship from Amacau" and his subsequent refusal to see them (3: 553). In a letter to Bantem Cocks describes how the

religious Portuguese had been expelled and the churches destroyed, concluding:

"Thay [Portuguese] laid the fault of this alteration one the arrivall of our nation in thease p'tes [...]. Once howsoever I am glad thay ar gon, som of them beinge shipt for Amacau in China [...] the rest are gone for the Phillippinas."⁴¹

In these documents, Macao is constantly referred to as the destination for all these Catholic priests.⁴² In a letter to Thomas Wilson (1614), Cocks alludes to the Dutch attacks on Chinese junks, the Luso-Dutch conflicts in the Moluccas, the Portuguese fear that the Dutch may also take Macao, Ormuz, Malacca, and Goa (3: 555), and the rivalry between the Dutch and the English, who were both fighting for "a Trade in China" (3: 556). In 1617 the same supercargo describes how the Dutch chased the "Amacau ship" or "carracke of Amacau" (3: 562-563), disturbing the Portuguese trade between China and Japan. This shows that, as João Paulo Oliveira e Costa⁴³ says, the situation of the *nanban* in Japan had changed with the arrival of the Protestants (or *kômôjin*) in 1600 and their quick association with the house of the Tokugawa. As I said before, one of Richard Cocks' main aims was to establish direct trade with China from Hirado, and he tried for a long time, though in vain, to convince Chinese traders in Japan to help him.⁴⁴ If he succeeded, the English would no longer have to go through the Portuguese "littell point of rock of no importance,"⁴⁵ where, according to Li Tan—the head of the Chinese communities of Hirado and Nagasaki and a client of the English factory⁴⁶—the Portuguese would try to boycott any English attempt to trade:

"He sayeth there can nothing cros us in our pursute of entrance but only the Portingales of Amacon & Spaniardes of Manilla, who have greate trade into China, & yf they com to knowledg of our pretence will not want to geave largely to cros our p' ceadings; & therefore hath still desired to pass all in silence [...]"⁴⁷

Richard Cocks also mentions the fear shown by the people of Macao when they saw English and Dutch ships:

"Yt is very certen that w'th littell danger our Fleet of Defence may take & sack Amacon in China, w'ch is inhabeted by Portingales, for the town is not fortified w'th walls, nether will the king of China suffer them to doe it [...] we are credably

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enformed that these last 2 yeares when they [the Portuguese] see but 2 or 3 of our shippes w^{thin} sight of the place, they weare all ready to run out of the towne. [...] And the towne being taken, all the Portingalles' trade in these p^{tes} of the world is quite spoiled [...] & the King of China would gladly be ridd of their neighbours, as our frendes w^{ch} procure our entry for trade into China tell me."⁴⁸

Other narratives about voyages to the East Indies, such as "The Second Voyage of John Davis with Sir Edward Michelborne, Knight, into the East-Indies (1604)" (2: 360-361) mention the places where the Macao carracks and Chinese junks stopped on their voyage, geographical reference points for future English traders who used data collected during previous missions to prepare their own expeditions (3: 352). This was one major reason why, when English crews took Portuguese ships, they tried to gather as much information as they could from both the prisoners and their documents.

The fourth volume of *Pilgrimes* consists of travel narratives of "English Voyages to the Ilands of and beyond the Indies," describing Portuguese hostility to the English and the Dutch. During an EIC voyage in 1614, there was a battle with the Portuguese in India, followed by the interrogation, aboard the *Gift*, of the prisoner Domingo Francisco, a native of Lisbon who had gone to "Macao upon the borders of China, and returned again to Goa." These texts describe the expeditions of the Lusitanians in the *Estado da Índia*,⁴⁹ and refer to Macao as the border of China, a frontier/contact zone⁵⁰ between the known and unknown worlds, and a decompression chamber serving two civilizations. All this information gathered in the East Indies was sent to England with the expectation that it would be extremely valuable for the preparation of future missions, as we can see in the title of a document authored by Walter Paton: "A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cuities and Townes, inhabited and traded upon by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry." The emphasis on "diligent" indicates the importance of the learning and sharing of this information, and the author reports on the current situation of the Portuguese in the Far East, namely in Macao:

"an Iland upon the Coast of China, they have a Citie with a castle, reported to be of great trade

with the Chinese. In Japan they have a factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of China, in the time of fitting Monsoon to and from Japan and other parts" (4: 308).

The verb Paton uses in the first sentence, "reported," suggests that this is second-hand information which he collected from other sailors during his voyage, focusing on the city's system of defense, its wealth, and its trade in Japan, where the situation of the Portuguese was different, since they did not have a city or fort like Macao and their monopoly ended with the arrival of the Protestants in 1600.

The third volume contains documents regarding the establishment and trade of the EIC in Japan (1613-1623), which came to an end two years before the publication of *Pilgrimes*. For this reason, writing in the second decade of the 17th century, Purchas had more information on Japan and Macao than Hakluyt did, and he was aware that his work complemented that of his master because of the direct contact the English now had with Japan, and with Chinese merchants in Japan. Many of the texts in Volume Five describe, "for the Readers greater pleasure and profit" (5: 303), English and European interests, adventures and conflicts in Africa and Japan. The first text deals with the EIC's voyage to the East Indies under the command of Martin Pring (1620), and describes the Anglo-Dutch alliance against the Portuguese in Japan, the arrival of the "frigates of Macao [...] in Nangasaque," the loss of the *Unicorn* on the coast of China, the taking of Chinese junks, and their battles against the Portuguese (5: 28, 31, 40), it also informs readers that Cape Varella is called Jentam ('chimney') by the Chinese (5: 46). "A Letter written [by Patrick Copland, 1619] to the East India Companie in England, from the Factors" describes the "Hollanders cruelties to the English and Chineses," the Dutch invasion of Lantore, the English support of the Dutch, the taking of ships by the Dutch at Banda, and the landing of the first Englishwomen in Macao:

"The Unicorne was cast away on the coast of China, neere a certain Iland called the Macajo [*sic.*] Iland. In the ship were two English women; both which, and all the men were saved: for they ran the ship neere the shore. Most part of all their goods they lost" (5: 146).

This episode is also mentioned by one of the very first English traders to visit Macao, Peter Mundy, whose

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diary is the first description of the enclave in English. On his way to the city in 1637, Mundy refers to these two female prisoners: Joan, the wife of carpenter Richard Frobisher, and their maid, who stayed in Macao and married a Portuguese man.⁵¹ These were the two first English women to visit Macao, around 1620,⁵² when the *Unicorne* sank in waters controlled by the Papist enemy, as the Portuguese and English were at war in Asia until the signing of the Goa Convention in 1635.⁵³

The section “The Dutch Navigations to the East Indies, out of their owne Journals and other Histoires” proves that news about Macao and other Portuguese territories reached England also through Dutch manuscripts. It describes the Lusitanian presence and interests in the East Indies as well as the conflicts between the Portuguese and the Dutch,⁵⁴ namely the taking of the “Portugall Carricke of Macao” (5: 207-208) in 1603 by Van Heemskerck, commander of the Dutch ships *Witte Leeuw* and *Alkmaar*, with help from the Johoreans. The fourteen-ton Portuguese merchantman *Santa Catarina*, valued at more than three million Dutch guilders, carried seven hundred men, women, children, as well as silk, sugar, cotton, musk, and *tintinago*; and, according to Iberian sources, it was the most powerful and richest ship that had left China.⁵⁵ This episode took place in the Straits of Singapore, near the mouth of the Johor river, in the early hours of February 25, 1603, when the carrack was outbound from Macao en route to Malacca and Goa, and during Admiral Jacob van Heemskerck's second voyage to the East Indies. Its loss dealt a serious blow to the merchant community and economy of Macao,⁵⁶ and, according to Martine Julia Van Ittersum, at the explicit request of the directors of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC), Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) wrote *De Jure Praedae* in defense of the ship's seizure. According to Ittersum, historians have failed to recognise that Grotius' conceptualisation of natural rights/law was based to a large extent on Van Heemskerck's own justification of privateering. A key notion of Grotius' rights theory – that of the individual's right to punish transgressors of natural law in the absence of an independent and effective judge – follows logically from Van Heemskerck's reasoned decision to assault the *Santa Catarina* in revenge for Portuguese mistreatment of Dutch merchants in the East Indies.⁵⁷

Another source describes the 1600-1603 voyage of Admiral Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck (1564-1638), working for Amsterdam's *Oude Compagnie* (Old Company). This was the fourth Dutch expedition to the East Indies and the first to China. The source describes the ongoing Dutch conflicts with the Portuguese, the crew's unexpected arrival in Macao in 1601 due to a tempest, and the reaction of the Portuguese (1601):

“When they thought themselves twelve or fifteene leagues from Macao, they proceeded three or four leagues, and saw buildings at the foot of a hill, and certaine boats with one man and one woman, besides children, in each one of them, as if they had beene so many Families dwelling therein. They questioned with them (for none would come aboard) of Macao, and they pointed to the mountaine: but they not thinking it so neere, set some ashoare, whom when they could not see returne at night, they misdoubted and found too late that it was Macao, and their men there detained. Seeing seven and thirty little Ilands before them, they sent the Master to see if he could find any sure harbour by sounding, who was also intercepted with boats from the towne, together with his consorts. Thus were twenty men lost, amongst whom the Treasurer and the Captaine of the Souldiers, which was also Master. They thought to write, but could get no carrier, and staying two dayes at Sanchona [*sic.*] without hope of effecting any thing, the third of October they departed, and the next day were carried on the shelve of Pulo Cynon, and in danger to be carried upon Cauchin China” (5: 210-211).

The Portuguese fought for their interests and privileged position in China from an early stage against the Spanish from Manila,⁵⁸ and later on faced the Dutch and English. The Dutch who went ashore in two small boats were described by the Portuguese to the Chinese authorities as pirates. They were arrested and seventeen of them killed, an incident described in Jesuit documents,⁵⁹ by Roelof Roeloffsz,⁶⁰ and by the Flemish traveler Jacques de Coutre,⁶¹ who blamed the Captain of Macao, Paulo de Portugal – who had been pressured by the Senate – for the killing. Three or four of the Dutch sailors were taken to Goa, one of whom, Maarten Uap (Martinus Apius), escaped to the Netherlands to tell his story to the directors of the VOC in 1604.⁶² This episode and the Iberian king's war with the Dutch Republic

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led Heemskerck and other Dutch admirals to adopt a hostile attitude towards the Portuguese in Asia. After the creation of the VOC in 1602, the Dutch expansion in the East Indies was intensified and the Portuguese were its biggest obstacle, hence the attacks to their territories and ships. After leaving Macao, Van Neck met captain Jacob van Heemskerck in Patani, a trading centre viewed by European traders as a way of accessing the Chinese market.⁶³ Heemskerck, commander of the first VOC fleet, had departed from Amsterdam in April 1601 and taken a Portuguese carrack carrying a letter from Macao's *ouvidor* with news about the joint action of the Portuguese and Chinese against the Dutch, and the execution of most of the Dutch men taken at Macao (5: 211-212).

Purchas published the translated narrative about the voyage of Wybrand van Warwijck (Supreme Commander of the fleet) and Sebalt de Weert (Vice-Admiral of the fleet) to the East Indies (1602-1604), which took place after the fusion of the Dutch companies competing for the Eastern trade. It was the first VOC fleet sent to the Far East, consisting of 14 galleons and a barge, with more than a thousand sailors, and combining two armadas. In 1603, Van Warwijck sent a barge and two galleons, the *Erasmus* and the *Nassau*, from Bantam to China under the command of Cornelis van Veen. The source describes how the Dutch flotilla easily took and burnt the "rich" Portuguese "Black Ship," commanded by Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, when it was preparing to leave Macao for Nagasaki with a cargo of gold and silk, in July 1603.⁶⁴ Hoping to establish direct trade with China, the Dutch had hired a Chinese sailor to take them to Canton:

"the Portugals fleeing and leaving them their ship with the goods and twentie Blackes; these they set on shoare, and having lighted the ship on the tenth of August fired it, and set saile for Bantam. On the eighteenth of September, they encountered a great Juncke which they supposed to be Portugals, and after a hot fight forced her, found them Chineses, and were sorrie that they had ignorantly hurt their friends" (5: 216).

The documents in Volume Six, some of which are Portuguese sources, deal mainly with travels to Africa, "which is generally called Æthiopia," and describe the ways of life of its different peoples and their interaction with European traders (6: 430, 517-543). The compilation is enriched by the ethnographic

dimension of these texts and the drawings/descriptions of the local fauna (6: 400, 446-452). The same can be said about the sources in Volume Seven, which deal with Portuguese voyages, trade and missionary work in Africa and travels to "Palestina, Natolia and Syria," and describe the natives and their interaction with the Europeans. The eighth volume contains "Peregrinations and Travels by Land into Palestina, Natolia and Syria; peregrinations and Discoveries by land to Assyria, Armenia, Persia [Sir Anthony Sherley], India [John Newberry], Arabia, and other Inland Countries of Asia by Englishmen and others, Moderne and Ancient." In Volume Nine we find travel narratives and letters from the "Eastern Countries" by John Newberry and Francois Pyrard de Laval, and documents from the Portuguese *Estado da Índia* which briefly mention the trade, law, and administration of Macao (9: 148, 154, 160), all of which would have been valuable information for the English traders.

Volume Ten contains European narratives of discoveries of the East and West Indies, especially Brazil, which were omitted in previous books, namely those by several Jesuits, and António Galvão, Arthur Hatch, Robert Cocks (trade in China and Japan), the Venetian merchant Cesare Frederici and jeweler Gasparo Balbi (voyages in St. Thomas, Negapatam, Pegu), Sir Robert Sherley, Thomas Coryate, Arnold Brown, Ralph Fitch, Nicolas Pimenta, the Jesuit Visitor in India, and Linschoten. Purchas also published several reports and documents regarding the taking of Ormuz by the English (10: 329, 342). The first chapter of the volume ("Briefe Collections of Voyages, chiefly of Spaniards and Portugals, taken out of Antoine Galvanos Booke of the Discoveries of the World") mentions the voyage of the fleet commanded by Fernão Peres de Andrade to Malacca and China (1517), the embassy of Tomé Pires (1517-1521), the first official diplomatic mission from a European country to China, and the actions of Portuguese explorer Rafael Perestrelo, known as the first man to land on the southern shores of mainland China (1516, 1517): "He arrived in China: And because hee could not come on Land without an Ambassage, there was one of Thomas Perez which had order for it: and he went to the Citie of canton, where they came to an Anker: They went by land foure hundred Leagues, and came into the Citie of Pekin [...]" (10: 35-36).⁶⁵

Purchas also published a summary of a letter written by French Jesuit Nicholas Trigault, or Trigautius (Douai: 1577-Hangzhou: 1629),⁶⁶ that included

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descriptions of the Jesuits' voyage from Lisbon to India and China (1618) and the state of Christianity in China and Japan, as well as the text of a letter sent by Robert Cocks (Hirado, 31-12-1622) to Captain Saris that mentions the wreck of the *Unicorn* near Macao (10: 74-83). The English traveler Ralph Fitch, whose texts were also published by Hakluyt, describes the Portuguese trade between Macao and Japan, its cargo and importance for the city's economy, as well as the business conducted by the Portuguese during the Canton fair, their limitations in that city, and some aspects of Chinese culture, such as calligraphy and concubinage:

"When the Portugals goe from Macao in China to japan, they carrie much white Silke, Gold, Muske, and Porcelanes: and they bring from thence nothing but Silver. They have a great Caracke wich goeth thither every yeere, and shee bringeth from thence every yeere above sixe hundred thousand Crusadoes: and all this Silver of Japan, and two hundred thousand Crusadoes more in Silver which they bring yearly out of India, they imploy to their great advantage in China: and they bring from thence Gold, Muske, Silke, Copper, Porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffique, they must remaine there but certaine dayes: and when they come in at the gate of the Citie, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the Towne all night, but must lie in their Boats without the Towne. And their dayes being expired, is any man remaine there, they are evill used and imprisoned. A man may keepe as many Concubines as hee will, but one Wife onely. All the Chineans, Japonians, and Cauchin Chineans doe write downwards, and they doe write with a fine Pensill made of Dogs or Cats haire" (10: 198).

The abbreviated version of Linschoten's *Itinerario* ("Voyage to Goa, and observations of the East Indies"), which had been translated into English by William Philip and published by Hakluyt in 1598, mentions China several times (10: 225, 249) in reference to the Portuguese trade in Goa, and especially the trade in the much-appreciated "Portugall wine" (10: 302). The "Briefe Extracts of a Journall of Arnold Browne his

Indian voyages, sailing divers times and courses in five yeeres space to Bantam, Patania, Japan, the Manillas, Macao, and the Coast of China, with other Indian Ports" (1619) describes the voyage of Browne's fleet from Tilbury (1617) to the Far East.

In 1621 and 1622, the English searched for and attacked China junks, while the crew of the *Bull*⁶⁷ ran into Portuguese ships, executed some of their sailors and exchanged some of their prisoners for Englishmen in the possession of the Portuguese in Macao (10: 503-505). The English also chased Portuguese frigates going to Macao just before they witnessed the last failed Dutch attack on that city (on June 24, 1622) after a twelve-year truce between Spain and the Netherlands:

"A Priest and others came aboard with a Flag of Truce to treat about their men. The 12. cam in eleven Dutch Ships to take in Macau, and never offered to speake to us, but went directly as neere the Towne as they could, and sent presently small vessels to sound. They landed 1000. men on the 14. against Macau, & after mutuall shot were repelled, having lost six captains (as I heard) and above 200. men, besides many hurt; and had they not gotten their Boats as they did, they had beene all, by their owne report, put to the sword. On the 17. we departed as it had beene agreed, and anchored under the Iles Ladrões all night" (505).

As the English and Dutch concluded after this episode, Macao was not as vulnerable as it seemed, and, with Chinese military aid,⁶⁸ the Portuguese defeated a Dutch fleet composed of fourteen ships and eight hundred men under the command of Cornelis Reijersz. This fleet was joined by two English ships—the *Palsgrave* and the *Bull*⁶⁹—from the Anglo-Dutch Fleet of Defense,⁷⁰ but these two were not actively engaged in the attack. Cocks also describes the attack, after which the Dutch pretended to be English to deceive the Chinese authorities:

"The Hollanders this yeare sent a new fleete of shippes of 14 or 15 seale, greate and small, to have taken Amacan; but they had the repulse with the losse, as som say, of 300, and others say 500 men, and 4 of their ships burned; the king of China now permitting the Portingales to fortifie Amacon, which he would never condecend unto till now, and hath geven order to the vizroy of Canton to assist them with 100,000 men [...]"⁷¹

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The ships of European “enemies” frequently approached Macao.⁷² Joseph Cockram at the Hirado factory also described the Dutch attack and informed Batavia that the Portuguese ships were not leaving Macao because of the Dutch threat.⁷³ The *Itinerário das Missões da Índia Oriental* (1649), by the Augustine missionary Sebastião Manrique, tells us that this Dutch invasion led the Chinese authorities to allow the Portuguese to fortify the city as a defense strategy,⁷⁴ and mentions English participation in the attack.⁷⁵ After this defeat, the Dutch abandoned the China coast and tried their luck in the Pescadores and then in Formosa.

Volume Eleven contains several European descriptions of travels to China, dating from the Middle Ages until the arrival of the Portuguese: the travels of the Flemish Franciscan friar William de Rubruquis, already published by Hakluyt; Roger of Wendover; Marco Polo; Anthonie the Armenian; John Mandeville; Alhacen (Ibn al-Haytham); Gaspar da Cruz; Galeote Pereira; the Persian caravan merchant Chaggi Memet (Hajji Mahommed), who visited Venice and whose report was also published by Ramusio and Hakluyt; and the Venetian merchant Niccolo di Conti (1444), whose text was translated into Portuguese around 1500 (11: 394) at the request of Portuguese King Manuel I. These sources also deal with the English northern voyages of Sir Hugh Willoughby, Richard Chancellor, and Anthonie Jenkinson. Like Hakluyt, Purchas published abbreviated translations of the *Treaties on China* by Gaspar da Cruz (“A treatise of China and the adjoining Regions, written by Gaspar Da Cruz a Dominican Friar, and dedicated to Sebastian King of Portugall,” 11: 474) and by Galeote Pereira (“The relation of Galeotto Perera, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay Prisoner in China”), translated from the Italian and published originally by Richard Willes. Throughout the marginal notes, Purchas cross-references texts by other authors like Marco Polo and Fernão Mendes Pinto (11: 478, 493-494, 502), informing the reader about omissions, editing choices, and natural phenomena, as well as historical and cultural facts that the English reader would find hard to understand without explanation (11: 482-483, 486, 493-498, 507, 513, 536, 538, 566-594). In the margins of page 518, Purchas informs his readers: “I have many China pictures which represent the women thither with their feet wrapped up, or else very small;

their eyes also and noses little, etc of the rest, as in the Map is seene” (11: 518). According to W. E. Washburn, Purchas uses the terms “ethnikes” or “naturals” more often than “natives” to designate non-European peoples, while China retained the mystique, originating with Marco Polo and other early travelers, of being superior to Europe.⁷⁶ The map of China published and described by the editor on pages 470-473 of the twelfth volume is the earliest map of the Celestial Empire from Chinese sources published in Europe,⁷⁷ and consists of an extract or version of another one obtained in 1613 by East India Company captain John Saris, at Bantam (Indonesia), during his voyage to Japan, from a Chinese merchant as a debt payment. Hakluyt got it from the captain, and Purchas, who inherited the document⁷⁸ but could not find anyone to translate the Chinese characters, describes it to be roughly four by five feet, with the map taking up slightly more than a square yard, while the rest of the document’s space is filled with commentaries (“China Discourses”) about the administration, rivers, languages, political jurisdictions and population of the kingdom: “here we give you a true China, the Chinois themselves being our Guides, and the Jesuites their both Examiners and Interpreters” (12: 471). The map, oriented with north on the right of the page, includes Korea as an elongated peninsula. The editor added inset images of Jesuit Matteo Ricci, founder of the first Catholic mission in China, a Chinese woman and a Chinese man, based on reported descriptions of Chinese attire. According to Boleslaw Szcześniak,⁷⁹ if we exclude the Jesuits, Purchas was one of the first authors to find Chinese maps superior to those of Abraham Ortelius, Gerardus Mercator, or Jodocus Hondius, and while it is true that Purchas did not hide his anti-Jesuit bias,⁸⁰ he nonetheless appreciated the writings of Matteo Ricci, on which he depended to collect information about the country. He was, however, like other Protestant writers, very critical of the Jesuit missionaries’ activities in China.

The pictorial representations of China in the anthology complement the narrative descriptions by the Portuguese authors, and legitimise the texts. After Cruz’s *Treaty on China*, Purchas informs the reader about his own choices as editor in terms of reading Galeote Pereira’s text and the reader’s ‘horizon of expectations’:

“I have thought good to adde hither Pereras relations [...] having abbreviated some things

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in the Frier, that you might rather have them at the first hand from this Gentleman which saw them: but abbreviated to prevent tediousnesse” (11: 565).

Volume Twelve presents excerpts of Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* and other European sources regarding China, which deal with Macao. Before Mendes Pinto's text, Purchas addresses the reader in a rather long and unique “Introduction to Mendez Pinto”:

“I have had much trouble to give thee this Author, both for his language, being Portugall (which for this, and some other arts of this worke, I was forced to get as I could) and for the raritie of his Relations, seeming both in themselves so stupendious, and not seconded in many things, that I say not contraried, by other Authors. Besides his booke came not out, till himselfe was gone out of the world. I answere, that Ricius the Jesuit his Relations came not to us, till himselfe was likewise gone; and that that might rather plead not onely for the Maturitie, but the sinceritie, by that Cassian rule, Cui bono; for whom should a dead man flatter, or for what should he lye?” (12: 54-55).

The editor, who extracts only the descriptions about China and Tartaria, goes on to justify Pinto's mistakes and contradictions by referencing his own mistakes as an editor and writer, warning the reader that these “Comicke and Tragicke events” may be fantasies of the Portuguese author (12: 58), referring to an old belief that is gradually waning in influence, and that gave origin to the famous rhyming pun: “Fernão Mentos? Minto!”⁸¹ Purchas summarises the action of the *Peregrinação* up to Mendes Pinto's arrival in China, omits several parts of his pilgrimage (12: 60-61) and, as he did with Cruz and Pereira's texts, uses marginal notes to familiarize the reader with the exotic realities mentioned in the text, paratextual elements that enrich the process of reading and characterise the compiler as informed and methodical. The editor also cross-references several texts by Jesuits to correct mistakes in the *Peregrinação* (12: 94), identifying intertextual points of contact between the text and the Bible (12: 119). In 1953, when publishing a book on early European narratives of China, Charles Boxer used Purchas's version of Friar Gaspar's narrative, and referred to his editing methods, paraphrasing Purchas's own words:

“A careful assessment of Purchas' translation with the original Portuguese text of 1569 does not bear out the oft-repeated allegation that a ‘comparison of what he has printed with such originals as remain shows that he was far indeed from a faithful editor or judicious compiler.’ In this instance, at least, this judgment is over harsh. Most of Purchas' omissions can be accounted for by the fact that the material he omitted (or abridged) was derived from the work of Galeote Pereira, whose narrative was also reprinted in the same volume of *Pilgrimes*.”⁸²

On the same subject, but regarding Japan, Derek Massarella mentions that only a small portion of the journals, letters, and other documents sent from Japan was printed, and then only in Samuel Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, concluding that the material on Japan that he published “remained a major quarry from which future writers hacked out accounts of the country, notably the 18th-century travel writers who compiled thick anthologies about distant lands to satisfy the desire for titillation of their readers.”⁸³

The two letters (dated 1601) taken out of Bartolomeu Leonardo de Argensola's treaty *Conquista de Islas Malucas* (Madrid, 1609, pp. 336-337) mention Benjamin Woods' expedition to China in 1596, which never reached its destination.⁸⁴ The first epistle was sent by the Visitor of Chincheo to the governor of the Philippines, Pedro Bravo de Acuña (1602-1606), and it testifies to the fear of the Iberians when the English ships arrived, not knowing “whether they came to robbe or no” (12: 219). In the second letter, Acuña replies:

“The ships of the Englishmen, which arrived on the coast of China, it was determined not to receive: because they be no Spaniards, but rather their enemies, and Pirats. Wherefore if they come to Manila, they shall be punished. [...] Wee never doe anything for feare, nor for threats of our enemies” (12: 221-222).

Purchas also used Matteo Ricci's reconstruction of the Portuguese Jesuit Bento de Goes' travel to China (*De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, 1615), translated into French in 1616. “Benedictus Goes” was the first man to travel by land across Central Asia from India to China (1602-1605).⁸⁵ Ricci's text briefly describes how the Portuguese lived in Macao:

“Some of them, as the Portugals at Amacao, in the Province of canton, settle their abodes and

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have wives and children, accounted as native subjects. [...] Those Portugals live according to their owne” (12: 234, see also p. 238).

Chapter Five is a collection of historical representations of the Jesuits’ establishments in China and Japan (“The Jesuits in the Far East”), including the missionary activities of Saint Francis Xavier, Melchior Nunes [*sic.* Belchior Carneiro Leitão], the first bishop of Macao, and Visitor Alessandro Valignano.⁸⁶ When describing Saint Francis Xavier’s arrival in China after a storm, the editor informs the reader that the Portuguese traded with the Chinese at Sancian (Shangchuan) because “Amacao [was] not yet established” (12: 245). After taking Malacca (1511), the Portuguese tried to establish themselves in several places along the coast of China: on Tunmen island (nowadays Dayushan, Hong Kong) in 1513; in the Canton area, between 1515-1539; and in Liampo (Ningbo, province of Zhejiang) between 1540 and 1548. In 1549 they were expelled from Chincheo (Fujian province), and between 1550-1553 they traded on Shangchuan Island (Guangdong province), on Lampacau Island until 1560, and after 1553 in Macao, until the Chinese authorities granted them permission to establish themselves permanently in the enclave.⁸⁷ According to the source published by Purchas, at that time the Portuguese were anxious to trade with the Chinese, who were suspicious of foreigners because of the way they behaved:

“And by that which the Moores at Canton reported of these Franks, (so the Mohumetans call Europeans) that they were warlike and victorious, as appeared in Malaca and all India, under colour of Merchandise subjected to the Portugals. The Chinois at Canton call them still Falanks: for they want the R, and pronounce not two consonants without a vowel interposed. By the same name they also call the Portugals Ordnance. Yet desire of gayne prevailed, that they were admitted to such a trade as ye have heard, so as the Mart ended, they must away with their goods to India. That course continued divers yeeres, till the Chinois growing lesse feareful, granted them in the greater Iland a little Peninsula to dwell in. In that place was an Idoll, which still remayneth to be seene, called Ama, whence the peninsula was called Amacao, this is Amas bay.⁸⁸ This Rocke indeed rather then peninsula,

began to bee inhabited not onley of Portugals, but of confluence of all neighbouring Nations, in regard of the commerce of Commodities of Europe, India, and the Moluccas brought in Portugals Ships, and especially love of the Silver Coyness, brought the Chinois thither to dwell. In continuance of time, a Citie began by degrees to bee built, and the Portugals made not onley contracts of Merchandise, but of Marriage, with the Chinois, and so the peninsula was filled with private houses, and out of a barren Rocke arose a noble mart. And as gayne brought Merchants thither, so the care to keepe and to get soules, brought thither Priests and Religious men, and the Portugall Kings priviledged the place with the title of a Citie, and made it a bishops See. There the Jesuites fixed a residence, and first erected a Church to our Idie, and after that divers others. For it seemed convenient to their designes, the world of China lying to the North, the Moluccas to the South, Japon, and the Philippinas to the East, to the West Cochinchina, Camboia, Siam, and others. From hence, many intended the China imployment without successe, those fields not then white to the harvest. Melchior Nunes, (Anno 1555) from Canton, writes of his accidental going a shoare on China, in his voyage to Japan, occasioned by a terrible tempest whereto those Seas are much subject” (12: 246-247).

The source also mentions that the Chinese executed the Portuguese sailors captured along the Chinese coast, and discusses the importance of the College of Macao as a centre for missionary work in the Far East by missionaries such as Michele Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci (12: 248-254). Macao, inhabited by foreign “devils” (12: 274), was a refuge for missionaries expelled from China and Japan, a place where they learned Chinese and familiarised themselves with the local culture and habits. Missionaries also used Macao to obtain both supplies for their missions and European presents for the Chinese authorities, to train and educate future Chinese priests (“Schoole of Amacao,” 11: 290), recover from illness, and prepare their own trade (12: 269-291, 303, 312-313). The city’s role as a central platform for missionary work in Asia is also mentioned in a letter sent by Father Diego de Pantoja⁸⁹ to his protector, Father Luis de Guzmán, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in Toledo, from

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Beijing (9 March, 1602), where the Spanish Jesuit describes the difficulties of entering China and the importance of the College of the Jesuits in the City of the Holy Name of God:

“Being come [...] to Macao a City of the Portugals, adjoining to the firme land of China, where there is a Colledge of our Company: and there attending till the persecution, Tumults, and warres of Japon, would permit ten or twelve fathers of us to passe thither, which stayed expecting fit opportunitie: when we were ready to depart, within few monethes, it pleased our God to change my Lot [...] and to send mee to enter China [1599]” (12: 332).

Beatriz Moncó, in a study on Pantoja's image of 16th-century China, says that his travels with Matteo Ricci and other Jesuits allowed him to analyse in greater depth philosophical aspects of Confucianism, and to bridge the Eastern and Western cultures⁹⁰ as we can see through his letter, which was published in Valladolid (1604), Seville (1605), and Palencia (1606), and added to the compilation *Relación de la entrada de algunos Padres de la Cópia de Jesus en la China* (Seville, 1605).

The sixth section (“Of Strangers, and forraigne Religions in China”) of the seventh chapter of Volume Twelve (“Discourse of the Kingdome of China, taken out of Ricius [Ricci] and Trigautius [Trigault], contayning the countrey, people, government, religion, rites, sects, characters, studies, arts, acts; and a Map of China added, drawne out of one there made with Annotations for the understanding thereof”) presents Ming China as inhospitable to strangers, and describes the activities both of the Jesuits, which the Beijing court considered “Countrymen to those of Macao”:

“The Jesuites steale their ingresse and egress by meanes of the Portugals, which had the Towne of Macao assigned them by the chinoise, for trafficke. These come usually twice a yeere to the chief Citie of the province of Canton, which is not called Quantum, or Canton, (the name of the Province) but Quam ceu. All the day time they have free entrance in the Citie about their merchandise, but must lie on shipboard at night. In the midst of the River there is a little Iland, and therein a temple, in which they are allowed their Catholike devotions. There by boat did they provide to steale in or out of the Countrey. The Mahumetans that come in

by land, if they stay nine yeeres (as is observed) may never return home againe. Of these there are now many thousand families in China, dispersed into the most of the Provinces and chief Cities” (12: 464-465).

The account of Henri de Feynes (also called Comte de Monfart, 1573-1647), a Paris gentleman who travelled by land to Canton around 1608,⁹¹ was translated anonymously into English and published in London in 1615 (five years before it was published in France), under the title *An Exact and Curious Survey of all the East Indies, even to Canton, the Chiefe Cittie of China: All Duly Performed by Land, by Monsieur de Monsart, the like whereof Was ever hitherto, Brought to an End.*⁹² The extracts of Monsieur de Monfart's travels published by Purchas in the section dedicated to the Jesuits' presence in China reflect the importance of Macao for missionary work, and describe the debilitated condition in which the Dutch left Macao when they captured the *nau do trato*, which was an attack on the investments of the Jesuits (12: 482-483) and this account has long been suspected, by some authors,⁹³ to be fiction. The same source mentions how the Dutch sought in vain to enter China through the Fujian province and how “feare of them made the Portugals at Amacao begin to build a Tower and to fortifie” (12: 483). It mentions that a quarrel between two priests caused such a commotion in Macao that the Chinese residents fled to mainland China and persuaded their countrymen that the foreigners intended to invade the Celestial Empire, leading to the interruption of all communication and trade between Canton and Macao⁹⁴, which he describes as:

“a Citie situate on the Sea coast, at the foot of a great Mountayne, were in times past the Portugals had a great Fort, and to this day, there bee yet many that dwell there. This is the entrance into China, but the place is of no great importance; they are Gentiles, and there the Inhabitants begin to bee faire complexioned” (12: 494).

The episode he refers to is most likely the one involving the Italian Jesuit Lazzaro Cattaneo (1560-1640),⁹⁵ which affected Macao between 1604 and 1606. Cattaneo travelled to Macao in 1593 to learn the Chinese language and work in China with Matteo Ricci and Diego de Pantoja. In 1604, he returned to Macao and made a short trip to Malacca; and upon his return discovered that in 1606 he had been involved

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in a political crisis between the Portuguese and the Chinese. The Dutch had already begun their attack on Portuguese interests in Macao, and the Portuguese had begun fortifying the city, which alarmed the Chinese, who thought that the Portuguese were going to invade China and make Cattaneo emperor. Some disaffected converts, led by an ex-Jesuit who had become an Augustinian—the other priest mentioned by Monfart—started rumours that caused the Portuguese church to be pillaged and burned, and part of the population of Macao to flee, the city of Canton to prepare for war, and the enclave to fear invasion and famine. The crisis ended when an official sent from Canton realised there was no danger and that Cattaneo was a man of peace; indeed, the latter was allowed to return to mainland China in 1606.⁹⁶ A memorial was later written to explain the crimes of which the Jesuit had been accused by Chinese officials.⁹⁷

Volume Thirteen of *Pilgrimes* deals with the English Discoveries in the Northern Seas and the voyages to find the Northwest and Northeast Passages, while Volume Fourteen contains the “English Northerne navigations and Discoveries, relations of Greenland, Groenland, the North-West passage and other Arctike Regions, and later Russian Occurents; with a Description of the West Indies [including Brazil] by Antonio de Herrera.” This last narrative [“A Description of the West Indies, by Antonio De Herrera his Majesties Chiefe Chronicler of the Indies, and his Chronicler of Castile” 1601] describes Macao (Macan) as a place where the

“Portugals have a Towne, and the Chinas knowing the valour of the Portugals, and the favour they have of the Castellians of the Philippines, suffer it with an evill will, but the Portugals seeke to preserve themselves, for their profitable commerce in China. Sancon [*sic.*] is thirtie leagues from Cantan, where sometimes the Portugals have touched” (11: 558-559).

Volume Fifteen deals with the West Indies, especially Mexico. The first document, “Observations gathered out of the First, second, Third, and Fourth bookes of Josephus Acosta a learned Jesuite, touching the naturall historie of the Heavens, Ayre, Water, and Earth at the West Indies. Also for their Beasts, Fiches, Fowles, Plants, and other remarkable rarities of Nature,” praises the Portuguese as “more expert, as a Nation that hath more discourse in the Art of

navigation then any other” (15: 2), and locates Macao in the “Ile of Cauton,” “one day advanced before the Philippines” (15: 60). The sources in Volume Sixteen describe voyages to the American continent (including Brazil), and conflicts on sea and land, namely several attacks on ships.

The epistle dedicatory to the Archbishop of Canterbury describes the *Pilgrimes* not as a “Booke of Voyages and Travels in the world, but the World historised in a world of Voyages and Travels” that praises the fame and glory of England (16: 2). The first document is a brief report on the many voyages of George, Earl of Cumberland, composed from journals and narratives that describe the taking of several Portuguese ships, including the *Five Wounds* and the *Mãe de Deus*, also called *Madre de Dios* (1592), documents also published by Hakluyt. Sir John Burrough captured the carrack *Madre de Dios* in 1592, near the Azores, and the ship’s contents were transported to England (16: 16-25), giving the merchants of London an idea of the riches they could enjoy if they could break the Portuguese monopoly on trade.⁹⁸

Volume Seventeen, like the previous one, deals with voyages to the American continent, namely to the Portuguese colony of Brazil, and to the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. The following volume continues to describe travels in the Atlantic Ocean, to the Azores, Florida, Virginia, and other parts of North America, while the penultimate volume consists of narratives about voyages to Virginia, the Summer Islands in New England, Newfoundland, New Scotland, and about the Elizabethan war at sea against Spain. The last volume contains several brief reports on English voyages to Cadiz (1596) and on the expedition of Robert, Earl of Essex, to the Azores (1597). “The Conclusion of the Worke” (20: 130-135) informs the reader:

“We have now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, every of which had a peculiar wandering [...]. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooveth in the Circumference, so it is with Purchas and is Pilgrimes, in this Geographically compassing: they have their own motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and never travelled two hundred miles from Thaxted in Essex [...] where he was born. [...] All nations dance in this Round to

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doe the English service, and English Travellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Travels to perfect the English, at lest the knowledge of the World to the English.” (20: 130).

The editor thus ends the anthology on a humorous note. Although he has described many voyages and travelled with the reader all over the world, he has never ventured more than two hundred miles from his hometown, while other English men honour their nation and improve everyone's knowledge of the world with their voyages. As T. E. Armstrong puts it, although it is easier to identify an editor's mistakes rather than his successes, Purchas had many successes, and some inattention to detail may be forgiven.⁹⁹ The ongoing value of his work is attested to by the number of scholars who still use it in all fields of knowledge, from political science to history, from religion to sociology, anthropology, (travel) literature, and geography, to name a few. We can therefore apply the words of Margaret T. Hodgen to the work of Purchas, especially when she concludes that the 16th- and 17th-century literature lays the foundations for modern anthropology and many other sciences through the scientific method applied to the study of culture and society:

“first, in a definite transition from the motive of entertainment to that of organized enquiry; second, in the more or less clear statement of questions or problems of importance; and third, in the choice of organizing ideas to be employed in dealing with the problem of the origin of man, the diversity of cultures, the significance of similarities, the sequence of high civilizations, and the course of the process of cultural change.”¹⁰⁰

Pilgrimes, like Hakluyt's anthology and many later works, reflected and contributed, to a certain degree, to the economical phenomenon that Niall Ferguson calls “Anglobalization”, that is, the history of globalization as it was promoted by England and her colonies.¹⁰¹

Due to the many voyages undertaken by the English and Dutch East India Companies between the publication of Hakluyt's *Navigations* and the writing of Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, the latter work reflects a much greater knowledge than the former regarding Southeast Asia,¹⁰² and Macao and Japan represent the richness that the Portuguese brought to Europe. The publication of *Pilgrimes* gave the English public a better understanding of Macao, Japan and China in general, mainly through English and Portuguese sources; and Macao became intimately associated with missionary activity in the Far East, as it was, in fact, the centre of religious work and education in that part of the world. The sources published by Purchas date from the times when the EIC and VOC realised how vulnerable the *Estado da Índia* was and how profitable the Portuguese trade with the East was. This realization led to the English and Dutch “policies of freebooting and despoiling the enemy,”¹⁰³ and the documents I have analysed deal with Dutch attacks on the city's boats, cargoes and interests, as well as with the city itself and the Luso-Dutch rivalry in Southeast Asia. The Dutch plundering around the Straits of Malacca forced the Portuguese merchants in Macao to turn to their Japan trade until 1639,¹⁰⁴ also under ‘attack’ from their Protestant rivals.

The sources regarding Macao reveal that the establishment of the English factory at Hirado contributed to the circulation of knowledge about Japan and Macao in 17th-century England, while the official documentation of the Portuguese pioneers was still a source of information for the English, and they also suggest that England and Portugal, although old allies in Europe, were rivals in the Far East. The documents published by Purchas mirror the rivalry between Portuguese, English and Dutch in Asia, and, when it comes to Macao, the editor publishes sources from these three enemies fighting for their own interests and for direct trade with China, a monopoly held at the time by the Portuguese, thanks in large part to their establishment and permanent presence in Macao. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 On Purchas's theological writings, see H. C. Porter, "Purchas as Theological Geographer," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *The Purchas Handbook: Studies of the Life and Writings of Samuel Purchas 1577-1626*, vol. 1, pp. 181-189.
- 2 Eastwood was a shipping resort two miles from Leigh on the Thames, where the editor could collect documents and testimonies from travellers returning home. He did so, for instance, with one Andrew Battell of Leigh, who was taken to Angola by the Portuguese as a prisoner (see "Publishers' Note," in Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes Contayning a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells by Englishmen and Others*, vol. 1, p. xxii). The volume number and pages of *Pilgrimes* will be presented in parentheses after each quotation.
- 3 See Colin Steele, *English Interpreters of the Iberian New World from Purchas to Stevens (1603-1726): A Bibliographical Study*, pp. 15-51. On English translations before 1603, see pp. 9-14.
- 4 Ibid., "From Hakluyt to Purchas," in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 74-96, identifies 121 items from Hakluyt's collection in *Pilgrimes*. See also Carol Urness, "Purchas as Editor," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 142; Rogério Miguel Puga, "The Presence of the 'Portugals' in Macao and Japan in Richard Hakluyt's *Navigations*," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 5, pp. 81-116; and id., "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses em *The Principal Navigations* de Richard Hakluyt," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, vol. 4, pp. 63-131.
- 5 Colin Steele, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-15. On the influence and importance of Purchas's work from the 17th through the 20th centuries, see L. E. Pennington, "Samuel Purchas, His Reputation and the Uses of his Work;" Pamela Neville-Sington, "The Primary Purchas Bibliography;" and L. E. and G. Z. Pennington, "A Secondary Purchas Bibliography," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 3-118, 465-573, and 574-743 (vol. 2), respectively.
- 6 According to D. B. Quinn ("The Circumnavigations," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 190), Purchas used as his sources the accounts of the English circumnavigations of Drake and Cavendish printed by Hakluyt in 1589 and 1600, and for Magellan's initial voyage he relied on Pigafetta's narrative, long available in Richard Eden's English abridged version (1555), but he completed these accounts with a few general commentaries. For a list of all Purchas's sources, see John Parker, "Contents and Sources of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 383-464. On page 383, Parker describes the editor's work: "Samuel Purchas was not only an editor of texts; he was also a historian who could distil a chronicle from several sources and an editorialist whose wide reading could support a point of view or a prejudice."
- 7 On Purchas's translations of Portuguese sources, see H. Thomas, "Portuguese Accounts of Voyages and Discoveries in English Translations Published before 1640," in AA. VV., *Congresso do Mundo Português*, vol. 4, book 2, pp. 189-195.
- 8 In the anthology where Willes published Galeote Pereira's "Treaty on China," there is also the first English description of Japan, translated from the work of the Portuguese Jesuit Luís Fróis (1532-1597). See M. Paske-Smith (ed.), *England and Japan: The First Known Account of Japan in English extracted from "History of Travayle" 1577*.
- 9 See Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau: Para uma Nova Abordagem da História*, pp. 11-42.
- 10 The English factory in Japan was closed in 1623, but, according to Purchas in the section "To the Reader," the printing of the *Pilgrimes* four thousand pages began in August 1621, so the English Japan trade was still active when these sources were gathered and prepared.
- 11 See Edwin J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, "The Far East," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 276-277.
- 12 Donald F. Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, vol. 1, book 1, pp. xviii-xix.
- 13 Ibid., vol. 1, book 1, p. 150.
- 14 Cf. E. J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, *op. cit.*, p. 275. For this paragraph on the image of China in Purchas's work, I use Kley and Foss's text, especially pages 274-275.
- 15 See *Revista de Cultura*, 2.^a série, no. 21, Outubro/Dezembro 1994, *passim*, *Revista de Cultura*, 2.^a série, no. 30, Janeiro/Março 1997, *passim*, and Liam M. Brockey, "A Garganta: The China Jesuits and the College of Macao, 1579-1623," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 5, January 2003, pp. 45-55.
- 16 Chi'en Chung-Shu (Qian Zhongshu 钱钟书), "China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth-Century," *Quarterly Bulletin of Chinese Bibliography*, new series, vol. 1, 1940, pp. 353-366.
- 17 Cf. S. Arasaratnam, "Southeast Asia," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 256-257, 261.
- 18 On the representation of Macao in English literature, see Rogério Miguel Puga, "Macao enquanto cronótopo exótico na literatura inglesa," in *Actas do I Congresso de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses, Lisboa, 6-8 de Maio de 2001*, pp. 705-723 (also published in Chinese: *Administração: Revista de Administração Pública de Macau*, vol. 16, n. 59, Março 2003, pp. 117-139), id., "Macao na poesia inglesa," in Ana Maria Amaro and Dora Martins (coord.), *Estudos Sobre a China VII*, vol. 2, pp. 847-882. and id., "Macao na literatura inglesa," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 24, October 2007, pp. 90-105. On the image of China in 17th and 18th-century England, see Adolf Reichwein, *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic Contacts in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 15-21; Thomas H. Lee (ed.), *China and Europe: Images and Influences in Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*; Adrian Hsia (ed.), *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 3-28; and Qian Zhongshu, "China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth Century," Fan Cunzhong 范存忠, "The Beginnings of the Influence of Chinese Culture in England," and Qian Zhongshu, "China in the English Literature of the Eighteenth Century," in Adrian Hsia (ed.), *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, pp. 29-68, 69-86, and 117-215, respectively. See also William Worthen Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay: The Chinese Vogue in England during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*; Jonathan D. Spence, "Western Perceptions of China from Late Sixteenth Century to the Present," in Paul S. Ropp (ed.), *Heritage of China: Contemporary Perspectives on Chinese Civilization*, pp. 1-14, and id., *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*, pp. 41-164.
- 19 See Rogério Miguel Puga, "A World of Euphemism: Representação de Macau na obra de Austin Coates," Ph.D. thesis on Anglo-Portuguese Studies, 2006, pp. 65-79.
- 20 See E. J. van Kley and T. N. Foss, *op. cit.*, pp. 269-273.
- 21 On this topic, see T. E. Armstrong, "The Northern Passages," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 292-300.
- 22 According to C. R. Steele, "From Hakluyt to Purchas," in D. B. Quinn (ed.), *The Hakluyt Handbook*, vol. 1, pp. 74-96, Hakluyt and Purchas met in 1613 and the latter acquired the master's papers after his death in 1616.
- 23 See James P. Helfers, "The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas," *Studies in Philology*, Spring 1997, vol. 94, no. 2, pp. 160-187; Pamela Neville-Sington, "A Very Good Trumpet: Richard Hakluyt and the Politics of Overseas Expansion," in Cedric C. Brown

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- and Arthur F. Marotti (eds.), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, pp. 66-79, and T. J. Cribb, "Writing Up the Log: The Legacy of Hakluyt," in Steve Clark (ed.), *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, pp. 100-112.
- 24 For representations of Iberian missionary work and religious rites/principles/life in *Pilgrimes*, see 1: 312-314, 362-265, 403-485.
- 25 See Chapter I "Of the improvement of Navigation in later Times, and the meanes whereby the World in her old Age hath beene more then ever discovered," Section II, "Of Henry, third sonne to John the first King of Portugall by an English Woman, the Prince of later Discoveries: and of the helpes both against the Mores, and in their Discoveries which the Portugals have received of our Nation," and *Pilgrimes*, 2: 9-15: the taking of Ceuta with "[...] the helpe of the Merchants of England." Contrary to what the title of the section states, Henry was not the third son of the Portuguese king but the fifth; he was, in fact, the third son of D. João who reached adulthood.
- 26 Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, IV: 50.
- 27 Hakluyt had already published Fitch and Frederici's reports (see Rogério Miguel Puga, "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses," pp. 85-91).
- 28 For the different Asian locations of Ophir in the 16th and 17th centuries, see Thomas Suárez, *Early Mapping of Southeast Asia*, pp. 71-72.
- 29 Carol Urness, "Purchas as Editor," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 127.
- 30 The text mentions Henry the Navigator, kings John II and Manuel I, the apprenticeship of Columbus in Portugal, Vasco da Gama and the discovery of the East Indies, the discovery of Brazil, and the circumnavigations of Magalhães, Sir Francis Drake and Thomas Cavendish.
- 31 For a Portuguese description of the arrival of the *Liefde* in Japan, see Diogo do Couto, *Cinco Livros da Decada Doze da Historia da India*, book 5, chap. 2, pp. 215-218. See also Sir Ernest M. Satow, "Introduction," in John Saris, *The Voyage of Captain John Saris to Japan, 1613*, pp. i-lxxxvi, and M. Paske-Smith, *Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868*, pp. 24-64. Regarding the effect of the arrival of the Protestants on the activity of the Jesuits in Japan, see João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "Os Jesuítas e a chegada dos Protestantes ao Japão," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 11, July 2004, pp. 35-47. On early descriptions of Japan, see F. Lach, *op. cit.*, p. 652.
- 32 This was the phrase used in the English sources to refer to the black ship that went every year from Macao to Japan to trade [cf. "Notice in Letter R. Cocks, Firando 6th Dec. 1615, to Adam Denton, Patania," in Peter Pratt (ed.), *History of Japan Compiled from the Records of the English East India Company*, vol. 1, p. 153].
- 33 On the representation of the Dutch (red-haired devils) and their attacks on Macao in early Chinese sources, see Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Os Três Mosqueteiros marítimos vistos pelos Chineses," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 11, July 2004, pp. 168-170.
- 34 The diary of John Saris, *The First Voyage of the English to Japan*, mentions the "Macao ship" (p. 144)/Mackaw shippe (p. 220), and the action of the "Portugall Jesuits" (p. 149).
- 35 In the margins of the text (3: 537), the editor informs the reader: "Macow a Town of Portugalls neere the Continent of China."
- 36 Michael Cooper, "The Second Englishman in Japan: The Trials and Travails of Richard Cocks, 1613-1624," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 3rd series, vol. 17, pp. 121-122. On Cocks' biography, see *ibid.*, pp. 128-129, and Derek Massarella, "The Early Career of Richard Cocks (1566-1624), Head of the English East India Company's Factory in Japan (1613-1623)," *The Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 3rd series, vol. 20, pp. 1-46. On page 1, Massarella says that Cocks' famous *Diary* is "one of the most important sources for the study of the East India Company's brief attempt to establish direct trade with Japan in the early 17th century. *The Diary* is a rich storehouse of information...about the trading activities of the English."
- 37 On the Portuguese presence in Japan, the arrival of the English and Dutch, and the English factory, see Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere: Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Chapter 8 (pp. 329-334), deals with the Hirado factory and the knowledge of Japan in 17th-century England.
- 38 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London (1st January 1617)," in Anthony Farrington, *The English Factory in Japan, 1613-1623*, vol. 1, pp. 562 and 564, respectively.
- 39 See, for instance, documents no. 29 ("Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Wickham at Edo, Shizuoka or elsewhere, 7 March 1614") and no. 31 ("William Eaton at Osaka to Richard Wickham at Edo, Shizuoka or elsewhere, 22 March 1614") *ibid.*, pp. 138 and 142, respectively, in which the English factor describes his contacts and trade with "George Droit [Jorge Durois] the Portiges" from Goa. See also Valdemar Coutinho, *O Fim da Presença Portuguesa no Japão*, pp. 33-34.
- 40 Namely Li Tan (or "Andrea Dittis"/"China Captain"), head of the Chinese communities in Hirado and Nagasaki, and his two brothers, Hua-yü (called Captain Whaw or Whow by the English) in Nagasaki, and another in China (see doc. n. 267, "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 15 February 1618," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 668).
- 41 Doc. no. 82: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to John Jourdain at Bantam, 10 December 1614," *ibid.*, p. 246.
- 42 See docs. nos. 75, 83, 84, 85, *ibid.*, pp. 227, 250, 252, 256-260.
- 43 João Paulo Oliveira e Costa, "O Cristianismo no Japão e o Episcopado de D. Luís Cerqueira," vol. 2, Ph.D. thesis on History, FCSH da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1998, pp. 753-772.
- 44 A letter that Cocks sent to London (30-09-1621) reports: "[...] I am afeard that their [Dutch] attempt against Amacon will cause both them and us to be driven out of Japon [...]. Yet our China frendes still tell us we may have trade into China, yf we will, it being granted already [...]. In that same year the closing of the Japan factory had already been suggested, as is evident in a letter from Batavia to the EIC directors in London on December 10 (doc. n. 357: "Richard Fursland, Thoas Brockedon, Augustine Spalding, and Gabriel Towerson at Batavia to the East India Company in London," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 867).
- 45 Doc. no. 229: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London, 1 & 14 January 1617," *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 563.
- 46 Mentioned in the EIC records by his Christian name "Andrea Dittis" and as "China Captain."
- 47 Doc. no. 149: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to the East India Company in London, 25 February 1616," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, p. 381.
- 48 "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 30 September 1621," *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 851-852.
- 49 On the different periods in the history of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*, see Luís Filipe Thomaz, s. v. "Estado da Índia," in Luís de Albuquerque (dir.), *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos*, vol. 1, pp. 388-395.
- 50 The concept of the 'contact zone' is developed by Mary Louise Pratt in *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, pp. 6-7, as a synonym for a cultural frontier, invoking the temporal and spacial co-presence of people previously separated both geographically and historically.
- 51 On the complaints that Frobisher's wife filed to the East India Company on October 1629 about her stay in Macao, see W. Noël

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- Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Persia, 1625-1629*, doc. no. 369, p. 256.
- 52 Peter Mundy, *The Travels of Peter Mundy (1608-1667)*, 1907-1936, vol. 3, pp. 141-142. See also British Library, India Office Records (IOR) G/40/1, fls. 32, 60, and "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 30 September 1621," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 854.
- 53 On the Goa Convention, the early English presence and Anglo-Portuguese relations in Macao, see Rogério Miguel Puga, "A Convenção de Goa (1635) e a primeira viagem (luso)inglesa a Macau," *Revista de Estudos Anglo-Portugueses*, no. 14, 2005, pp. 71-108, id., "Macao e o *China Trade*: O estabelecimento regular da East India Company na China," *Daxiyangguo: Revista Portuguesa de Estudos Asiáticos*, no. 8, 2nd semester 2005, pp. 127-154, and id., "As Primeiras Viagens Inglesas a Macau (1635-1699)," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, no. 6, 2005, pp. 159-214.
- 54 On early Luso-Dutch relations in the Far East see, for example, Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, "Os Holandeses e o Império Português do Oriente (1595-1641)," Graduation thesis, 1974; Leonard Blussé and G. Winius, "The Origin and Rhythm of Dutch Aggression against the *Estado da Índia* (1601-1661)" in Teotónio R. de Sousa (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History: Old Issues, New Questions*, pp. 73-83; Leonard Blussé, "Brief Encounter at Macao," *Modern Asian Studies*, vol. 22, no. 3, 1988, pp. 647-664; and Ernst van Veen, "VOC Strategies in the Far East, 1605-1640," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, vol. 3, December 2001, pp. 85-105.
- 55 Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (ed.), *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 113. See also Maria Manuela Sobral Blanco, "Os Holandeses e o Império Português do Oriente (1595-1641)," p. 114; and Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Sem Sul não há Índia. Impressões portuguesas da chegada dos holandeses ao Oriente," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, p. 20.
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- 58 See Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China: de la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila*, passim.
- 59 Fernão Guerreiro, *Relação Anual das Coisas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões*, vol. 1, pp. 236-237.
- 60 See Roelof Roeloffs's description published in *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, pp. 56-57, and Charles R. Boxer, *Opera Minora*, vol. 2, 2002, pp. 127-147.
- 61 Jacques de Coutre, *Andanzas asiáticas*, p. 156. Volume Eight of Johann Theodor and Johann Israel de Bry's *Petits Voyages* (Frankfurt, 1606) and Volume One of Isaac Commelin's anthology of Dutch travel narratives (*Begin ende Voortgang, van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, Amsterdam, 1645) also describe this episode based on the writings of the fleet's chaplain, Roelof Roeloffs.
- 62 See Martinus Apius' text in *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, pp. 61-67. His description is similar to the one in the *Swords Chronicle of Canton (Yuejianpian)*, by Wang Lingheng (1601). See also Ernst van Veen, "Dutch Trade and Navigation in the South China Sea during the 17th Century," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 11, July 2004, pp. 116-118.
- 63 On Patani as a useful starting point for the VOC's direct trade with China, see *ibid.*, pp. 118-120.
- 64 See Charles R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon, Annals of the Macao and Old Japan Trade, 1555-1640*, p. 67, and *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, pp. 68-75.
- 65 On the early Portuguese presence and representations of China and Macao, see Rui Manuel Loureiro, *Fidalgos, Missionários e Mandarins: Portugal e a China no Século XXI*, Manel Ollé, *La invención de China, percepciones y estrategias filipinas respecto a China durante el siglo XVI*, and Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau*.
- 66 Trigault translated Ricci's "China Journal" (*De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*) into Latin and published it in 1615.
- 67 On this ship's voyage to Japan, see document no. 379: "Joseph Cockram on board the Bull at Japan to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 January 1623," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 922.
- 68 Cf. doc. no. 364: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 September 1622," *ibid.*, p. 891. See also docs. no. 365: "John Osterwick at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 September 1622," pp. 893-894, and no. 366: "Richard Cocks at Hirado to Sir Thomas Smythe and the East India Company in London, 7 September & 14 November 1622," *ibid.*, pp. 895-898. For studies and sources on the Dutch attacks on Macao, see Charles R. Boxer, *Estudos Para a História de Macau-Séculos XVI a XVIII*, pp. 19-102, Patrícia Carioti, "The 1622 Dutch Attempt to Conquer Macao in the International Context of Early Seventeenth-Century East Asia," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 15, July 2005, pp. 123-137, and *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 12, October 2004, pp. 89-115.
- 69 See "Relação da vitória, que a cidade de Macau teve dos holandeses no anno de mil e seycentos e vinte e doys, e que se acha com hum manuscrito de Manuel Pereira da Affonseca" (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Macau, box 8, doc. 6); the letter from the vice-roy of India to the Portuguese king on April 2, 1623 (Instituto de Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Coleção de S. Vicente, cod. 19, doc. no. 156), and the "Breve relação da vinda dos Olandeses à cidade de Machao, porto da China, e da grande victoria que Lopo Sarmento de Carvalho, capitão mor" (published by Charles R. Boxer: Frei Álvaro do Rosário, "Ataque dos Holandeses a Macau em 1622, Relação Inédita do P. Frei Álvaro do Rosário," *Boletim da Agência Geral das Colónias*, no. 38, pp. 17-30). The English sources also mention the defeat of the Dutch fleet and the death of half of its crew members: W. Nöl Sainsbury (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, China and Japan, 1622-1624*, docs. no. 70 and 146, pp. 31 and 65-66; "President Fursland at Batavia to George Robinson [at Achin], March 19, 1623," in Sir William Foster (ed.), *The English Factories in India: 1622-1623*, p. 210; "President Fursland and Council at Batavia to the Surat Factory, April 17, 1623," *ibid.*, p. 225; "President Fursland and Council at Batavia to Thomas Mills &c. [at Pulcat], April 17, 1623," *ibid.*, pp. 225-226, and Peter Pratt (ed.), *History of Japan*, vol. 1, pp. 446-447.
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- 71 Richard Cocks, *Diary of Richard Cocks: Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan 1615-1622 with Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 332.
- 72 See the letter from the vice-roy to the king of Portugal (Instituto de Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Coleção de S. Vicente, cod. 19, doc. 154).
- 73 Document no. 363: "Joseph Cockram at Hirado to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 6 September 1622," in Anthony Farrington, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 882-885. See also document no. 379, "Joseph Cockram on

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- board the Bull at Japan to Richard Fursland at Batavia, 7 January 1623," *ibid.*, p. 922.
- 74 See also "Memorial of Guo Songtao" (1865), in António Vasconcelos de Saldanha and Jin Guo Ping (eds.), *Para a Vista do Imperador: Memoriais da Dinastia Qing Sobre o Estabelecimento dos Portugueses em Macau (1808-1887)*, p. 117.
- 75 Frei Sebastião Manrique, *Itinerário de Sebastião Manrique*, vol. 2, p. 144. See also the narrative by Frei Álvaro do Rosário, "Ataque dos Holandeses a Macau em 1622, Relação Inédita do P. Frei Álvaro do Rosário," especially pp. 17-18.
- 76 W. E. Washburn, "The Native Peoples," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 167.
- 77 Cf. R. A. Skelton, *Explorers' Maps: Chapters in the Cartographic Record of Geographical Discovery*, p. 179. On early European maps of China, see Filippo Bencardino, "La Cina nella Cartographia Europea dei Secoli XV-XVII," *Revista de Cultura*, no. 33, 2ª série, Outubro/Dezembro 1997, pp. 9-30.
- 78 See Helen Wallis, "Purchas's Maps," in L. E. Pennington, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 154-155.
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- 81 See António José Saraiva, *História da Cultura em Portugal*, vol. 3, pp. 424-444; Adolfo Casais Monteiro, "Prefácio," in Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Páginas da Peregrinação*, p. 7; Aníbal Pinto Castro, "Introdução," in Fernão Mendes Pinto, *A Peregrinação*, pp. i-xlix; Jaime do Inso, *Cenas da Vida de Macau*, 1997, p. 37; Rui Manuel Loureiro, "Mentira e experiência na Peregrinação," *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, no. 167, 17-09-1985, p. 5; and *id.*, *Fidalgos*, pp. 363-396, 647-673.
- 82 C. R. Boxer (ed.), *South China in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 344-345.
- 83 Derek Massarella, *A World Elsewhere*, p. 334.
- 84 On the early English voyages to the East Indies and China, namely that of Benjamin Wood (1596), which was the first official expedition to China (even though the three ships under his command, the *Bear*, *Bear's Welp* and the *Benjamin*, never arrived at their destination), see: British Library, IOR, G/12/1, fl. 1, and Henri Cordier, *Histoire générale de la Chine et des ses relations avec les pays étrangers*, vol. 2, pp. 191-192.
- 85 See Eduardo Brazão, *Em Demanda do Cataio: A Viagem de Bento de Goes à China (1603-1607)*, and Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (eds.), *Cathay and the Way Thither*, vol. 2, pp. 169-194.
- 86 On the spiritual conquest of the Far East by Francis Xavier, Valignano and other Jesuits, see *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 19, July 2006, *passim*.
- 87 See Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, *Revisitar os Primórdios de Macau*, pp. 28-30, 45-95, 186-187.
- 88 On this topic, see *ibid.*, pp. 155-178.
- 89 For biographical details on Diego/Didace de Pantoja (Valdemoro: 1571-Canton: 1618) see George H. Dunne, s. v. "Pantoja, Diego de," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (eds.), *Dictionary of Ming Biography, 1368-1644: Volume II*, pp. 1116-1117. For a study of his adventures in China, and the image of that country in his letters, see Beatriz Moncó, "Portrait and Construction of a Cultural Reality: China and Diego de Pantoja," *Revista de Cultura*, Edição Internacional, no. 22, April 2007, pp. 120-128.
- 90 *Ibid.*, p. 121.
- 91 Isaac D'Israeli, *Curiosities of Literature*, p. 108.
- 92 See Xavier Beguin-Billecocq, "Henry de Feynes (1573-1647), le premier voyageur français en Extrême-Orient," PhD on History, Université Aix-Marseille, 1999.
- 93 Cf. Boies Penrose, *Travel and Discovery in the Renaissance, 1420-1620*, p. 309. Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, in *Hobson-Jobson: A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian Words and Phrases*, p. xxxiii, consider it a "worthless book."
- 94 On the early commercial relations between Macao and Canton, see Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macao: O tempo da euforia," in A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*, vol. 1, book 2, pp. 201-205.
- 95 On Cattaneo, see L. Carrington Goodrich, s. v. "Cattaneo, Lazzaro," in L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang (eds.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 31-33.
- 96 On this episode see (in Chinese): Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang, "Some Historical Aspects of Green Island," *Searching for Stories of Macau Erased by Time*, pp. 305-323.
- 97 Summary of the crisis taken from L. Carrington Goodrich, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.
- 98 See Paulo Guinote et al., *Naufrágios e Outras Perdas da "Carrreira da Índia" Séculos XVI e XVII*, p. 87, and Rogério Miguel Puga, "Os Descobrimentos Portugueses," pp. 96-98. Russell Miller (*The Seafarers: The East Indianmen*, pp. 8-9) describes the taking of the *Madre de Dios*: "Pandemonium broke loose in England's Dartmouth harbour [...] in 1592 when the *Madre de Dios* [...] dropped anchor [...]. She was the biggest ship anyone in Elizabethan England had ever seen, a floating castle [...] about three times the capacity of the largest English ships. [...] At Dartmouth the pillage continued as the light-fingered sailors trafficked [...]. A large share of the captured treasure was owed to Queen Elizabeth; when she heard what was happening, she sent Sir Walter Raleigh down from London to retrieve her share of the booty and discipline the looters. 'If I meet any of them coming up,' Raleigh swore, 'if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they were born, for Her Majesty has been robbed and that of the most rare things.' [...] For the merchants of London it offered a tantalizing glimpse of the cargoes they might regularly enjoy if they could break what was then a Portuguese monopoly of Eastern trade."
- 99 T. E. Armstrong, *op. cit.*, p. 300.
- 100 Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, p. 8.
- 101 Niall Ferguson, *Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World*, p. xxiii.
- 102 See S. Arasaratnam, "Southeast Asia," in L. E. Pennington (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 256: "while Hakluyt was primarily interested in recording (and through this creating interest in) English voyages of discovery and English advances in navigation, Purchas was more interested in the all round phenomenon of the discovery of the non-European world."
- 103 Peter Borschberg, "The Santa Catarina Incident of 1603," p. 14.
- 104 Cf. Roderich Ptak, "An Outline of Macao's Economic Development, circa 1557-1640," in Tilemann Grimm, Peter M. Kuhfus and Gudrun Wacker (eds.), *Collected Papers of the XXIXth Congress of Chinese Studies*, pp. 171-172.

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A China de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete

MANEL OLLÉ *



O pregador dominicano espanhol Fr. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete é autor de um dos mais extensos, completos e singulares livros sobre a China de entre os que foram escritos pelos europeus no século XVII, *Tratados históricos, políticos, ethicos, y religiosos de la monarchia de China* (Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1676). Trata-se de um livro que desempenhou um papel fundamental no processo de argumentação e sustentação intelectual da polémica “querela dos ritos” que confrontou as políticas missionárias dos jesuítas com, por um lado, os dominicanos e franciscanos e, por outro, com uns poucos, mas significativos, jesuítas.

Ler os *Tratados* sobre a China como simples compilações de informações sobre a China, como se fossem manuais proto-etnológicos ou guias de viagem, é um erro que conduz a uma perspectiva orientalista e com tendência para a banalização. O livro de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete oferece muito mais do que aparenta se não nos limitarmos a abordá-lo unicamente em busca de uma leitura anistórica, extrapolada do seu contexto missionário, político e intelectual. Não se pode deixar de contemplar no enquadramento

destes *Tratados* o sentimento intelectual de fracasso e decadência imperial na Espanha barroca de 1676, a “preocupação de Espanha” que surge na obra de Francisco de Quevedo, do jesuíta Baltasar Gracián ou de Saavedra Fajardo. Nos *Tratados* de Fernández de Navarrete surge o claro-escuro de extremo contraste entre a China idealizada, com o seu bom governo e os seus filósofos morais de conselhos sábios, e o presente desolado do fiasco do reinado de Filipe IV. Assim, é também possível ler este livro como um espelho de príncipes...

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete oferece um livro volumoso não apenas em número de páginas (558 páginas tamanho fólho a duas colunas, para além de um amplo índice temático), mas também em ambição intelectual. Um livro repleto de intenção e de intensidade informativa e reflexiva, destinado a convencer sobre os seus argumentos a partir de dados e informações sobre a China que se querem sólidos e comprovados, não se deixa levar pela simples *curiositas* recreativa. Os sete *Tratados* e os 111 capítulos da grande obra de Fr. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete dedicam-se a informar o leitor, o melhor e mais exhaustivamente possível, sobre o então pouco conhecido país chamado China em todos os seus aspectos.

A complexidade e o interesse do livro de Fernández de Navarrete não residem exclusivamente na sua vastíssima compilação de conhecimentos actualizados sobre a China nem na capacidade de reflectir as suas experiências e percepções directamente derivadas dos cerca de 12 anos que passou na China: residem também na força intelectual que representa o acto de filtrar todos estes dados, estas traduções e estas percepções vitais através de uma inteligência argumentativa consistente

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e dialógica, de uma grande modernidade no sentido do debate intelectual que estabelece, na capacidade de converter em matéria de discussão séria e detalhada o conhecimento do outro (a descrição da China) em contextos tão diversos como o antropológico, histórico ou filosófico. Evidentemente que não se pretende aqui postular como mais ou menos acertada em relação à disputa dos ritos, nem se pode inferir desta apreciação dos *Tratados* de Fernández de Navarrete qualquer simpatia pelas suas críticas às também discutíveis, e necessariamente ajustadas ao seu tempo, políticas de adaptação da Companhia de Jesus.

Sob a capa uma mera e neutra descrição da China e de uma série de traduções de textos confucionistas comentados e de uma autobiografia missionária, estabelece-se ao simultaneamente um potente engenho persuasivo, destinado a defender posições contrárias à adaptação jesuíta aos ritos chineses, justamente a partir de textos e informações, traduções e percepções geradas pelos próprios jesuítas... É neste paradoxo que reside uma das maiores atrações hermenêuticas dos *Tratados*.

Não se pode ignorar que os *Tratados* exerceram um notável impacto e influência intelectual ao longo do século XVIII: no âmbito hispânico foi a obra responsável pela (fraca) sinofilia que se verificou no século que se lhe seguiu e no contexto geral europeu exerceu a sua influência através das traduções para diferentes línguas europeias. Entre outros, leram, citaram e informaram-se sobre a China por intermédio de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete alguns dos fisiocratas franceses, como Quesnay, ou pensadores como Locke ou Voltaire. Há também que não esquecer a imediata recepção positiva que o livro de Fernández de Navarrete granjeou entre os jansenistas, também em encarniçada contradição com a Companhia de Jesus.

À margem do interesse que apresenta no contexto da história da pregação missionária, trata-se de um livro importante para a história das percepções europeias da China e para a história das traduções de clássicos chineses, já que incorpora numerosas e importantes traduções dos clássicos confucionistas. Há que destacar que três dos sete *Tratados* do livro de Fernández de Navarrete são, na realidade, traduções de clássicos confucionistas. Há também que não esquecer a singularidade de ser precisamente neste livro de Fernández de Navarrete que se publicam na Europa as primeiras notícias sobre o neoconfucionismo.

Entre as diversas áreas de interesse que o livro de Fernández de Navarrete apresenta para o leitor e para o estudioso actual podem destacar-se quatro aspectos. Em primeiro lugar, o profuso e detalhado debate sobre a interpretação, valor e utilização intelectual e ritual da figura de Confúcio e dos clássicos do pensamento chinês no âmbito da “querela dos ritos” da segunda metade do século XVII.

Em segundo lugar, há que destacar que o livro do dominicano é uma fonte histórica de primeira ordem no que se refere ao tratamento que dá aos factos ocorridos na China em meados do século XVII, em especial a percepção da mudança dinástica que representou a entronização da dinastia manchú dos Qing e as notícias sobre os Ming do Sul e a figura do líder rebelde da China marítima,

Frontispício de *Tratados Historicos, Politicos, Ethicos y Religiosos de la Monarchia de China*, Madrid, 1676.



CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

Zheng Chenggong 郑成功 (Coxinga ou Cuesing nas fontes europeias). Factos estes que, pela sua magnitude e influência no próprio projecto missionário, exercem um poderoso impacto na imaginação e na memória dos diferentes cronistas e historiadores missionários europeus que abordam o tema da China na segunda metade do século XVII, que falam e se copiam no que se refere a estes temas. Determinar o papel do livro de Fernández de Navarrete nas diferentes visões da China do século XVII em comparação com outros autores contemporâneos ou anteriores (Álvaro Semedo, Palafox y Mendoza, Athanasius Kircher, Francisco Colín, François de Rougemont, Martino Martini...) é uma tarefa produtiva e do máximo interesse (que foge, no entanto, aos limites e propósitos deste artigo), especialmente levando em conta o carácter polemistista e dialéctico de Fernández de Navarrete, que no seu livro compila numerosas notícias alheias sobre a China de forma crítica e analítica. É também extremamente interessante questionar a função do discurso historiográfico, antropológico e filosófico sobre a China que Fernández de Navarrete oferece no contexto da controvérsia dos ritos nos quais se enquadra.

Finalmente, os *Tratados* proporcionam um valioso testemunho etnológico, antropológico, linguístico e cultural. Oferecem uma descrição da China repleta de observações e pormenores perspicazes, avaliada e complementada por inúmeras fontes livrescas, das quais é elaborada uma sùmula descontínua e crítica. Das principais informações nos seus comentários, descrições e narrações, emergem abundantes detalhes da vida quotidiana, das instituições e das crenças, da cultura material e dos usos e costumes da China que o dominicano conheceu entre 1658 e 1670. O livro compila notícias sobre geografia, organização administrativa, organização judicial, fauna e flora, religiões e cerimónias sociais e funerárias. Outro aspecto de interesse é o das notícias directas ou indirectas sobre a língua chinesa: indirectas através das expressões e transliterações que oferece; directas através das informações que compila.

PERCURSO BIOGRÁFICO DE DOMINGO FERNÁNDEZ DE NAVARRETE

Através dos dados que o próprio autor oferece nos seus livros – especialmente no Livro VI dos seus *Tratados* –, e também através dos arquivos dominicanos e da historiografia missionária dominicana – de que se

destaca especialmente, nos estudos contem-porâneos, o trabalho de investigação de J. S. Cummins –, é possível reconstruir os principais traços do percurso biográfico, religioso e intelectual de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete no que se refere ao seu conhecimento e experiência na China.

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete nasceu em 1610 em Castrogeriz, na província de Valladolid, em Castela. Recebeu o hábito de dominicano em 1635, no convento de Peñafiel. Diplomou-se e exerceu no Colégio de San Gregorio de Valladolid. Na orientação missionária para a China de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete destaca-se o papel determinante exercido pelo conhecimento do padre dominicano Juan Bautista Morales, que estivera na China entre 1633 e 1643 e regressara à Europa para informar a corte papal em Roma e o rei espanhol sobre a situação da pregação na China. Com o nome de Li Yüfan 黎玉范, o dominicano Juan Bautista Morales publicara diversos tratados de teor teológico e missionário em chinês. Foi Juan Bautista Morales precisamente o impulsor inicial da “querela dos ritos” junto do franciscano Antonio Caballero Santa Maria, que publicou também diversas obras em chinês assinadas com o seu nome naquela língua, Li Andang 利安当, e que na China partilhou experiências e cativoiro com Domingo Fernández de Navarrete entre 1666 e 1670. A viagem de Juan Bautista Morales a pedido das autoridades de Roma encetada em 1643, apenas cinco anos depois do levantamento oficial do monopólio da pregação jesuíta na China, era uma primeira iniciativa firme de denúncia da orientação jesuíta para a adaptação cultural às práticas rituais confucionistas chinesas, segundo as políticas missionárias estabelecidas quase um século antes por Alessandro Valignano e Matteo Ricci. Naquela viagem, Juan Bautista Morales conseguiu que o Papa Inocêncio X decretasse a proibição do culto de Confúcio e dos antepassados que os chineses cristianizados pelos jesuítas praticavam, considerando-os como idolatria.

A controvérsia sobre os ritos surge devido à diferença entre os métodos de evangelização da Companhia de Jesus e os adoptados pelos dominicanos e franciscanos que tentavam abrir brechas no monopólio missionário jesuíta na China, que formalmente terminara com o decreto do Papa Urbano VIII de 1638. Os dominicanos e franciscanos depositavam

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toda a confiança da eficácia missionária na graça divina e não davam demasiada importância aos meios humanos para alcançar a cristianização dos chineses. Insistiam no mistério da Cruz; acreditavam que deveria exigir-se, na China como da Europa, rigor no campo da moral e também uma aplicação sem excepções das práticas litúrgicas. Os jesuítas, pelo contrário, seguiam outra perspectiva missionária. Procuravam conhecer e adaptar-se aos usos e costumes dos asiáticos, tanto no Japão (Alessandro Valignano), como na China (Michele Ruggieri, Matteo Ricci), adaptavam e respeitavam esses costumes, tentavam assimilar os padrões culturais e de prestígio social dos letrados, com o seu culto dos sábios e com a doutrina de Confúcio, valorizavam a ciência como o melhor método de penetração nas classes dirigentes e respeitavam as leis imperiais, pelo que evitavam a pregação em público.

Para além destas diferenças de abordagem missionária entre jesuítas, por um lado, e franciscanos e dominicanos, por outro, há que considerar também outras causas estratégicas ou conjunturais: o confronto entre potências imperiais (castelhanos *versus* portugueses e italianos), as lutas entre os defensores do Padroado português e a *Propaganda Fide*, a luta dos jansenistas contra os jesuítas...

Os pontos centrais da querela dos ritos eram quatro. Em primeiro lugar, o nome que deveria ser utilizado para designar Deus – *Tianzhu* 天主 (senhor do céu) ou *Shangdi* 上帝 (imperador superior, último antepassado). Estes termos tinham uma forte representatividade no contexto cultural chinês, podiam incutir à figura de Deus um traço cosmológico-panteísta ou então xamânico-ancestral-naturalista e já tinham sido utilizados em diversos contextos ritualistas e religiosos chineses. Em segundo lugar, a controvérsia centrava-se na permissividade que caracterizava os cultos aos antepassados e a Confúcio. Em terceiro lugar, debatiam-se as excepções relativamente ao jejum e ao dia de descanso. Em quarto lugar, era questionada a maior ou menor oportunidade de falar logo de início no martírio de Jesus Cristo na Cruz apesar da incompreensão e do escândalo para pessoas pouco preparadas para este tema.

Naquele mesmo ano de 1645 em que conheceu o padre Juan Bautista Morales e em que teve também lugar o primeiro pronunciamento papal sobre a querela dos ritos favorável à ordem dominicana, Domingo Fernández de Navarrete renunciou à sua brilhante e

prometedora carreira como teólogo e apresentou-se como voluntário para as missões asiáticas. Viajou através do México até às ilhas Filipinas, onde chegou a 23 de Junho de 1648. Ali foi-lhe atribuída a província de Manila. No entanto, não lhe foi atribuído o mercado dos *sangleys*, o distrito em que se concentravam os chineses de Manila, tendo-se antes dedicado à evangelização das comunidades austronésias de língua tagalo e ao ensino de Teologia na Universidad Dominica de Santo Tomás, Manila. Foi nomeado procurador-geral da província do Santíssimo Rosario, nas Filipinas.

*Não se pode ignorar que
os Tratados... exerceram
um notável impacto
e influência intelectual
ao longo do século XVIII*

Depois de ter passado quase dez anos nas Filipinas, pregando, cristianizando “índios tagalos” e ensinando Teologia em Manila e povoações próximas, as autoridades dominicanas das Filipinas decidiram o regresso de Fernández de Navarrete a Espanha: a frágil saúde do dominicano e o seu brilhantismo como teólogo ditavam um novo destino. Para evitar os rigores da travessia do Pacífico, o regresso não deveria ser realizado via México, mas pela rota ocidental portuguesa, atravessando o estreito de Malaca, seguindo pelo Índico e ao longo da costa de África. Fernández de Navarrete iniciou em Manila o seu caminho de regresso a Castela em 14 de Fevereiro de 1657, tendo por destino inicial Macaçar, o mercado de especiarias das ilhas Celebes. A navegação complicou-se devido à inclemência das condições marítimas, com várias paragens forçadas, severas tormentas e ameaças à sobrevivência. Um trajecto que, em condições normais, seria inferior a mês e meio converteu-se numa longa odisséia de cerca de oito meses. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete chegou a Macaçar em Outubro de 1657, tendo sido acolhido durante alguns meses pelos dois padres dominicanos portugueses que se ali se encontravam. As dificuldades em prosseguir o seu itinerário projectado até Espanha (o controlo holandês de Malaca complicava aos ibéricos



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a circulação até ao Índico) levaram-no a embarcar em Junho de 1658 num navio capitaneado por um chinês que se dirigia para Macau e no qual viajavam também outros quatro religiosos, entre os quais o jesuíta Martino Martini, que três anos antes publicara em Antuérpia o seu livro *De bello Tartarico* em que descrevia as circunstâncias da mudança dinástica ocorrida uma década antes na China, com o acesso dos manchus ao poder em Pequim, onde substituíram a dinastia Ming pela dinastia Qing. Martino Martini dirigia-se para a China depois de ter conseguido que o Papa anulasse o decreto obtido pelo dominicano Juan Bautista Morales em 1645: conseguira, assim, autorização de Alexandre VII para prosseguir com os seus métodos de evangelização, que permitiam o culto aos antepassados e a Confúcio.

Após uma viagem de algumas semanas, mas não isenta de perigos, a 14 de Julho de 1658 Fernández de Navarrete chegou a Macau. Passou um ano e dois meses inutilmente à espera de uma oportunidade para conseguir passar para o interior da China a fim de se reunir a outros pregadores dominicanos. Como é evidente, não encontrou ajuda nem qualquer apoio por parte dos jesuítas de Macau, que viam como uma perturbação desestabilizadora esta intromissão de dominicanos e franciscanos num território missionário que há décadas trabalhavam. Finalmente, a 25 de Setembro de 1659, Domingo Fernández de Navarrete conseguiu chegar a Guangzhou a bordo do navio de um comerciante chinês. A partir dali, prosseguiu o seu périplo até à cidade de Fu'an, onde se encontrava uma base missionária dominicana, onde chegou a 3 de Novembro de 1659. Ali encontrou três dominicanos, Luo Wenzao 罗文藻, Juan García e Francisco Varo.

Há que destacar a grande importância do dominicano Francisco Varo na história das relações culturais entre a China e a Europa do século XVII por ter sido o primeiro a redigir uma gramática de chinês. Não esqueçamos que, apesar de contar com uma poderosa e milenar tradição lexicográfica e retórica, a língua chinesa carecia de reflexão gramatical autóctone. Havia já uma década que o missionário dominicano Francisco Varo pregava na China, pois chegara a Fujian em 1649. Procurando um instrumento para acelerar a aprendizagem da língua chinesa entre os

seus companheiros de missão, preparou uma gramática de mandarim. Para a sua elaboração baseou-se em trabalhos prévios, hoje desaparecidos, de antecessores dominicanos nas missões da China (Juan Cobo, Juan Bautista de Morales...). A conclusão da sua *Arte de la lengua mandarina*, a primeira gramática da língua chinesa, deu-se por volta de 1682. Apesar da grande importância que os jesuítas atribuíram ao estudo e conhecimento da língua chinesa e também do estatuto excepcional das figuras pioneiras na empreitada jesuíta na China, como Matteo Ricci (religioso e intelectual de rigorosa formação nos campos humanísticos e científicos, discípulo do cosmólogo Clavius), a primeira gramática produzida pelos membros da Companhia de Jesus foi redigida por Joseph Henri Marie de Prémare em 1726, quase um século e meio depois da entrada dos jesuítas na China, e só em 1831 ficou acessível ao público. Trata-se de um feito singular, dado o ingente contributo jesuíta para a primeira sinologia europeia. Esta singular ausência de reflexão gramatical missionária jesuíta é atribuída à forte tradição de pedagogia oral no estudo da língua que prevalecia na Companhia de Jesus. À falta de modelos gramaticais autóctones, Francisco Varo serviu-se da taxinomia e do enquadramento conceptual que prevalecia então, a saber, o do gramático espanhol Antonio de Nebrija (1441-1522). Trata-se de uma dívida intelectual reconhecida e reiterada no próprio texto pelo gramático dominicano. Francisco Varo embarcou em direcção à América em 1646, razão pela qual é de todo improvável que tivesse tido acesso à *Grammaire de Port-Royal* ou *Grammaire générale et raisonnée*, de Antoine Arnauld e Claude Lancelot, publicada em 1660.

Neste contexto, não é de surpreender que Domingo Fernández de Navarrete encontrasse um ambiente favorável ao estudo do chinês em três das suas variantes orais, missão à qual dedicou os seus dois primeiros anos na China. Concentrou-se na sua variante local (*minanhua*) e no mandarim-padrão e, provavelmente, em algum outro dialecto que não se encontra determinado. Atribuem-se a Domingo Fernández de Navarrete diversas obras directamente redigidas em chinês, nenhuma das quais se conserva. Destaca-se a *Explicación de las verdades católicas e impugnación de los errores más comunes de la China*, que, segundo testemunho próprio, publicou em quatro volumes entre 1664 e 1666, durante a sua estadia em Zhejiang. Trata-se provavelmente de uma obra

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de redacção-tradução-edição feita com alguma ajuda de chineses cristianizados conhecedores de espanhol, tendo em conta que foi precisamente naquela época que Fernández de Navarrete iniciou o seu estudo da língua chinesa sob a orientação e impulso do Pe. Francisco Varo. Confirma-se a existência destes textos em língua chinesa – corroborando a menção feita pelo próprio autor nos seus *Tratados* – através de algumas cartas que Varo escreveu em 1673 nas quais reclamava financiamento para poder imprimir estes quatro volumes, que não se sabe ao certo se permaneceram inéditos ou chegaram a ser publicados. Outras obras chinesas de Fernández de Navarrete das quais existem apenas notícias indirectas, como, por exemplo, em cartas do padre Francisco Varo pedindo a sua publicação, são *De los nombres admirables de Dios* ou *El gobernado gentil*.

Depois de dois anos em Fujian dedicados ao estudo do chinês e à pregação, em 1661 Fernández de Navarrete teve de mudar-se para a cidade de Jinhua, na província de Zhejiang, para ocupar o lugar de um dominicano que tinha de regressar a Espanha. Ali começou a preparar a publicação de um catecismo em língua chinesa, que deveria ser editado em dois volumes. No entanto, um grave acontecimento alterou o curso da pregação missionária na China e também os projectos de Fernández de Navarrete.

Em 1664 rebentou no palácio imperial um conflito que teve graves consequências para os 36 missionários (25 jesuítas, dez dominicanos e um franciscano) que naquele momento se encontravam no interior da China. O problema surgiu no âmbito do Departamento de Astronomia do palácio imperial, encarregado da delicada missão de elaborar o calendário, de importância vital no contexto do ritualismo confucionista. O jesuíta alemão Johann Adam Schall von Bell (1591-1669), chegado à China em 1619, ganhou a absoluta confiança imperial quando conseguiu prever com maior exactidão do que os seus colegas chineses o eclipse solar que teve lugar em 1629. Foi-lhe assim permitido estabelecer um observatório no interior do palácio e foram-lhe abertas as portas à reforma do calendário. Uma década mais tarde chegou a ser nomeado director do Departamento de Astronomia.

Em 1664, um matemático e astrónomo muçulmano, Yang Guangxian 杨光先, disputou o controlo do Departamento do Calendário a Adam

Schall (e mais tarde, após a morte deste, em 1669, a Verbiest). Yang Guangxian começou a escrever e a difundir panfletos anticristãos (que aparecem resumidos e rebatidos nos *Tratados* de Domingo de Fernández Navarrete). A campanha anticristã iniciada em 1664 por este matemático sino-muçulmano fez com que o palácio levasse em consideração as suas acusações e exigisse a presença imediata em Pequim de todos os missionários cristãos que operavam na China, que, depois de detidos durante três meses, foram condenados, por sentença de 12 de Abril de 1665, à pena de expulsão do território chinês através de Macau. Este numeroso grupo de missionários (do qual ficaram excluídos os quatro jesuítas que residiam no palácio imperial) passou ainda mais uns meses detido em Pequim. Finalmente, em Setembro de 1665, foram conduzidos para Macau. Chegaram a Guangzhou depois de seis meses de viagem, em Março de 1666. Ali, o governador recusou-se a enviá-los para Macau e reteve os missionários numa antiga igreja.

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete esteve enclausurado em Guangzhou durante quase quatro longos anos em conjunto com este grupo de missionários. Estes anos de clausura na companhia de um grupo de missionários maioritariamente jesuítas converteram-se no fermento intelectual das suas obras sobre a China. Ali Fernández de Navarrete partilhou estadia diária com 19 padres jesuítas, três dominicanos e um franciscano (Antonio Caballero Santa Maria). Ali pôde consultar e ler dezenas de livros chineses dos jesuítas, bem como os tratados e traduções que já tinham publicado ou mantinham inéditos em forma manuscrita (como, por exemplo, as traduções de Confúcio do padre jesuíta Intorcetta, que posteriormente incorporaria no terceiro dos seus *Tratados* com abundantes exegeses e comentários críticos), ali tomou partido nas dissensões internas dos jesuítas e argumentou sobre a disputa dos ritos, etc. Ali redigiu alguns dos capítulos que posteriormente integrariam os *Tratados* (como, por exemplo, o *Tratado V* dedicado à “seita literária”, no qual reproduz, edita e comenta profusamente um texto inédito sobre a escola dos letrados (*rujia* 儒家) – ou o erroneamente chamado “confucionismo” – de Nicolo Longobardi, autor jesuíta caído em desgraça e utilizado na sua argumentação por Fernández de Navarrete como um jesuíta aliado). Escreveu também durante a sua reclusão em Guangzhou alguns (pelo menos três) dos

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capítulos que seriam posteriormente integrados nas *Controversias antiguas y modernas entre los misionarios de la Gran China*, um texto mais doutrinário e apologético.

Este tratado doutrinário e polemista das *Controversias...* deriva directamente do debate sobre os ritos que teve lugar em Guangzhou em 1667-1668. O ambiente de debate doutrinário e da estratégia missionária conduziu à realização, a partir de 18 de Dezembro de 1667, da chamada “conferência de Guangzhou acerca dos ritos chineses” (1667-1668), na qual Fernández de Navarrete se opôs aos jesuítas: face à maioria de 19 jesuítas, as opiniões dos dominicanos e do franciscano estavam em minoria. Em 1669, os jesuítas enviaram a Roma o Pe. Intorcetta para defender as posições missionárias da Companhia de Jesus. Em finais deste mesmo ano, Domingo Fernández de Navarrete decidiu escapar à reclusão em Guangzhou, apesar da oposição do vigário-geral provincial dos dominicanos na China, Francisco Varo. Foi duramente criticado por este e acusado de colocar em perigo a situação dos outros missionários de Guangzhou. A 11 de Janeiro de 1670, Fernández de Navarrete embarcou em direcção a Malaca num navio português que se dirigia para Goa. A sua intenção era prosseguir dali para Manila, mas as autoridades holandesas do enclave do estreito recusaram-lhe a autorização para o fazer e teve de prosseguir o seu périplo em Fevereiro de 1671 ao longo do Ceilão e Goa. A passagem do cabo da Boa Esperança num navio francês complicou-se, o que fez com que a viagem de regresso à Europa se prolongasse até Março de 1672. Ao fim de alguns meses foi recebido em Roma pelo Papa Clemente X, conseguindo que este confirmasse que a pregação na China não era monopólio jesuíta. Depois de ter informado as autoridades eclesiásticas sobre as suas posições a propósito do tema dos ritos, a sua intenção era voltar à China, mas as autoridades dominicanas não o permitiram.

Já em Madrid, o geral dominicano Rocaberti encarregou Fernández de Navarrete de editar o livro *Hechos de la orden de predicadores en China*, que Victorio Riccio escrevera em 1667. Entregou-lhe o manuscrito, mas imediatamente mudou de ideias e delegou esta tarefa ao Pe. Lorca, que acabou por perder, segundo se diz, o manuscrito. Tanto este livro inédito de Victorio Riccio como também outro inédito de Juan Bautista Morales figuram entre as fontes a que Fernández de Navarrete recorreu nos seus *Tratados*, mas que em

nenhum momento são declaradas, seguindo uma prática comum na historiografia missionária, que pode esbater autorias pessoais num contexto de disciplina no âmbito de uma ordem religiosa. Quem assina um livro nem sempre é o seu autor por inteiro: o conceito de autor incluía em boa medida a ideia de editor de textos prévios, compilados, ordenados e concluídos. Ao invés de dedicar-se à edição explícita do livro de Victorio Riccio, Fernández de Navarrete escreveu os seus *Tratados* ao longo daqueles anos, vindo a publicá-los em 1676. Um ano depois da publicação dos *Tratados*, o Papa, por sugestão de Carlos II, obrigou-o a aceitar o arcebispado de Santo Domingo, onde trabalhou até à sua morte.

Na realidade, antes dos *Tratados*, Fernández de Navarrete tinha praticamente terminado um livro que se centrava muito mais declaradamente na disputa sobre os ritos, um segundo volume sobre a China, mais directamente doutrinário e polémico, intitulado *Controversias antiguas y modernas entre los visionarios de la Gran China*, que só veio a lume parcialmente. O segundo volume, mais concentrado na atitude acomodatória face aos ritos e costumes chineses que os jesuítas exibiam) estava no prelo quando foi denunciado pela Companhia de Jesus ao Santo Ofício e nunca chegou a ser publicado.

Antes de publicar estas *Controversias*, Fernández de Navarrete achou por bem escrever os *Tratados*. Queria desta forma neutralizar a abundante bibliografia jesuíta dedicada à descrição da China e das suas doutrinas, para oferecer uma tradução dos textos confucionistas e um suporte factual, intelectual, autobiográfico e informativo nos *Tratados* que servissem de fundamento e de contexto, de legitimação e de instrumento de persuasão da parte mais teológica e estritamente doutrinária, que se centra nas *Controversias*. Foi assim que surgiu o projecto dos seus *Tratados*.

A OBRA

Domingo Fernández de Navarrete organizou os *Tratados* em sete partes que se apresentam como livros independentes, que podem ser lidos à margem do seu contexto mas que no conjunto encaixam na perfeição como peças de um mecanismo de argumentação persuasiva.

Nos dois primeiros *Tratados* encontramos a parte mais descritiva da China. O primeiro tem por

HISTORIA
DE LAS COSAS
MAS NOTABLES, a
RITOS, Y COSTUMBRES,

Del gran Reyno dela China, sabidas assi por los libros
delos mesmos Chinas, como por relacion de Religio-
sos, y otras personas, que an estado en el dicho Reyno.

HECHA Y ORDENADA POR EL MUY R.^o P. MAESTRO
Fr. Ioán Gonzalez de Mendoza dela Orden de S. Agustín, y peniten-
ciario Appostolico a quien la Magestad Catholica embio con su real
carta y otras cosas para el Rey de aquel Reyno el año. 1580.

AL ILLVSTRISSIMO S. FERNANDO
d: Vega y Fonseca del consejo de su Magestad y su
presidente en el Real delas Indias.

Con vn Itinerario del nuevo Mundo.



Con Privilegio y Licencia de su Santidad.

En Roma, a costa de Bartholomeo Grassi. 1585
en la Stampa de Vincenno Accolti.

Portada de la edición original de esta obra.

Portada de la «Historia... del gran Reyno de la China». Juan González
de Mendoza. Roma. 1585. Primera edición

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título *Del origen, nombre, sitio, grandeza, riqueza y singularidades de la gran China* e o segundo intitula-se *Del modo y disposición del gobierno chino, de sus sectas y de las cosas más memorables de la historia*. Nestes dois *Tratados* encontramos um formato que tem as suas raízes nas descrições da China baseadas em relatos de viagens, como as que foram escritas por Melchior Nunes Barreto, Gaspar da Cruz ou Martín de Rada.

Como principais fontes impressas destes dois *Tratados* temos, por um lado, e em destaque, a *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China* (1585) de Fr. Juan González de Mendoza (Torrecilla de Cameros, 1545-Popayán, 1618), livro que representa o culminar do paradigma ibérico de percepção da China ao compilar as informações recolhidas pelos portugueses e pelos castelhanos durante o século XVI, e que foi traduzido em oito línguas europeias e reimpresso 38 vezes em 15 anos, entre 1585 e 1600. Aliado a esta incontestável e prolixa lista de edições e traduções e também à influência detectável em autores e pensadores posteriores, um breve e curioso episódio revela-nos o alcance da repercussão alcançada pelo livro de Juan González de Mendoza: quando, em 1871, Elbing Carlsen chegou à baía de Barents, descobriu uma cabana construída por um grupo de exploradores holandeses do século XVII que exploravam a passagem do Nordeste. Nela encontrou conservados pelo clima polar objectos diversos: roupas, armas e dois livros – um deles era a *Historia* de González de Mendoza.

A segunda fonte livresca com influência evidente nos dois primeiros *Tratados* de Fernández de Navarrete reside nos diários de Matteo Ricci, que foram difundidos na Europa através da edição latina elaborada pelo jesuíta valão Nicolas Trigault, em 1616, com o título de *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*. Na sua edição latina e nas traduções subsequentes, os diários de Matteo Ricci alcançariam um grande impacto intelectual na Europa do século XVII. A novidade do livro de Matteo Ricci consistia na incorporação de uma percepção desenvolvida durante uma estadia prolongada. Esta edição de Trigault foi traduzida e editada em castelhano em 1621 sob o título *Historia de la China i Christiana Empresa hecha en ella por la Compañía de Jesús*.

Fernández de Navarrete é um autor polemista e dialéctico, discute constantemente com os seus contemporâneos e antecessores. Nos dois primeiros *Tratados* alude – de forma crítica ou laudatória, por vezes autoritariamente – 17 vezes a Trigautio (ou seja, Ricci traduzido por Trigault) e 21 vezes a González Mendoza. À margem destes 38 pontos de contacto explícito é possível detectar outros momentos nos quais se verifica uma notória utilização destas duas fontes, que assinalam os dois paradigmas de percepção da China precedentes: o ibérico e o jesuíta.

A organização do material em subcapítulos temáticos, o tipo de informações que recolhe e a própria natureza desta é fortemente devedora deste tipo de descrição temática, que se concentra em diferentes aspectos da história, da geografia, da cultura, da política, da sociedade ou dos costumes da China e dos chineses. À margem destas duas principais fontes de tipo livresco, surgem nos dois primeiros *Tratados* diversas fontes declaradas, menos utilizadas mas relevantes, como Bartoli, Nieremberg, Herrera Maldonado, Mendes Pinto, Álvaro Semedo ou o *De bello Tartarico*, de Martino Martini (ao qual se dedicará quando o livro avança já para toda uma longa secção do Livro VI, o Capítulo XXXIII, concentrado em comentar e divergir do livro do jesuíta acerca da sucessão dinástica que acabou com os Ming e conduziu à entronização da dinastia manchu-tártara dos Qing), Athanasius Kircher, que é explicitamente citado mais de 15 vezes no livro de Navarrete e que publicou a sua *China Illustrata* em 1667 sem nunca ter estado na China (tal como González de Mendoza), mas compilando informações alheias a seu respeito, etc. Nestes dois primeiros *Tratados* destaca-se a profusão de fontes orais, de testemunhos recolhidos através do contacto com as mais de duas dúzias de missionários, maioritariamente jesuítas, com os quais Fernández de Navarrete partilhou cativo em Guangzhou entre 1666 e finais de 1669. Navarrete relata as suas experiências, percepções e opiniões.

Porém, à margem das fontes livrescas ou baseadas no testemunho oral, o que há de mais significativo, inovador e singular nestes dois *Tratados* reside no contributo pessoal do dominicano, assente na sua própria experiência, memória e subjectividade: é nas passagens e episódios descritos com base em material recolhido pelo próprio Navarrete assim como na constante qualificação, avaliação, comentário e crítica

Frontispício de Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia de las cosas más notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Reyno de la China*, Roma, 1585.

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de todos os informadores exteriores que reside o seu valor acrescentado.

Ocasionalmente, encontramos também nos dois primeiros *Tratados* fontes chinesas, que, nesta parte inicial do livro, se concentram na secção final do segundo *Tratado*, dedicada a introduzir a figura de Confúcio, *Descripcion de las maravillas y milagros de Confúcio*, onde se glosa e apresenta uma breve biografia ilustrada em oito estampas da vida do filósofo chinês. Depois desta biografia e depois de ter explicado que as obras daquele foram mandadas queimar pelo imperador “Cin Xi Hoang” (ou seja, Qin Shihuang 秦始皇, o famoso primeiro imperador e fundador da dinastia Qin, que reinou com mão de ferro entre 246 e 208 a.C., unificou a China, mandou erguer a grande muralha, reformou a escrita e mandou trasladar os famosos guerreiros de terracota para o seu túmulo, próximo da actual cidade de Xi'an), Fernández de Navarrete coloca o leitor em condições de poder enfrentar a leitura do filósofo, que se encontra na base da disputa dos ritos.

Nos terceiro e quarto *Tratados* aparecem traduções de clássicos confucionistas e de compilações eruditas aforísticas, que através dos títulos revelam de uma forma directa os seus conteúdos: “*Tratado III. Escrivense algunas sentencias Politicas, y Morales del Filosofo Kung Fu Zu*” e “*Tratado IV. Del libro Ming, Sin, Pao, Kien, esto es, espejo precioso del alma*”. O *Tratado III* proporciona uma das primeiras (se não a primeira) tradução para espanhol dos diálogos entre o mestre e alguns dos seus discípulos e as máximas do mestre Kong (Kong Fuzi 孔夫子, Confúcio) compiladas no *Lunyu* 论语, ou seja, os chamados *Analectos*. Na realidade, pode afirmar-se que a principal, mais significativa e mais relevante fonte do



Frontispício de Nicolas Trigault, *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas suscepta ab Societate Jesu*, 1616.

autor para a elaboração do conjunto dos seus *Tratados*, é nada mais nada menos do que o grande filósofo chinês Confúcio, os seus discípulos e os textos que em torno da sua figura foram congregados. São-nos oferecidos os seus tratados, traduzidos pelos jesuítas Intorcetta e Longobardi ou pelo próprio Fernández de Navarrete. É este um novo ângulo do interesse académico deste livro, precisamente o seu perfil enquanto obra de tradução.

O *Tratado III* já não se centra na figura ou no perfil lendário do filósofo, mas nos ensinamentos do mestre Kong (Confúcio), cuja vida geralmente é situada nos séculos V e VI antes de Cristo. Nada

melhor para compreender o alcance e as limitações, a moralidade, mas também a gentildade do pensamento do mestre “*a quien han dado los Letrados Chinos nombre de Maestro, y Príncipe suyo*” do que proporcionar aos leitores do século XVII um acesso directo às suas palavras através da tradução e nada mais eficaz do que comentá-las e interpretá-las como faz no seu livro Domingo Navarrete. O leitor é informado da existência de traduções prévias, como a do jesuíta Próspero Intorcetta “e outros três do seu tempo” (Capítulo II, 1-3) em dois tomos. Fr. Domingo viu a tradução do jesuíta Próspero Intorcetta como pouco feliz e pouco fiável. Por isso considerou necessário levar a cabo a sua própria tradução para castelhano, possibilitando aos missionários e a todos aqueles que deveriam tomar uma posição sobre a disputa dos ritos a leitura de uma tradução ajustada e útil aos seus propósitos.

Fr. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete conhecia bastante bem a obra de Confúcio, mas atribuiu-lhe erroneamente algumas passagens e obras que na realidade não lhe correspondem. Certamente que o *Tratado III* se alimenta principalmente de máximas

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procedentes dos *Analectos*, uma obra actualmente considerada como obra directa dos seus discípulos, que compilaram os seus ensinamentos a partir da memória das palavras de um mestre tão ágrafo como o foram Jesus Cristo, Láucio ou Sócrates. No *Tratado III*, para além destas máximas, são-lhe atribuídos e traduzidos muitos outros aforismos e diálogos de discípulos de Confúcio, como, por exemplo, procedentes de *La gran enseñanza* (*Daxue* 大学), que se transforma no livro de Fernández de Navarrete em *La gran ciencia o La gran sabiduría*, ou então de Mengzi 孟子 (Mêncio), o segundo grande pensador da tradição dos letrados, bem como do *Libro de los documentos* (*Shujing* 书经). Definitivamente, Fernández de Navarrete atribui ao mestre uma amálgama de textos da tradição dos letrados (*rujia*) que surge a partir dos seus ensinamentos.

O *Tratado IV*, intitulado *De la doctrina moral chínica*, centra-se na tradução de um livro compilado no século XIV, o *Mingxin baojian* 明心宝鉴, do género dos *mengshu* 蒙书, livros de ilustração, ou *shanshu* 善书, livros que aconselham a fazer o bem. Trata-se de um livro de carácter pedagógico, que compila aforismos, citações e breves incursões eruditas de pensadores clássicos chineses de tradição diversa, mas basicamente confucionista e, em menor grau, tauista. Era um livro utilizado no processo de aprendizagem do chinês e do caudal de saber moral que a sua escrita transporta, algo equivalente às *Flores doctorum* medievais europeias, ou seja, uma compilação ou florilégio de ditos de homens sábios, para aprender a ler e a escrever e ao mesmo tempo adquirir conhecimentos. Fernández de Navarrete traduz o título como *Espejo precioso del alma* e exprime foneticamente o título chinês como *Ming sin pao kien*.

Este mesmo livro fora traduzido em Manila mais de 80 anos antes pelo também dominicano Fr. Juan Cobo com a ajuda de chineses cristianizados de Manila pouco antes de morrer, por volta de 1590, e publicado postumamente em 1593, com o título de *Beng Sim Po Cam* (reflectindo foneticamente o dialecto *minnan*, próprio de Fujian e Taiwan) ou *Espejo del claro corazón*. Nesta edição é especificado um compilador, Fan Liben 范立本. É um pormenor importante porque se conservam poucas cópias do livro (na Coreia, Japão e Vietname) e nenhuma, exceptuando a de Juan Cobo, indica Fan Liben como compilador daquela antologia de frases filosóficas.

Na sua tradução desta colecção de frases sábias que ocupa o *Tratado IV*, tal como sempre que traduz ou refere dados alheios, Fernández de Navarrete não se limita a reproduzir, mas glosa e comenta, analisa e polemiza, compara os textos chineses com textos bíblicos ou patrísticos e contextualiza o que traduz ou edita. Entre as *auctoritas* que cita, para além do “Eclesiastes” e do “Deuteronomio” e de qualquer outro livro da Bíblia, encontramos desde Santo Agostinho a Tito Lívio, passando por S. Tomás, Alberto Magno ou Boécio. Em comparação com a tradução de Juan Cobo, a de Fernández de Navarrete é mais incompleta e menos literal ou respeitosa, mas certamente que, ao comentar e glosar os textos que vai traduzindo, em muitos casos é mais esclarecedor e penetrante: deita luz sobre o seu sentido ou estende pontes interculturais que permitem ao leitor europeu do século XVII compreender alguma coisa de um estilo de pensamento e de coordenadas conceptuais tão díspares.

*Fernández de Navarrete
é um autor polemista
e dialéctico, discute
constantemente com os seus
contemporâneos e antecessores.*

O quinto *Tratado*, um dos capítulos-chave e, em termos sinológicos, mais relevantes do livro, intitula-se *Tratado V y especial de la secta literaria*. Nele é reproduzida a obra do jesuíta Longobardi intitulada *Xang Ti, Tien Xin y Ling Hoen, esto es del Rey de lo alto, espíritu y alma racional... escrito por el padre jesuíta Nicola de Longobardi*, um jesuíta importante (sucessor de Matteo Ricci), contrário à tolerância para com os ritos, heterodoxo na sua ordem e alinhado assim com Fernández de Navarrete e os restantes dominicanos e franciscanos... Este *Tratado V de la Secta literaria* torna-se especialmente interessante no diálogo que se cria entre o texto de Longobardi que o jesuíta edita e as valiosas e prolixas anotações, glosas e comentários de Fernández de Navarrete.

O *Tratado VI*, intitulado *De los viajes y navegaciones que el autor de este libro ha hecho*, contém o maior

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número de informações em primeira mão, recolhidas no processo de reviver e dar forma ao longo périplo da aventura pessoal. Através das notícias que este *Tratado* contém é possível unir as pontas de uma biografia pessoal, completa e repleta dos imprevistos próprios da vida marítima. Também aparecem capítulos inteiros dedicados a polemizar com cronistas jesuítas como o Pe. Colín ou o Pe. Martino Martini. É neste *Tratado VI* que se verificam os maiores contributos para o conhecimento da China em relação à mudança dinástica e às relações entre Manila, os missionários e o poderio naval de Zheng Chenggong.

Finalmente, no *Tratado VII*, são acrescentados os *Decretos pontificios y proposiciones calificadas en Roma para la mission chinica*. A culminação jurídico-eclesiástica encerra o volume orientando a sua interpretação global num sentido claramente político (de política missionária, que não deixa de ser política) muito concreto e persuasivo: tratava-se de começar o livro tentando mostrar as grandezas, riquezas e

capacidades da China e, depois, de dignificar-se apreciando as virtudes filosóficas, sem perder de vista os erros e perigos rituais que um excesso de apego às teses confucionistas poderiam vir a criar. Tratava-se, não de evitar a grandeza irrefutável da tradição chinesa, ou de alguma forma negar o fascínio que exerce, mas sim de conhecê-la para melhor cristianizá-la. Tratava-se de entrar em contacto directo com outros textos da tradição de formação moral dos letrados. Da capacidade retórica de Fernández de Navarrete destaca-se a argúcia de utilizar textos jesuítas alinhados com as teses críticas dominicanas e franciscanas (Longobardi), para mais adiante enraizá-las no seu estilo de vida e de pensamento, em alguns dos seus relatos e pormenorizações. Podemos partilhar da apreciação da figura de Fernández de Navarrete que Joseph Needham oferece quando afirma que ele “*is one of the most interesting characters among the Europeans who worked in 17th-century China. One of the cardinal figures in the lamentable Rites Controversy*”. **RC**

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A Descrição da China de Fr. Jacinto de Deus

LEONOR DIAZ DE SEABRA*

ORIGEM HISTÓRICA DOS FRANCISCANOS

A Ordem Franciscana, fundada por S. Francisco de Assis em 1209 e confirmada em 1215 pelo Papa Inocêncio III, só chegou a Portugal em 1217.¹ Dedicou-se à actividade missionária, de que Francisco de Assis começou por dar o exemplo, dedicando-se à evangelização do povo, particularmente nos meios rurais e também partindo para novas terras de missão, vivendo, convivendo e partilhando o modo de viver das suas gentes.²

Em relação ao Extremo Oriente, o trabalho missionário dos Franciscanos foi também pioneiro. Em 1245, o Papa Inocêncio IV decidira enviar uma embaixada à corte mongol a fim de obter apoio para conter o poderio muçulmano que então ameaçava a Europa e a cristandade. Inicialmente, esta missão foi confiada a um franciscano português, Fr. Lourenço de Portugal, que nunca a concretizou, tendo partido, em seu lugar, Fr. João do Monte Carpini. Embora os resultados desta missão fossem pouco significativos, ela foi depois continuada por outros missionários franciscanos,

como Fr. João de Montecorvino, Fr. Odorico de Pordenone e Fr. João de Marignolli.³

Apesar do esforço e dos resultados do século XIII, a expansão missionária e a presença dos Franciscanos no Oriente está ligada à expansão marítima ocidental.⁴

Os primeiros religiosos da Ordem de S. Francisco de Assis a chegarem a Macau partiram das Filipinas – embora já estivessem em Goa desde 1518 –, tendo chegado a Cantão em 1579.⁵ Este primeiro grupo era constituído por Fr. Pedro de Alfaro, custódio e natural de Sevilha, Fr. João Baptista Lucarelli, italiano, de Pesaro, Fr. Sebastião de S. Francisco, natural de Baeza, e Fr. Agostinho de Tordesillas, que se faziam acompanhar de alguns soldados.⁶ Vencidos os primeiros obstáculos da sua chegada e estadia em Cantão, os frades escreveram ao bispo de Macau, D. Melchior Carneiro, o qual de bom grado se disponibilizou para os acolher e apoiar,⁷ o que resolveram aceitar face ao decreto do imperador Wanli (1572-1620) e promulgado pelo mandarim de Cantão, que proibia os castelhanos de se manterem na China.⁸ Dirigiram-se para Macau, mas agora apenas Fr. Pedro de Alfaro e Fr. Giovanni Battista Lucarelli, uma vez que Fr. Sebastião de S. Francisco falecera durante a estadia em Cantão, tendo os demais membros do grupo regressado às Filipinas.⁹ Para além do acolhimento do bispo, encontraram na Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus, onde chegaram no dia 15 de Novembro de 1579, duas outras pessoas que se prestaram a ajudá-los: o Pe. André Coutinho, português do clero secular, e o leigo espanhol Pero Quintero. Os franciscanos

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recusaram todas as ofertas de hospedagem, preferindo instalar-se no Hospital de S. Lázaro (dos leprosos) – que fora fundado por D. Melchior Carneiro, em 1569 – a quem serviam e prestavam os mais humildes serviços.¹⁰ Foi-lhes atribuído um terreno a fim de se dar início à construção do primeiro eremitério-convento franciscano, concluído logo no ano seguinte (1580), sendo a igreja dedicada a Nossa Senhora dos Anjos.¹¹

Além deste convento, Fr. Lucarelli construiu também uma capela dedicada a Nossa Senhora do Rosário.¹² Mais tarde, em 1684, e por iniciativa do Pe. Francisco Peres da Conceição, foi erguida a Via Sacra (*via crucis*), que ia desde o convento de Nossa Senhora dos Anjos até à ermida de Nossa Senhora do Rosário.¹³

Em 1580, Fr. Pedro de Alfaro teve de se ausentar para Goa, deixando o governo do convento a Fr. João Lucarelli. Fr. Alfaro morre num naufrágio nas costas da Cochinchina e, em 1581, Fr. Lucarelli foi expulso de Macau para Malaca, onde funda também um convento: o convento da Madre de Deus.¹⁴ Em 1582, regressou a Macau com o capitão Aires Gonçalves de Miranda, tendo voltado a tomar posse do convento dos Franciscanos, então abandonado.¹⁵

Em Agosto de 1582 chegou a Macau um novo grupo de sete religiosos chefiados por Fr. Jerónimo de Burgos, comissário-provincial da custódia de S. Gregório das Filipinas. Teve, então, lugar o primeiro Capítulo local dos frades capuchos, no qual Fr. Martinho Inácio de Loiola foi eleito como custódio. Procedeu-se, também, à criação da custódia de S. Gregório da China, constituída pelos conventos de Malaca e Macau e autónoma da casa-mãe das Filipinas.¹⁶

Em 1583, logo após o seu regresso a Manila, Fr. Jerónimo de Burgos teve de voltar à China, agora com o objectivo de anular o que antes tinha fundado: a custódia de Macau/Malaca. Porquê? É que a existência desta, independente da casa de Manila, impedia os castelhanos de manterem aberta a única porta de acesso à China que até então tinham conseguido abrir.¹⁷ No entanto, e apesar das diligências feitas, os objectivos desta missão não foram alcançados, resolvendo o frade, então, apelar ao geral da Ordem Franciscana, para solucionar as dissensões entre portugueses e castelhanos nesta região.¹⁸ Esta questão acabou por ser resolvida por Filipe II em 1584, depois de ouvido o Conselho das Índias, com a cedência do convento de Malaca aos portugueses, formando a custódia de S. Francisco

de Malaca, dependente de S. Tomé de Meliapor, na Índia, mas voltando a integrar o convento de Macau na custódia de S. Gregório das Filipinas (como “chave da porta da China”).¹⁹

No entanto, esta decisão não foi bem aceite em Macau e o capitão-geral, Francisco Pais, ordenou que o convento dos Franciscanos Descalços fosse entregue aos portugueses, tendo os frades espanhóis sido expulsos, de Macau, a 11 de Agosto de 1585.²⁰

A 12 de Agosto de 1586, contudo, foi entregue a Fr. Martinho Inácio de Loiola, conforme as ordens régias e as leis da Ordem Seráfica, ficando novamente dependente da custódia de S. Gregório das Filipinas. Em 1588, novamente os franciscanos espanhóis tiveram de deixar Macau, acabando o convento por ser entregue definitivamente aos franciscanos portugueses, em 1589.²¹ Neste mesmo ano, Filipe II proibia os religiosos das Filipinas de irem para a China. E, por carta régia de 18 de Fevereiro de 1595, ordenava-se ao vice-rei da Índia, Matias de Albuquerque, que “proibisse a residência em Macau a sacerdotes de outras ordens religiosas além dos Jesuítas e Capuchos (Franciscanos) portugueses”.²²

Ficaram, pois, os religiosos portugueses sozinhos em Macau e na China até 1633, data em que Fr. António de Santa Maria conseguiu “abrir a porta da China” aos Franciscanos espanhóis, assim como entraram em Macau as Clarissas.²³

Neste ano, Fr. António de Santa Maria esteve quatro meses na província de Fukien (Fujian). Em Dezembro do mesmo ano passou para a província de Nanquim (Nanjing), donde foi expulso pelos Jesuítas. Em 1650, estabeleceu-se na província de Shantung (Shandong), dando início às Missões que a província de S. Gregório das Filipinas manteve na China até ao princípio do século XIX.²⁴

Mais tarde, principalmente a partir do segundo quartel do século XVII, chegaram a Macau novos missionários franciscanos vindos de Manila.

Todavia, a actividade missionária não se limitava ao império chinês. Em breve os frades foram enviados para o Japão, dando apoio à missão já iniciada pelos Jesuítas e que apresentava já abundantes frutos. O início da missão franciscana no Japão parece situar-se por volta de 1582 ou 1583, sendo um dos primeiros Fr. Juan Pobre, que anteriormente, como capitão e membro do grupo, havia acompanhado o Fr. Alfaro a Cantão e a Macau, regressando depois a Manila

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onde ingressou na Ordem Franciscana.²⁵ Em 1584, o dáimio Toyotomi Hideyoshi, de Hirado, mandou uma carta a Manila com vários presentes; igualmente o dáimio Omura Sumitada mandou 11 japoneses cristãos pedindo religiosos. Em 1592, o governador das Filipinas, Gomez Dasmariñas, mandou como embaixador ao Japão o dominicano Juan Cobo. O embaixador ficou convencido que Hideyoshi desejava que Manila lhe prestasse vassalagem. No entanto, em 1593, era enviado a Nagoya (Japão) o franciscano espanhol Pedro Baptista, com dois franciscanos portugueses.²⁶ Em Outubro de 1594, os franciscanos espanhóis inauguraram uma casa e igreja em Meaco (Quioto), a que deram o nome de Santa Maria da Porciúncula, fundando também ali dois hospitais onde tratavam leprosos; em Osaka fundaram uma casa com o nome de Belém; em Nagasáqui, Fr. Pedro Baptista estabeleceu-se com um companheiro português, Fr. Jerónimo de Jesus, no Hospício de S. Lázaro. A partir daí começam as dificuldades com os portugueses, assim como com os irmãos da Santa Casa da Misericórdia, a quem pertencia o Hospício, bem como com os Jesuítas em matéria de apostolado.²⁷

No início, a missão em terras japonesas foi proveitosa e fecunda, mas rapidamente a situação se alterou. Tal como as outras ordens religiosas, sofreram perseguições e tiveram de se retirar do Império do Sol Nascente. Já em 1587, o sucessor de Nobunaga, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, promulgara o decreto ordenando a todos os senhores feudais a expulsão dos missionários. E, em 1596, deu-se a perseguição e captura da nau espanhola *San Filipe*, que fazia a viagem de Manila para o México, mas fora apanhada por uma tempestade que a fez ir ter ao Japão. Aprisionados, os franciscanos foram condenados e mortos em 1597.²⁸

Mais tarde, no século XVII, mais franciscanos chegaram a Macau. Em 1639, aqui chegou Fr. Francisco de Jesus de Escalona, procurando convencer os seus religiosos a irem evangelizar a China.²⁹

Também os franciscanos espanhóis que, de Manila, partiam para a China passavam por Macau (“porta de entrada no Celeste Império”).³⁰ Era necessário, pois, haver em Macau um procurador dos franciscanos espanhóis.³¹ O Pe. António de Santa Maria Caballero esteve em Macau de 1640 a 1644.³² Em 1649, Fr. Boaventura Ibañez foi destinado para as Missões da China com Fr. António de Santa Maria e Fr. José de Casanova.³³ Muitos outros se lhes seguiram. No

entanto, muitos queixavam-se das dificuldades sentidas ao quererem partir de Macau para Cantão, dificuldades levantadas pelos franciscanos e autoridades portuguesas de Macau.³⁴

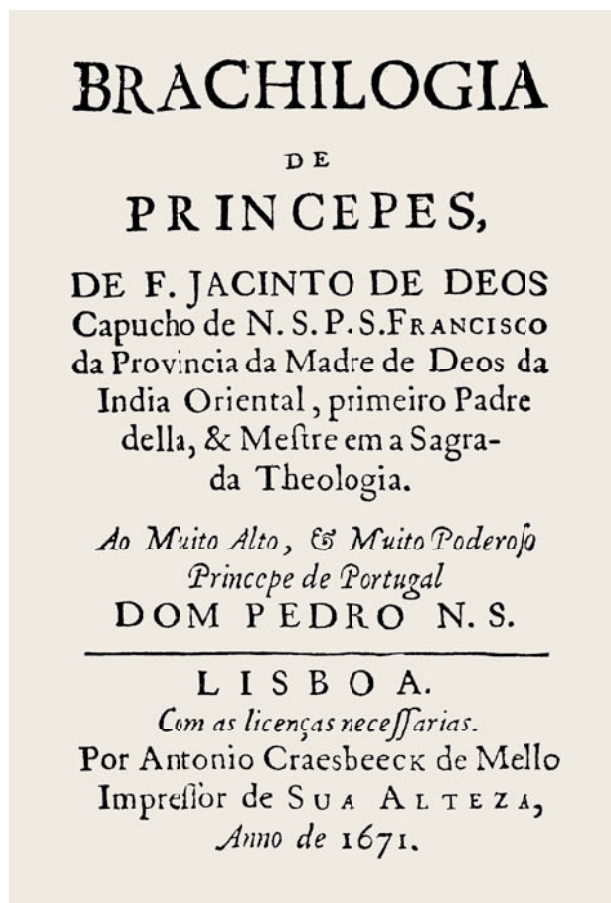
Já no século XVIII, Fr. Manuel de Jesus Maria José, O. F. M., foi escolhido por D. João V para bispo de Nanquim. Partiu para a China em Fevereiro de 1721 e chegou a Macau em Agosto de 1722, mas como morrera o imperador Kangxi, aqui permaneceu e exerceu o seu ministério em Macau e Cantão.³⁵ Em 1724 chegou a Macau a notícia de que o novo imperador Yongzheng iria expulsar os missionários da China, pelo que D. João V enviou o embaixador Alexandre Metelo de Sousa à China, mas sem quaisquer resultados positivos.³⁶ Fr. Manuel ainda foi a Cantão duas vezes, mas viu-se forçado regressar a Macau e, em 1734, embarcou de regresso a Portugal.³⁷

O frade arrábido Fr. José de Jesus Maria veio para Macau com o bispo D. Frei Hilário de Sta. Rosa (também ele franciscano) em 1742³⁸ e aqui, de 1743 a 1745, escreveu a sua obra *Azia Sinica e Japonica*, utilizando a documentação local, regressando a Portugal neste último ano.³⁹

No século XVIII, agravou-se a Questão dos Ritos Chineses,⁴⁰ devido à acção do cardeal Charles Thomas Maillard de Tournon, legado do Papa *a latere* para a Índia e para a China e que chegou a Macau em Junho de 1707.⁴¹ Querendo obrigar todos a cumprir o decreto papal contra os Ritos Chineses, deparou com a resistência das autoridades civis e eclesiásticas, dando isso origem a excomunhões, discórdias constantes e à divisão das Ordens Religiosas em Macau.⁴²

Um decreto de 28 de Maio de 1834 extinguiu as Ordens Religiosas em Portugal, em Macau e nos seus domínios ultramarinos, passando os seus bens para a Fazenda Nacional. Este decreto, todavia, só em 1835 foi posto em execução em Macau.⁴³ Viviam, na altura, no convento dos Franciscanos, Fr. Francisco da Conceição, guardião, pertencente à província da Madre de Deus de Goa (Índia), que foi expulso do convento em Setembro de 1835 e nomeado coadjutor da Sé em 1836, Fr. António de Assunção e Fr. Manuel das Dores, ambos igualmente da mesma província da Madre de Deus.⁴⁴ Vieram, ainda, Fr. José da Soledade, que foi nomeado capelão do Batalhão do Príncipe Regente, em 1839, tendo sido capelão de Santa Clara durante vários anos⁴⁵ e Fr. Francisco Xavier da Madre de Deus. Este veio em 1823 como capelão da fragata *Salamandra*

CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

Frontispício de *Brachilogia de Princepes*, Lisboa, 1671.

– enviada a Macau com a incumbência de derrubar o governo liberal que aqui se instalara – e foi, de 1832 a 1834, capelão do Leal Senado e, após a extinção do convento dos Franciscanos, coadjutor da freguesia de S. Lourenço.⁴⁶

Em 1861 o convento de S. Francisco e a igreja foram demolidos, sendo construído no local um quartel para o “batalhão de primeira linha”, que para ali se mudou em 1866.⁴⁷

Para além da acção pastoral e missionária, tanto na China como em outras paragens do Oriente, os Franciscanos dedicaram-se também às obras de assistência, começando logo após a sua chegada a servir os leprosos e doentes no Hospital de S. Lázaro. Este serviço de apoio aos pobres e necessitados era um dos objectivos da Ordem, pois a própria vocação de S. Francisco de Assis está associada à sua experiência entre os leprosos. Por isso, Fr. Blás Garcia montou uma “botica” (farmácia) e uma enfermaria no convento de

S. Francisco, em Macau.⁴⁸ Esta farmácia serviu a cidade durante muitos anos e teve uma grande importância, principalmente após a expulsão dos Jesuítas, em 1762, já que passou a ser a única.⁴⁹ Servindo-se deste meio, alguns franciscanos exerceram uma acção benemérita, junto da população mais necessitada.

A SITUAÇÃO DE MACAU NO SÉCULO XVII

Qual a situação de Macau na época em que viveu Fr. Jacinto de Deus? O século XVI foi o século de Expansão Marítima Portuguesa e fixação no Oceano Índico e Pacífico, formando o chamado Império Português do Oriente, incluindo Macau, que atingiria a sua época áurea com o comércio da China e do Japão, em que os portugueses de Macau desempenharam uma função de intermediários, trocando a seda chinesa por prata do Japão, que levavam para a China.⁵⁰

O século XVII, pelo contrário, foi um século de crise para Macau, com sucessivos ataques dos holandeses à cidade, que começaram em 1601, culminando com o grande ataque de 1622, em que foram definitivamente derrotados. Ao quererem capturar Macau, Malaca e Nagasáqui, os holandeses desejavam interceptar o altamente rentável comércio da prata.⁵¹

Com o final do comércio do Japão, em 1639, e a ascensão do poder comercial e naval dos holandeses nos mares orientais, os comerciantes independentes de Macau tiveram de se virar para outras rotas comerciais, desenvolvendo o comércio com outros portos do Sudeste Asiático.⁵²

Em 1640 deu-se a restauração da monarquia portuguesa, subindo ao poder D. João IV, da Casa de Bragança, o que se reflectiu em Macau, pois os espanhóis foram expulsos da cidade, pondo fim ao comércio de Macau com as Filipinas.⁵³

Em 1641 deu-se a conquista de Malaca pelos holandeses, com as consequentes dificuldades económicas para Macau, que perdeu o local onde se centralizava o comércio de especiarias.⁵⁴ Em 1660, os holandeses tomaram Macaçar, obrigando inúmeras famílias daquela zona a refugiarem-se em Macau, tendo outras ido para Timor e outras para o Sião.⁵⁵

Com a queda da dinastia Ming, a China viu-se envolvida numa situação de conflito político e luta armada, tendo Macau participado no auxílio aos Ming, com o envio de homens e canhões.⁵⁶ Com a subida dos Qing (manchus) ao poder e a queda de Cantão nas

FORGOTTEN CHRONICLERS OF THE FAR EAST (16TH–18TH CENTURIES)

suas mãos em 1650, a cidade atravessou uma situação complicada.⁵⁷

Em 1661, as autoridades da dinastia Qing deram ordens às populações costeiras para se retirarem para o interior, devido aos ataques de Coxinga (Zheng Chenggong), partidário dos Ming, que se fixara na Formosa, donde expulsara os holandeses.⁵⁸ Ora, se este decreto fosse cumprido, Macau desapareceria e deixava de se justificar a presença portuguesa no Sul da China, pelo que os comerciantes independentes de Macau iniciaram uma luta pela sobrevivência, recorrendo ao suborno, contrabando, diplomacia, etc.⁵⁹ Para o efeito, foi enviada pelo rei D. Afonso VI, uma embaixada à China, sendo embaixador Manuel de Saldanha.⁶⁰

Esta embaixada chegou a Pequim em 1670, mas, apesar de ter sido bem recebida, não teve qualquer efeito prático.⁶¹ O mesmo aconteceu em 1674, com a

missão diplomática de Bento Pereira de Faria – que fora secretário na embaixada anterior – e que levou um leão de presente ao imperador, o que foi muito apreciado.⁶² O objectivo destas embaixadas, no entanto, não seria, apenas, assegurar os privilégios de Macau, mas tentar que a embaixada holandesa (1666-1668) não obtivesse sucesso.⁶³

Entre 1684, as autoridades chinesas estabeleceram em Macau uma alfândega (*hopo*), responsável pela cobrança de taxas sobre o comércio estrangeiro e vigilância dos navios que entrassem ou saíssem do porto, assim como pelo controlo do contrabando.⁶⁴

Em 1685, o imperador Kangxi publicou um decreto imperial que determinava a abertura do porto de Cantão ao comércio estrangeiro, pelo menos uma vez por ano, durante a feira anual.⁶⁵ Macau perdia, assim, o papel de entreposto comercial exclusivo e os portugueses deixaram de ser os únicos intermediários no comércio da China.

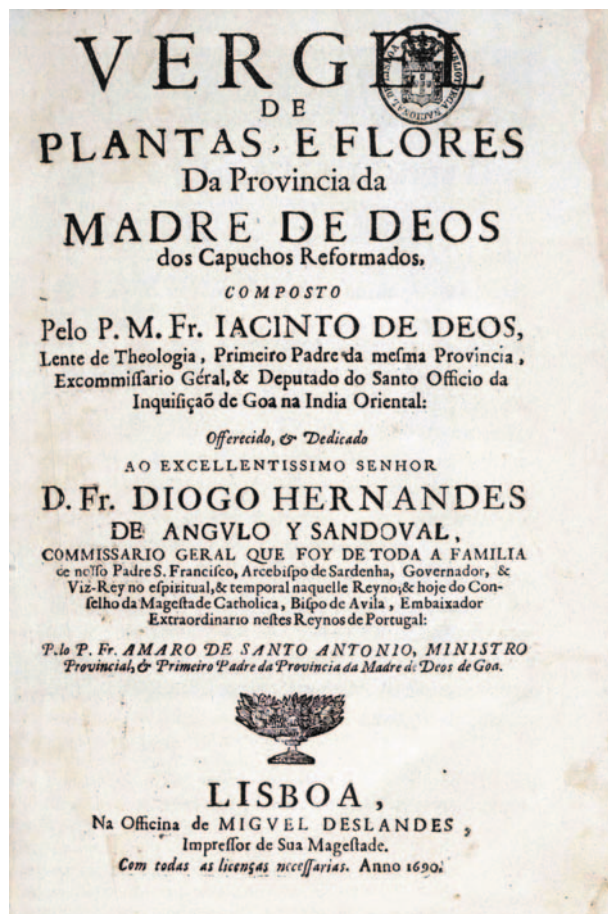
Apesar das grandes rotas estarem perdidas para Macau, a actividade mercantil dos comerciantes locais continha às autoridades chinesas, pois conseguiam uma boa fonte de rendimentos, com as medições – as taxas alfandegárias – que aplicavam aos navios, assim como a cobrança de impostos,⁶⁶ o que lhes permitia exercer um controle bastante apertado sobre a cidade e os seus moradores.

Os comerciantes sediados em Macau, contudo, estavam ainda em posição – o que continuaria a verificar-se durante os séculos XVIII e XIX – de fornecer os poderes asiáticos com canhões, espingardas e munições, o que lhes terá concedido, muitas vezes, a primazia entre os outros concorrentes, mesmo os chineses, que cruzavam as mesmas rotas asiáticas, comerciando, basicamente, o mesmo tipo de produtos.⁶⁷

FR. FRANCISCO DE DEUS.
ALGUNS DADOS BIOGRÁFICOS

Foi provincial e deputado da Inquisição em Goa (Estado da Índia). Escreveu várias obras: *Escudo dos Cavaleiros das Ordens Militares* (Lisboa, 1670), *Tribunal da Província da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos da Índia Oriental* (Lisboa, 1670; *Brachilogia de Princepes*, (Lisboa, 1671); *Caminho dos Frades Menores para a Vida Eterna*, Coimbra, 1721); *Vergel de Plantas, e Flores da Província da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos Reformados* (Lisboa, 1690).

Frontispício de *Vergel de Plantas, e Flores da Província da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos Reformados*, Lisboa, 1690.



CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)



DESCRIPÇÃO DO IMPERIO DA CHINA,
?

*Precedida de algumas noticias
sobre os Conventos de S. Francisco e de
Sta. Clara em Macau:*

EXCERPTO DO

Vergel de Plantas e Flores

*da provincia
da Madre de Deus dos capuchos reformados,*

COMPOSTO PELO PADRE MESTRE

FR. JACINTO DE DEUS,

LENTE DE THEOLOGIA, PRIMEIRO PADRE DA MESMA PROVINCIA,
EX-COMMISSARIO GERAL, E DEPUTADO DO SANTO OFFICIO
DE INQUISIÇÃO DE GOA NA INDIA ORIENTAL.

HONGKONG

IMP. POR DE SOUZA & CA.

1878

FORGOTTEN CHRONICLERS OF THE FAR EAST (16TH–18TH CENTURIES)

Foi, no entanto, muito criticado por ter aportuguesado muitas palavras latinas, em especial no *Vergel de Plantas e Flores*. No entanto, muitas dessas palavras já faziam parte da língua portuguesa e eram de uso corrente no século XIX, tais como, exarado, prematuro, propiciar, incolume, conterrâneo, etc.⁶⁸

DESCRIÇÃO DO IMPÉRIO DA CHINA

Esta obra foi publicada em Hong Kong já no século XIX (1878), sendo merecedora de uma edição actualizada e comentada, pois contém muitas informações referentes a Macau e à história da Ordem dos Franciscanos bem como à missão no século XVII, especialmente a franciscana, e ainda descrições da China e costumes chineses, para além de referências ao Japão, Malaca e Cochinchina,

Com 240 páginas, está dividida em duas partes: uma, sobre a acção da Ordem dos Capuchos (Franciscanos) e a outra, com uma descrição detalhada sobre o Império da China e seu governo. A primeira parte, com oito capítulos (pp. 1-52), refere a fundação do convento dos Frades Menores ou dos Capuchos (Franciscanos) e do Convento das Clarissas (de Santa Clara ou das Capuchas), em Macau, assim como as suas vicissitudes nestas paragens. Segue-se-lhe a “Descrição do Império da China” (pp. 53-229), com 12 capítulos (designados por “Excelências”). Por último, mais três capítulos (capítulos IX, X e XI, pp. 230-240), que são a continuação da primeira parte, retomando a história dos Franciscanos nestas paragens, respectivamente na Cochinchina, na China e em Malaca.

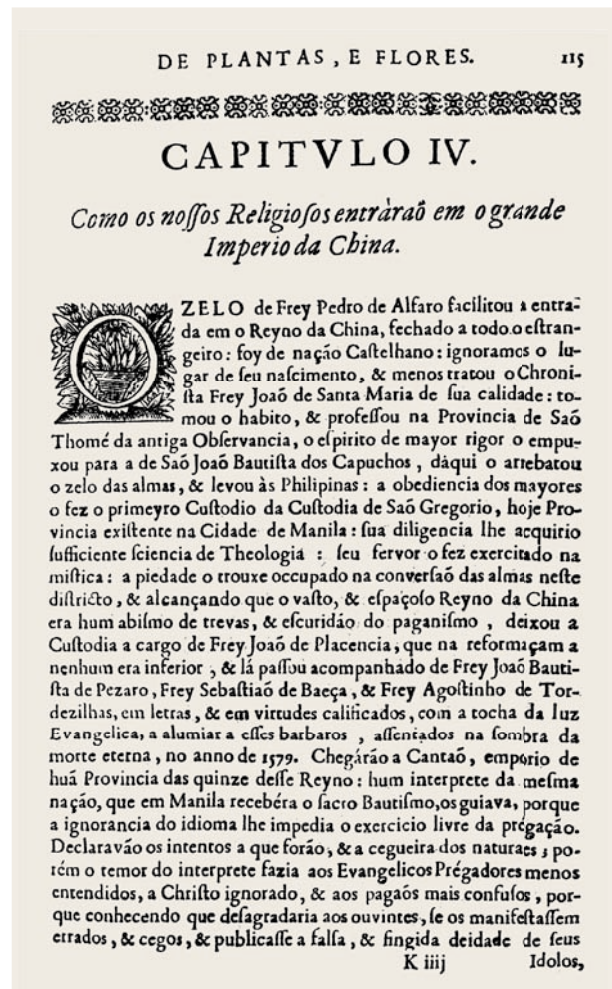
Começa com uma “Advertência aos leitores”, explicando a edição desta obra.⁶⁹

Segue-se-lhe um capítulo não numerado e intitulado “Como os nossos religiosos entraram em o grande Império da China”. Descreve a chegada dos primeiros franciscanos a Cantão, liderados por Fr. Pedro de Alfaro bem como os problemas com que se depararam, explicando que por causa deles tinham escrito para Macau a fim de obterem autorização para aqui virem e aprenderem a língua chinesa, antes de missionarem na China. Diz que, enquanto aguardavam resposta de Macau, ocupavam-se, Fr. Alfaro e os companheiros, em Cantão, do “serviço dos enfermos e enterro dos mortos”; diz ainda que celebraram missa solene no dia de S. João Baptista, sendo esta a primeira missa dita no Império da China. Tendo chegado a resposta de

Macau, partem para esta cidade Fr. Pedro de Alfaro e Fr. Sebastião de Baeza, já que Fr. Agostinho partiu para Manila a dar conta das notícias à custódia de S. Gregório.⁷⁰

A seguir, um capítulo designado “Artigo I. Mostra-se a Prioridade dos Frades Menores em todo o Serviço de Deus”. Indica os Franciscanos como os “primeiros que plantaram a árvore da cruz nas Índias Ocidentais”, nomeadamente o português Fr. João Peres de Marchena, da província da Arrábida (Portugal), no Brasil. No Oriente, terão sido os primeiros na Índia, embora tendo sido os segundos no Japão, foram os primeiros no martírio, pois Fr. Pedro Baptista com cinco companheiros franciscanos e 22 Terceiros (da Ordem Terceira) foram presos em Meaco, em Dezembro de 1596 e crucificados em Nagasaki, em

Página de *Vergel de Plantas, e Flores da Provincia da Madre de Deos dos Capuchos Reformados, Lisboa, 1690.*



CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

Fevereiro de 1597. Afirma ter sido o Pe. Gaspar da Cruz, da Ordem dos Pregadores, o primeiro a entrar na China, em 1556, seguindo-se os franciscanos, Fr. Pedro de Alfaro, Fr. João Baptista de Pezaro e Fr. Sebastião de Baeza, em 1578. Refere também que no “arquipélago de Malaca” foram “os filhos do seráfico Francisco os primeiros”, assim como nas ilhas de Macaçar, Malucas, bem como Ternate, Geilolo e Amboino.⁷¹

No capítulo “Artigo II. Funda-se Convento Capucho na Cidade de Macau no Reino da China” descreve a chegada de Fr. Alfaro e dos companheiros a Macau e como foram bem recebidos nesta cidade, tendo-lhes o bispo Melchior Carneiro oferecido hospedagem em sua casa, bem como os Jesuítas e também vários moradores macaenses. Preferiram ficar no Hospital dos Leprosos, pertencente à Misericórdia de Macau, onde prestavam serviços aos doentes. Diz que esta actuação lhes granjeou “aplausos e afeição” e fez com que lhes oferecessem um local para “edificarem convento”, que aceitaram, acrescentando-lhe um seminário. Três portugueses entraram para a Ordem dos Frades Menores: Fr. António dos Mártires, Fr. Boaventura de Lisboa e Fr. Bernardino de Jesus. Mas a rivalidade entre portugueses e castelhanos fez com que quisessem expulsar os Franciscanos com o pretexto de que ao vice-rei da Índia não agradaria admitirem na Cidade “nação alheia”. Tal situação fez com que Fr. Pedro Alfaro resolvesse partir para Goa e apresentar-se ao vice-rei e arcebispo, deixando o governo do convento de Macau a Fr. João Baptista Lucarelli.⁷²

No capítulo seguinte – “Artigo III. Da Caritativa Morte de Fr. Pedro de Alfaro” – conta a partida deste para a Índia “em um barco menos forte do que pediam os rigores dos furiosos mares que passava” e como, por pouca prática do piloto, naufragou já nas costas da Cochinchina, tendo Fr. Alfaro acudido “ao exercício do sacramento”, acabando por ser encontrado morto na praia.⁷³

Segue-se um capítulo intitulado “Artigo IV. Cresce e Renova-se a Perseguição contra Fr. João Baptista de Pezaro”. Neste tece considerações à malícia dos conselhos dados a Fr. João Baptista Lucarelli para se ausentar, fosse para continuar a viagem de Fr. Alfaro fosse para ir a Cantão missionar, até à sua expulsão para Malaca.⁸¹ Foi aqui muito bem recebido e foi-lhe oferecido “sítio e despesas” para fazer convento.⁷⁴

No capítulo “Artigo V. Do Convento das Freiras de Macau” descreve a ida das freiras de Santa Clara

(Ordem das Clarissas) para Manila e o seu desejo de fundarem um convento em Macau. Em 1633, chegou a Manila o capitão-mor António Fialho Ferreira, que obteve do provincial de S. Gregório das Filipinas autorização para seis freiras irem para Macau fundarem um convento “com os rigores e pobreza da primeira regra de Santa Clara”. Segue-se uma carta do capitão António Fialho Ferreira para o provincial dos Capuchos da província da Madre de Deus de Goa, de 1634, contando a chegada das “religiosas descalças de Sta. Clara” a Macau, onde foram muito bem recebidas, assim como outra carta da Abadessa Soror Leonor de S. Francisco para o mesmo provincial. Descreve a chegada das Clarissas a Macau e diz que ficaram na ermida de Nossa Senhora da Guia durante seis meses em “clausura e recolhimento”. A 30 de Abril de 1634 mudaram-se para o seu próprio convento da devoção de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, onde receberam várias donzelas de Macau que aí professaram.⁷⁵

No capítulo seguinte, “Artigo VI. Do Glorioso Transito da Madre Soror Joana da Conceição”, descreve a morte da madre Joana da Conceição, natural das Filipinas, escassos quatro meses após a sua chegada a Macau.⁷⁶

No capítulo intitulado “Artigo VII. Da Madre Abadessa Soror Leonor de S. Francisco”, conta a vida da madre Leonor de S. Francisco e a sua morte.⁷⁷

Seguidamente, em “Artigo VIII. Da Madre Soror Beatriz de Santa Maria e Maria da Madre de Deus, sua Filha” conta que Beatriz e sua filha Maria tinham nascido em Nagasáqui, de pais portugueses, e que a primeira fora acusada de favorecer e dar guarida a missionários, sendo presa e ambas desterradas para Macau. Ambas professaram no Convento de Santa Clara e a filha, Maria da Madre de Deus, chegou a abadessa deste convento em 1646. Segue-se uma carta de Fr. António de Santa Maria, que acompanhou algumas freiras que resolveram deixar o convento de Macau e regressar às Filipinas, em 1643, que é uma relação da viagem e intitulada: “A Madre Abadessa e mais Religiosas Descalças de Santa Clara da Cidade de Macau.” Como apanharam uma forte tempestade não conseguiram chegar a Manila, tendo desembarcado na Cochinchina, onde ficaram bastante tempo e onde acabaram por conseguir fazer várias conversões, regressando finalmente a Manila em 1645.⁷⁸

Inicia a segunda parte, a mais longa – “Descrição do Império da China” –, falando das dinastias (a que

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Mártires do Japão. Óleo sobre tela de artista desconhecido, 1640 (Seminário de S. José, Macau).

chama reinados), dos títulos dados ao rei – imperador – e dos nomes dados ao império chinês, quer dentro da China, quer os nomes dados pelos estrangeiros.⁷⁹ Segue-se uma análise do livro de Marco Pólo, fazendo o paralelo com a China daquela época (século XVII).

No seu primeiro capítulo – “Da grandeza do Reino da China” –, começa por enumerar as grandezas da China e suas riquezas, dizendo que é um reino “tão populoso, tão rico e tão político que excede aos mais”. Faz notar, no entanto que, “desta grandeza”, nasce também nos chineses “a soberba e presunção que trazem do ventre da mãe”, que lhes é natural e inata. Explica, depois, como os chineses descreviam os reinos vizinhos, assim como a Europa (pintando-a entre “procelosas ondas” como se fosse uma ilha, para mostrar a sua pequenez em relação à China). Conta que dividiam o Céu em 24 constelações, o mesmo fazendo com o seu Império, que dividiam em 24 comarcas, dando-lhes o nome das constelações; davam ao seu reino “títulos magníficos e altíssimos”, apelidando os estrangeiros com “nomes ridículos e dissonantes”. Descreve as lutas entre os missionários e os bonzos, apelidando estes últimos de “soberbos e arrogantes”.⁸⁰

No capítulo seguinte – “Da Antiguidade do Reino da China” – explica as origens do reino da China

e a sua antiguidade, segundo os próprios chineses, ou seja, que teria mais de quatro mil anos.⁸¹

No terceiro capítulo – “Das Letras e Língua da China” – defende a ideia de que a escrita chinesa foi a primeira a ser inventada – mesmo antes da egípcia –, representando “figuras e imagens, que “exprimem e significam as coisas que representam”. Dá vários exemplos de “letras chinas”, quer em caracteres, quer romanizadas.¹⁰¹ Termina, explicando a maneira como se deve aprender a língua chinesa.⁸²

No quarto capítulo – “Do Engenho e Habilidade desta Nação” – refere as invenções chinesas como, porcelana, impressão (xilografia), pólvora, etc. Fala dos letrados e dos seus conhecimentos, nível da ética e filosofia moral, embora falhos de conhecimentos científicos, “por não comunicarem com outros reinos”, mas que facilmente aprendem, como a matemática, filosofia e teologia. Fala, depois, das universidades e do número de estudantes, assim como da quantidade de livros publicados na China. Cita vários tipos de livros: Crónicas, Anais, História Antiga, Filosofia Natural, etc. e analisa algumas obras sobre os imperadores e termina com Confúcio e Mêncio.⁸³

Começa o capítulo seguinte – “Da Grande Policia deste Império” –, afirmando que precisaria

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“não de um tomo mas de muitos”, para descrever os ritos, cerimónias e “polícia” dos chineses. Diz haver um livro com “tres mil e mais cortesias” para casamentos, enterro dos defuntos, visitas e banquetes, etc., assim como há uma variedade de nomes e títulos com que “nas suas cartas e práticas se tratam e apelidam”. Refere também os títulos e nomes com que se referem aos seus parentes e amigos, afirmando, por exemplo, que os chineses têm nomes com que distinguem os tios da parte do pai dos da parte da mãe, os mais velhos, os mais moços, etc. Descreve a maneira de vestir dos homens e das mulheres, dizendo que não há “moça ou moço que ande descalço, por pobre que seja”. Afirma também que “nas mulheres é tão universal a decência, composição e modéstia, que não parece nelas adquirida, mas natural”. Diz haver cinco ordens: rei e vassalo, pai e filho, marido e mulher, irmão maior e menor, amigo e amigo, mas que seriam necessários muitos livros para escrever os ritos e cortesias desta nação, ou seja, “da fidelidade do vassalo para com o rei, da obediência dos filhos para com os pais, da sujeição da mulher para com seu marido, do amor do irmão a seu irmão e da correspondência dos amigos”. Sobre os dias de festa, destaca o “décimo da primeira lua do seu ano novo” e a profusão de lanternas, nesta altura, assim como a sua variedade, explicando a origem da festa das lanternas e as duas lendas que habitualmente se contam.⁸⁴

No sexto capítulo – “Dos Edifícios e Obras Públicas deste Império” –, depois de dizer que “excedem suas obras e edifícios, assim na multidão como na grandeza ou extensão, a todos os mais reinos e impérios”, descreve as casas dos mais poderosos, detendo-se na construção do Grande Canal “pelo meio das províncias, por espaço de três mil e quinhentos estádios chinas, que vem a ser 245 léguas portuguesas.” E termina com a grandiosidade desta obra, chamando a atenção, no entanto, para as hospedarias reais, assim como para as fortalezas e muros que cercam a China.⁸⁵

Vem a seguir “Da Grande Indústria desta Nação”. Constata que os “grandes edifícios, artifícios, subtilezas e engenhos de suas obras, não só nascem da muita opulência do império, mas também da indústria”, bem como o facto de não terem “um palmo de terra ocioso e inculto”. Explica que cada vila e cidade tem duas torres, uma, a do tambor e, outra, a do sino, que usam para saberem as horas. Considera, contudo, o sino de vigia da cidade e corte de Pequim, como o “maior que todos os do mundo”.⁸⁶

No capítulo oito – “Da Navegação” – comenta que “raro é o lugar murado ou aberto, principalmente nas províncias do sul, que não tenha rio ou estreito navegável”, pelo que há tanta gente a morar na água, como a que habita em terra. Mostra-se admirado com os tipos de barcos assim como jangadas e sua utilização.⁸⁷

Em “Da Grande Abundância deste Império” mostra como da navegação nasce o comércio e deste “muita parte da abundância deste Império”, admirando-se com a fartura de ouro, o qual têm tanto que “não batem dele moeda, como as mais nações”, pelo que há “a sede e apetite de prata”. Constata o hábito antigo de “presentes e peitas em todo o império”, em especial, na Corte, em que se gastam “muitos milhões de prata”. Dos outros minerais diz haver “grande cópia”, principalmente de cobre e latão, de que fazem peças de artilharia, sinos, vasos, ídolos e estátuas.⁸⁸ Destaca o papel de Macau no fabrico de peças de artilharia, em que se tornou famosa.⁸⁹ Das moedas, refere a importância das de cobre e latão, que são “furadas e enfiadas pelo meio em cordéis”.⁹⁰ Como não usam moeda de ouro e prata, estes minerais são fundidos numa forma com o feitio de um batel, que os portugueses chamavam “pães de ouro e pães de prata”. O costume de queimar moedas e “pães” feitos de papel, quando vão enterrar os mortos ou ao cemitério, ou nos dias dos defuntos, é descrito com muitos pormenores. Destaca a importância da cera – “a melhor do mundo” – e da seda – “esta não só é a melhor, mas é única” –, referindo os vários países que a importam, quer da Europa quer da Ásia. Como não há panos de lã, usam sarjas de várias cores, bem como peles de animais para se protegerem do frio. Espanta-se com a abundância de mantimentos, carnes, pescados e fruta, de que “é tanta a abundância que excede a todo número”, bem como o seu “preço vil e baixo mostra sua abundância e fertilidade”. Termina com a descrição da abundância e variedade de caça e peixe.⁹¹

No décimo capítulo – “Da Nobreza deste Império” –, descreve o hábito dos imperadores, que se apoderavam do poder, de mandarem matar a família do anterior imperador. Curiosamente, só uma família se mantinha por mais de 2000 anos, a de Confúcio. Aproveita para fazer uma série de comentários à religião, criticando o costume de venerarem Confúcio “mais que a seus ídolos”.⁹²

No penúltimo capítulo – “Do admirável Governo desta Nação” – elogia o “grande e prudencial

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governo” deste Império, começando por tratar “do que os seus doutores e letrados dizem do rei e do seu governo”. Explica que o Império seguia três leis: uma, a dos letrados, que se dedicavam ao “bom governo” do império, realçando a importância de Confúcio e do seu papel para a instrução do Imperador (nove regras fundamentais). A seguir, refere o papel dos mandarins, dizendo que se repartiam por nove ordens, sendo a nona a mais nobre, especificando cada um dos tribunais dos mandarins, em número de seis. Debruça-se depois sobre os tribunais das armas, que são em número de cinco, também com diferentes funções. Passa, depois, à explicação do que são os exames imperiais, que se realizavam de três em três anos e durante três dias, e, passado um mês, davam o grau de doutor a 366 “que melhor fizeram seus actos”. Destes, o imperador escolhia os de “menos idade, de maiores partes e habilidades, e os põe em um colégio ou tribunal, a que chamam *Han-lin-yuen*, que propriamente quer dizer “jardim de letras e ciências”, que são “muitos em número e os melhores engenhos e habilidades do império”, dividindo-se em cinco classes, que constituem cinco tribunais”. Faz uma análise dos tribunais existentes no império chinês e funções que

desempenham, assim como as várias categorias de mandarins em cada um deles. Depois de uma longa secção sobre os “Tribunais de Corte”, como os designa, passa ao estudo dos tribunais provinciais, que “tem um supremo a toda a província”, com um presidente chamado “*tsung-tu*, que vem a dizer, vice-rei daquela província”, o qual é “superior de toda a província na paz e na guerra, no povo e na milícia e no crime”, mas “dele passam as apelações à corte, respectivamente a cada tribunal, a que o negócio pertence”. Refere que às vezes há um vice-rei de três ou quatro províncias, chamado “*liang-kuang-tsung-tu*, vice-rei dos dois Kuangs” e chamado “*liang-chiang-tsung-tu*, vice-rei dos dois Chiangs”; em cada província há um general de guerra (*tsung-ping*), que “é da primeira hierarquia”; e há, também, um visitador (*fan-t'ai*); tendo “estes três superiores [...] seus tribunais, que dão expediente aos negócios”. Explica, depois, que “todas as metrópoles têm dois tribunais, aos quais primeiramente se reduz todo o governo das províncias; um, é o tribunal cível, e outro o do crime”, assim como “cada comarca tem seu visitador”, cuja obrigação “é admoestar aos prefeitos das cidades e vilas o bom governo, a paz e a união, a justiça, e a limpeza e extirpação de ladrões, roubos e

Fernando Brambilla (1763-1834), Vista de Macau, in Carmen Sotos Serrano, *Pintores de la expedición de Alejandro Malaspina*. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, 1982.



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furtos”; tem, ainda, outro “visitador do mar e dos rios daquela província”. Refere ainda que “todas as cidades de primeira ordem, sejam metrópoles ou não, têm um tribunal, cujo ofício é discernir todos os negócios políticos e civis da cidade e sua comarca”, os quais têm “a mesma potência que o tribunal do prefeito da corte de Pequim”. Seguem-se as cidades, escrevendo que “as cidades de segunda ordem se chamam *chous*, e se dividem em duas classes; a primeira, é subordinada à cidade da primeira ordem, que tem vilas anexas; a segunda classe é subordinada à cidade da primeira ordem, que não tem vilas”. Depois, as vilas, dizendo que “cada vila tem um tribunal, cujo prefeito tem dois assessores, com os quais determina todas as causas daquela vila, de quem vai a apelação para o tribunal da cidade a que é sujeita”; continua dizendo que “tem mais outro tribunal dentro da vila, que consta de um prefeito e quatro adjuntos”, cuja obrigação é “procurar a observância das leis e velar sobre os letrados e advogados, que não excedam os termos da justiça e da razão, nem oprimam os clientes com dilações e vagares”; refere ainda a existência de “outro tribunal, a quem pertence o cuidado do sal, que se distribua rectamente por toda a comarca, e se leve para as partes do sertão”; estes são os “tribunais da política e cível”, mas há, também, em cada cidade, “tribunais de armas, distribuídos com muita ordem e disposição”. Conclui que é “este império, no exterior e nas disposições, o mais bem governado do mundo, porém, no interior é muito desgovernado, porque como lhe falta lume da fé, e é muito vencido da ambição, faltam os ministros na observância de suas disposições, e obedecem ao interesse”.⁹³

O último capítulo – “Do Grande Império da China” – começa com as opiniões que os chineses tinham do seu imperador, que o primeiro rei da China se chamou “rei do céu”, que o segundo se chamou rei da terra” e o terceiro, “rei dos homens”. Espanta-se com a opinião dos chineses que dizem que o seu primeiro rei começou a reinar “200 anos depois do dilúvio universal”, assim como com “os nomes tão grandiosos” com que o rei da China se intitula, “que mais servem à loucura que à vaidade”, tais como, “filho do céu”, “santo do céu”, “espírito”, “grande imperador”, “rei de milhares de anos”, etc. Critica o costume dos imperadores levantarem templos em honra de “algum vassalo avantajado em virtudes ou letras, na paz ou na guerra”, para premiarem os seus serviços, adorando-

-os como se fossem deuses. Passa, depois, a analisar as “opulências e riquezas deste império”, do que “todos os anos entra no tesouro, despensa e celeiro do rei, assim em dinheiro, como as mais cousas e suas espécies”, destacando a prata, que diz ser na “importância de vinte e sete milhões e novecentos mil cruzados de fina prata”. Continua enumerando as riquezas que entram no Império e nos cofres do imperador, como cereais (arroz e trigo), vermelhão, frutas secas, peças de seda, panos de linho, algodão, etc. Descreve a cidade de Pequim, a cidade imperial, dizendo que “está corte de Pequim posta em plano, em quadro”, tendo, cada lado, “doze estádios chinas”, que são “três milhas italianas, e uma légua portuguesa”, com nove portas em cada muro, mas esta é a cidade antiga, pois com o aumento de população foi-se estendendo “para fora dos muros”. Quanto ao paço real, situava-se no meio “desta vistosa e populosa cidade” e, como esta, “também olha para Sul”, sendo cercado “por muros”, cujos exteriores são de “paredes altas e grossas, cobertos por dentro e fora de cal vermelha, e telhados em seus cumes e beiras, com muita arte e graça, de telhas vidradas de amarelo”; tem “quatro portais em cruz respondentes e cada um destes consta de três portas”; estão “ao romper da luz, até se tocar o sino da vigia, abertas de par em par, tirando as que estão do lado do sul, as quais, quando vai e passa el-rei, estão mais abertas”; cercam os “muros interiores muitas torres”, com soldados de guarda; diz que “o muro interior que imediatamente cerca o paço d’el-rei é feito de tijolos grandes e iguais”, sendo “alto, largo e bem disposto de ideias”, com oito portas e, sobre estas portas, aos cantos dos muros, “se levantam oito torres de estremada architectura e proporcionad garndeza, por dentro envernizadas de vermelho, e brincadas de flor de oiro, por fora cobertas de telhas vidradas de amarelo”. Continua com a descrição do paço do rei, de vinte andares, “começando do sul por linha direita para o norte”, cada um com seu nome e função, – que identifica pelo nome chinês (em caracteres e romanizado), traduzindo-os também para português – com os seus portais e pátios. O trono real está no sexto andar, onde o rei recebe “as adorações e cortesias que lhe fazem os grandes do reino, que numerados passam de cinco mil os que lhe vem fazer esta cerimónia”, descrevendo o autor, então, a cerimónia de “bater cabeça” ao imperador, isto é, prestar vassalagem. Continua a descrição o palácio real e da suas salas e funções, detendo-se nas salas em que

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“o imperador assiste com suas três rainhas”, os quartos de cada uma delas e seus filhos, assim como os dez mil eunucos que servem a casa real. Como os Chineses queriam “assemelhar o paço real ao céu”, este tinha “onze céus, com onze pátios e onze casas”, antes de chegarem “ao paço em que assiste o rei”, continuando a explicar o intrincado de “pátios, terreiros ou rocios” de que se compõe o palácio real, assim como os templos que lá existem. Nota que “todos os paços e salas, portas e portais, e mais casas de que até agora falamos, estão cobertas de telhas grandes e grossas, pregadas com pregos para resistirem à fúria do tufão, [...] todas vidradas de amarelo, verde e azul”; e os cumes, “que correm do leste a oeste, levantam dois telhados com figura e engraçada arquitectura, uma lança mais de altura, cujas extremidades rematam carrancas e cabeças de dragões, tigres, leões e outros animais, que se levantam sobre os mesmos cumes do telhado; das pontas, bocas e orelhas destes pendem engraçadas laçadas de flores, cornúpias e outros brincos; e como tudo quanto se vê dentro do paço seja vidrado de verde, azul e amarelo, quando o sol nasce, com seus raios fere e alumia, e aos que de longe vem parecem as salas, os portais e as torres fabricadas de fino e resplandecente ouro, e esmaltado de verde e azul; vista na verdade tão aprazível, quanto real e majestosa”. Critica o costume dos imperadores oferecerem sacrifícios, no solstício de Inverno, nos seus “sete templos magníficos e sumptuosos”, dos quais cinco são “dentro da cidade nova” e dois “dentro da cidade antiga”. Termina com a descrição do “aparato e acompanhamento” do imperador, quando sai “à caça ou para espairecer” ou quando sai “como imperador a fazer algum sacrifício, ou outra acção pública pertencente ao bem do império”.⁹⁴

O autor retoma a história dos Franciscanos e do convento de Macau, com um capítulo chamado: “Artigo IX. Que deste Convento de Macau haviam ido Treze Religiosos nossos Pregar o Sagrado Evangelho no reino de Cochinchina”. Faz uma descrição da chegada dos portugueses à região e das suas características geográficas e diz que o seu rei queria estabelecer relações comerciais com os portugueses de Malaca e Macau, pelo que mandou pedir missionários franciscanos a Macau. Partiram para esse reino Fr. Bartolomeu Rodrigues e dois companheiros, que obtiveram licença do rei para “fazer igreja e casa”, o que aconteceu. Passados dois anos regressou a Macau, por não conseguir obter quaisquer frutos. Passados alguns anos, foram

enviados, de Malaca, Fr. André dos Anjos e Fr. Jácome da Conceição, que obtiveram os mesmos resultados, o mesmo acontecendo uma terceira vez, em que foram enviados padres de Macau e de Malaca. Mas um quarta vez ainda, chegaram Franciscanos a este reino, quando o barco, que ia de Macau para Manila e transportava as freiras capuchas (Clarissas) e Fr. António de Santa Maria da Província de S. Gregório (Filipinas) – que as acompanhava –, foi parar às costas da Cochinchina por causa de uma tempestade.⁹⁵

Segue-se o penúltimo capítulo com o título: “Artigo X. Como deste nosso Convento de Macau entraram seus Moradores a Pregar a Fé Evangélica no Reino da China”. Depois de considerações gerais de carácter religioso, explica que no Capítulo Geral de Roma, em 1593, Fr. Boaventura de Calatagirona decretou que todos os conventos franciscanos da Índia Oriental, sob a obediência da Madre de Deus de Goa (Índia), se erigissem em custódia, a cargo e jurisdição da província da Arrábida de Portugal, como já acontecia com a de Malaca e China. O que foi recusado, ficando o custódio de S. Tomé com a jurisdição dos conventos Capuchos da Índia, tendo a seu cargo a eleição do custódio de Malaca. Executou este decreto Fr. Jerónimo do Espírito Santo, pertencente à província da Arrábida, comissário geral da Índia e custódio de S. Tomé, que nomeou Fr. Francisco da Arruda para custódio de Malaca e China, que partiu com Fr. Francisco do Horto para Macau, em 1568.⁹⁶

O último capítulo intitula-se: “Artigo XI. Como Frei João Baptista de Pezaro fez Convento em Malaca”. Conta a expulsão de Fr. João Baptista de Macau para Malaca, em 1581, e como aqui foi bem recebido. Com a chegada do capitão-mor Aires Gonçalves de Miranda, que ia fazer a viagem do Japão e era muito amigo dos Franciscanos, resolveu regressar a Macau, mas acabou por não o fazer. Segundo o autor, por causa de ser “importunado por moradores de Malaca” e, assim, começou a “fábrica do Convento” sob a invocação da Madre de Deus, numa ermida fora da cidade, numa colina. Mais tarde, partiu para Goa com companheiros de Manila, e depois para Roma, nas naus portuguesas.⁹⁷ O Papa Sisto V foi-lhe muito propício, fundando em Itália alguns conventos franciscanos, que serviriam para proverem as Missões da China de missionários, mas que terminou com o Papa Urbano VIII que os incorporou noutras “províncias de mais estreita obediência”.⁹⁸ **RC**

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NOTAS

- 1 A Ordem dos Franciscanos ou Ordem Franciscana foi fundada por S. Francisco de Assis (1182-1226). A sua Regra também esteve na origem da Segunda Ordem Franciscana ou Ordem das Pobres Damas – a Ordem das Clarissas – fundada por Santa Clara, assim como da Ordem Terceira ou Ordem dos Irmãos da Penitência (Ordem Franciscana Secular).
- 2 Sobre este assunto veja-se: Anastasius Van Den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, vol. I.
- 3 *Ibidem*.
- 4 Eusébio Arnaiz, Macau, *Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, p. 67.
- 5 *Ibidem*, p. 67.
- 6 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, Separata de *Archivo Ibérico-Americano*, T. XXXVIII, n.º 149-152, 1978, p. 299.
- 7 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III: *As Ordens e Congregações Religiosas em Macau*, pp. 409-411.
- 8 *Ibidem*, p. 413.
- 9 *Ibidem*, p. 414.
- 10 *Ibidem*, p. 418.
- 11 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 312. Cf. Eusébio Arnaiz, Macau, *Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, p. 68.
- 12 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, pp. 312-313.
- 13 *Ibidem*, p. 313. Monsenhor Manuel Teixeira diz que essa Cruz do Calvário foi dali removida quando se iniciou a construção do Hospital de S. Januário, em 1872, sendo colocada por detrás da capela no cemitério de S. Miguel. Cf. *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. XI: *As Confrarias de Macau*, pp. 232-233.
- 14 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, Vol. III, pp. 419-420. Cf. Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, pp. 317-320.
- 15 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, pp. 322-323.
- 16 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, pp. 425-426.
- 17 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 328.
- 18 *Ibidem*, p. 329.
- 19 *Ibidem*, pp. 329-330.
- 20 *Ibidem*, p. 331. Cf. Eusébio Arnaiz, Macau, *Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, p. 69.
- 21 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 431.
- 22 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 339.
- 23 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 432.
- 24 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 340.
- 25 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 441.
- 26 *Ibidem*, p. 441.
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 442.
- 28 *Ibidem*, pp. 443-445.
- 29 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 446.
- 30 *Ibidem*, 454.
- 31 *Ibidem*, p. 457.
- 32 *Ibidem*. Cf. Eusébio Arnaiz, Macau, *Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, p. 70.
- 33 *Ibidem*.
- 34 *Ibidem*, p. 456.
- 35 *Ibidem*, p. 449.
- 36 *Ibidem*. Veja-se também João de Deus Ramos, *História das Relações Diplomáticas entre Portugal e China*.
- 37 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 454.
- 38 *Ibidem*, p. 450.
- 39 Eusébio Arnaiz, Macau, *Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente*, p. 75.
- 40 Questão dos Ritos – dissensões entre o Clero, por causa dos chamados “ritos chineses” (culto dos antepassados, a Confúcio e nome dado a Deus em chinês), agravando-se, em 1709, com o governador e bispo contra o Senado e Jesuítas.
- 41 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 353.
- 42 *Ibidem*.
- 43 *Ibidem*, p. 366.
- 44 *Ibidem*, p. 367.
- 45 *Ibidem*.
- 46 *Ibidem*, p. 368.
- 47 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a Sua Diocese*, Vol. III, p. 465. Cf. António Feliciano Marques Pereira, *Ephemerides Comemorativas da História de Macau e das Relações da China com os Povos Christãos*.
- 48 Manuel Teixeira, *A Medicina em Macau*, Vol. I, pp. 5-10. Cf. José Caetano Soares, *Macau e a Assistência: Panorama Médico-Social*, p. 168.
- 49 Manuel Teixeira, “Os Franciscanos em Macau”, p. 351.
- 50 Leonor Diaz de Seabra, *A Embaixada ao Sião de Pero Vaz de Siqueira (1684-1686)*, p. 24.
- 51 *Ibidem*, pp. 25-30.
- 52 Benjamim Videira Pires, *A Vida Marítima de Macau no Século XVIII*, pp. 14-29.
- 53 Anders Ljungstedt, *Um Esboço Histórico dos Estabelecimentos dos Portugueses e da Igreja Católica Romana e das Missões na China e Descrição da Cidade de Cantão*, p. 150.
- 54 Leonor Diaz de Seabra, *Relações entre Macau e o Sião (Séculos XVIII-XIX)*, pp. 7-8.
- 55 Charles R. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo e os Portugueses em Macassar e Timor na Época da Restauração (1640-1668)*, p. 16.
- 56 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no Século XVII*, pp. 47-48.
- 57 *Ibidem*, p. 90.
- 58 Wu Zhiliang, *Segredos de Sobrevivência: História Política de Macau*, pp. 101-102.
- 59 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no Século XVII*, p. 106.
- 60 Fernando Correia de Oliveira, *500 Anos de Contactos Luso-Chineses*, pp. 67-75. Cf. Pe. Francisco Pimentel, *Breve Relação da Jornada que fez à Corte de Pekim o Senhor Manoel de Saldanha, Embaixador Extraordinário Del Rey de Portugal ao Imperador da China e Tartaria (1667-1670)*, compil. e anot. por Charles R. Boxer e J. M. Braga.
- 61 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no Século XVII*, p. 117. Cf. José de Jesus Maria, *Ásia Sínica e Japónica* Vol. II, p. 101-103.
- 62 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no Século XVII*, p. 121. Cf. Charles R. Boxer, *Dutch Merchants and Mariners in Asia (1602-1795)*, pp. 30-46.
- 63 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *O Império Asiático Português 1500-1700: Uma História Política e Económica*, p. 298.
- 64 Beatriz Basto da Silva, *Cronologia da História de Macau*, Vol. I: *Séculos XVI-XVII*, p. 131.
- 65 *Ibidem*, p. 140.
- 66 Anders Ljungstedt, *Um Esboço Histórico dos Estabelecimentos dos Portugueses e da Igreja Católica Romana ...*, pp. 112-117.
- 67 Manuel Teixeira, *Macau no Século XVII*, p. 47; Charles R. Boxer, *Portuguese Conquest and Commerce in Southeast Asia, 1500-1750*, pp. 164-166.
- 68 Innocencio Francisco da Silva, *Dicionário Bibliográfico Português*, Tomo III, pp. 238-239. Veja-se também Manuel Teixeira, *Macau e a sua Diocese*, Vol. III, pp. 447-448.
- 69 Fr. Jacinto de Deus, *Descrição do Império da China...*, pp. I-III.
- 70 *Ibidem*, pp. 3-4.
- 71 *Ibidem*, pp. 4-9.
- 72 *Ibidem*, pp. 12-14.
- 73 *Ibidem*, pp. 15-16.
- 74 *Ibidem*, pp. 18-19.
- 75 *Ibidem*, pp. 19-29.
- 76 *Ibidem*, p. 31.
- 77 *Ibidem*, pp. 30-33.
- 78 *Ibidem*, pp. 37-52.

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- 79 *Ibidem*, pp. 53-59.
 96 *Ibidem*, pp. 89-91.
 80 *Ibidem*, pp. 89-91.
 81 *Ibidem*, pp. 92-93.
 82 *Ibidem*, pp. 93-102.
 83 *Ibidem*, pp. 103-114.
 84 *Ibidem*, p. 115-124.
 85 *Ibidem*, pp. 124-128.
 86 *Ibidem*, pp. 129-131.
 87 *Ibidem*, pp. 133-136.
 88 *Ibidem*, pp. 133-136.
- 89 *Ibidem*. Sobre este assunto, veja-se: Manuel Teixeira, *Os Bocarras*, Macau, Lisboa, Comissão Executiva das Comemorações do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1961.
 90 *Ibidem*.
 91 Fr. Jacinto de Deus, *Descrição do Império da China...*, pp. 139-146.
 92 *Ibidem*, pp. 147-149.
 93 *Ibidem*, pp. 150-190.
 94 *Ibidem*, pp. 190-229.
 95 *Ibidem*, pp. 229-234.
 96 *Ibidem*, pp. 236-237.
 97 *Ibidem*, p. 240.
 98 *Ibidem*.

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IAPONIAE INSULAE DESCRIPTIO.

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François Caron and His *Description of Japan*

DETLEF HABERLAND*



INTRODUCTION

Japan and Europe—how many associations there are bound to these two names! They represent completely different forms of cultural experience and contrary ideas, each of the other. For centuries, and perhaps more than any other Asian country, Japan has been a synonym for a puzzling mixture of imperviousness, inaccessibility and supreme cultural achievement. Europeans have always looked with admiration towards Japan because its culture seems to be so isolated, confined just to these small, distant islands.¹

The explanation is found without doubt in the longstanding isolation of Japan, which made a closer Western knowledge of the country and its culture impossible. While Japan was observed by the Europeans at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century as an Asiatic country like many others, this view was beginning to change after entrance to Japan became exclusively possible from the factory of Dejima between 1639 and 1854.² Japanese authorities stopped the transfer of information and materials by forbidding the export of books and other cultural objects; the content of each ship was

registered meticulously, and offences against these rules were severely punished. In the beginning, Japan was, as a result of its geographical remoteness and its closeness to medieval visions of paradise (because it was geographically resembled it), a place from which positive and ideal images emanated. The growing experience of European travellers, missionaries and merchants made reports more and more critical concerning the dark sides of Japanese politics and culture.³ The positive image gradually disappeared, and the European cultural memory did not receive any new 'supply' for its xenological stock of images of a strange but friendly exotic country. For this reason, any piece of information from a European who entered this land personally and could report out of his own experience at least in part authentically was always an event which attracted public attention.⁴

That is why the *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Iapan* (Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan) as the original Dutch version of the description of Japan by François Caron was titled (the first edition appeared in Amsterdam in 1645), belongs to the important testimonies of the reception of Japan in 17th century Europe. This book is an autonomous, briefly formulated result of Caron's observations during many years of contacts with East-Asiatic trade partners as well as various representatives of foreign administrations. He drew on his own experiences during travels through Japan and gave the reader the impression of it being a serious report containing reliable facts.

Already in Caron's lifetime his description of Japan was some sort of European bestseller. Even today

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Detail of a chart of Japan by Luis Teixeira, c. 1591, in Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, Antwerp, 1595.

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his text is a most interesting source about Japan in the era of the Tokugawa emperors, and it is, despite its formal and stylistic unpretentiousness, more than many other reports able to give insights into political and cultural processes within Japan. Caron's *Beschrijvinghe* has its place in history, coming between the fabulous impressions of Japan of Marco Polo and the extensive project of Philipp Franz von Siebold, who wrote a scientific study of the country in the 19th century.⁵ In this sense Caron's book marks an important step in the reception of 'the complete otherness'. Moreover, it is—this may be remarked here—the most important description of Japan before Engelbert Kaempfer's book, which starts a new epoch of scientific approach to other cultures.⁶

ASIA AND EUROPE IN THE 17TH CENTURY

While writing his description of Japan in 1636, Caron observes certain aspects of the culture of the Japanese empire of his days from the angle of an era in European history which has nearly disappeared from today's common intellectual horizon. Caron's Europe is the Europe of the Thirty-Years-War (1618-1648) which had its roots in Luther's attempt to reform the Church (1517) and the ensuing social and political wars. It is not possible to speak of public law at that time as a way of 'modern' thinking, and it is just as difficult to interpret the relations of the different strata of the populations as 'modern' sociological groups. Traditional class order and social hierarchies dominate the forms of social and learned life during the whole 17th century.⁷ The confessional confrontations still paralyze in considerable scale the free exchange of ideas. Of course, everywhere in Europe curious scientists work (against the theological doctrines) to decipher the secrets of nature and strange cultures, but still one cannot qualify most of these attempts as 'scientific' in today's sense, which means a systematically prepared and purposive analysis of natural and cultural contents of the world. The structure of knowledge was more or less ruled by the principle of the 'wonder-chamber': exotic curiosities, monstrosities and valuable artefacts forming, within the frames of superstition and half-knowledge, a quasi-scientific horizon.⁸

It took until the end of the 17th century before medieval thinking and its pre-scientific structures were defeated.⁹ Leibniz and Wolff were the two outstanding

philosophers at the turn of the 18th century who principally change the methods of finding scientific and philosophical ideas. At that time physical, medical and botanical methods were decisively developed—one has only to think of the discovery by Harvey of the circulation of blood, which was seen as a revolution in medicine. The founding of academies—the Accademia della Crusca in Italy (1584), the Académie Française and the Académie des Sciences in France (1635 and 1666), the Academia Naturae Curiosorum in the Holy Roman Empire (1652, later on named Sacri Romani Imperii Academia Caesaro-Leopoldina Naturae Curiosorum) and the Royal Society in England (1660)—promoted in a hitherto unknown measure the character and scale of the learned exchange. Scientists not only met regularly, but some of them maintained extensive correspondence and worked together on experiments, and from the second half of the 17th century learned periodicals started to appear with which the further and extended exchange of knowledge would be rapidly internationalised.¹⁰

Together with the development of humanistic thinking, Europe started to advance into the immense geographical space of the western and south-eastern hemispheres, which were known only by vague speculation and legendary traditions. Sailing around Africa (1488)¹¹ and into the Pacific Ocean between the South American continent and Tierra del Fuego (1520), Bartolomeu Dias and Fernão de Magalhães reached the African-Indian-Asiatic space between Madagascar and New Zealand, between Kamchatka and Alaska in the north, and Australia in the south. With ships of relatively small tonnage, using sailing techniques that had remained unchanged for centuries, with insufficient charts and atlases but with enormous energy and toughness, the European 'super powers', Portugal, Spain, France, England and the Netherlands conquered one base after another during the 16th and 17th centuries, extending their domain of influence and interest. Political, economic and strategic considerations had given the impulse for this outstanding historical process, which had incalculable consequences for world politics in the following centuries.

As well as in other parts of the world, the clash of cultures in the Indo-Pacific region caused intercultural conflicts similar to those occurring in Central and South America at the same time. Throughout Asia the Europeans found bases for immense economic empires

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through the undiminished force of expansion, by ruthless exploitation and by virtually limitless politics of power and trade.¹²

The pioneers who cleared the way for the successors had not been adventurers; they had been skilled and learned seamen and merchants who, because of the enormous risks of their enterprises, were funded by mighty lobbies. The most powerful, most successful and most long-lasting ‘concern’ was the Dutch *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC).¹³ This society had one single aim: to make profit, to maximize profit and to protect this profit against competitors. None of the other European trade-societies in Asia attained such power as the VOC. Some of them simply failed, others wasted away after a shorter or longer time or came to a disastrous end.¹⁴ During a long political process and after complicated negotiations, the Dutch trade societies which had been founded by the Dutch ‘General States’ at the end of the 16th century merged into just one. On 20 March 1602 the *Generale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (General Dutch privileged East-Indian Company, shortly named VOC) was born.¹⁵

Their struggles were not only against natives or European competitors but also against nature itself: the huge distances, the tropical climates and unhealthy nutrition claimed thousands and thousands of victims. The death rate on ships bound to Batavia totalled up to 30 percent.¹⁶ On the other hand, the overloaded ships which reached Europe brought the most precious merchandise and adventurous stories of the sailors to the seafaring nations.¹⁷

JAPAN AT THE TIME OF CARON

Nippon, which was reached by the Europeans after a long journey, was in many respects different from the other Asian countries that were known to them. The internal social and economic structure as well as Japanese behaviour towards the Europeans demanded a special sensibility from the Portuguese, Spaniards, English and Netherlanders.¹⁸

The shogunate of the Tokugawa clan was founded on the successes of Shogun Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582), who had nearly brought about the unification of the dissipated realm when he was forced by one of his generals to commit suicide. After Nobunaga’s death, his highest-ranking military

leader, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-1598), took the guardianship for his minor heirs and thus paved his way to political power. However, some years later he had to fight the grown-up sons of Nobunaga.¹⁹ Hideyoshi was a clever diplomat: he not only joined forces with the hostile military leader Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543-1616) but even adopted his eldest son. Although Hideyoshi and Ieyasu apparently acted as peers, Ieyasu was the weaker, who was to serve the mightier Hideyoshi. When the latter died, Japan had known a period of eight consecutive years of peace—a sharp contrast to the decades before.²⁰

After the death of Hideyoshi, the families of Toyotomi and Tokugawa fought over the succession of the shogunate, a struggle that ended with the victory of Tokugawa Ieyasu. In 1603 he was declared shogun by the Tenno. One of his far-reaching decisions was to give up Osaka as capital and start to make Edo (today’s Tokyo), which up to his time had not had any importance, the new capital and central base of the shogunate.²¹ During his reign he continued to reorganize the inner structure of the realm. Due to his aim to keep the shogunate within his family, Ieyasu abdicated in favour of his son Hidetada (1574-1632, reign 1605-1623).

One year before his death Ieyasu besieged the castle of Osaka, brought about the extinction of the Toyotomi family and gained sole political power over Japan. The power of the Tokugawa shoguns was complete and absolute. After the end of the 16th century, a flourishing agriculture was developed, the urban expansion and the economic growth of the cities providing the basis for the development of arts and crafts as well as trade.²²

The Europeans, who had already come to Japan before 1600, were initially welcomed as trade partners, but Japanese foreign contacts over the years became a fundamental political problem that ended in the complete seclusion of the realm, *sakoku* (closed land). Initially relations between Europeans and Japanese had been more or less friendly, and Christian missionary activity was allowed and carried out by Jesuit priests. However, in 1587 Hideyoshi published anti-Christian laws that limited the freedom of the Jesuits considerably. The rivalry between various Christian orders, the policy of the Tokugawa of keeping power, and the balance of the different parts of the realm caused permanent insecurity for the Europeans. Nevertheless, Japanese trade

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with European countries increased continuously during the first thirty years of the 17th century.

In 1612 and 1614 Ieyasu demanded the expulsion of the *bateren*, as the Catholic fathers (Portuguese *padres*) were named in Japanese. This made the internal situation more and more explosive.²³ It led to regular persecution of the Jesuits as well as to the execution of huge numbers of Christians of all nations. By 1660 there was practically not a single Christian alive in Japan; about 30,000 had given their lives for their belief.

After Hidetada, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651, reign 1623-1651) took over the shogunate. He reorganized the administration again in a nearly military form, increased mine exploitation, and tried to gain more control over the cities. To this aim he introduced new social regulations concerning clothing, hairstyle, the bearing of weapons and much more. At the same time Japan suffered an economic depression that found its expression in famine and shortages of food (mostly in 1641-1642). The Shimabara Rebellion in the years 1637-1638, combined with the unsolved problem of Christianity in the land, is one of the sad highlights of this era. The intention to get more control over the internal conditions brought Iemitsu to the edicts of 1633, which imposed the death penalty for Japanese travelling abroad. The effect of more severe measures was that the foreigners who lived in Japan were nearly completely under control. The forced relocation of the Dutch factory from Hirado to the artificial island of Dejima was only one of many such measures of such kind.²⁴

The Japanese development was in some way paradoxical: while on the one hand the living conditions and the internal security of Japan improved by foreign influence, on the other hand this qualitative improvement was in danger, especially due to the problems caused by the European intention to Christianise Japan. Many of the political and regulatory measures of Hidetada and Iemitsu have to be seen under



Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-1651).

this double aspect. Within this environment of political, religious and economic struggles, the main part of Caron's official career took place.

THE LIFE OF CARON: FROM KITCHEN BOY TO *OPPERHOOFD* (1600-1639)

François Caron was born in 1600.²⁵ Nothing is known of his childhood as a son of Huguenot parents who escaped out of France

to Brussels and to the Netherlands. The first exact date which we have is the year 1619, when he reaches the VOC factory of Hirado in northwest Kyushu. From February 1626 he held the rank of 'assistant', the lowest post of a VOC employee; this promotion may have been due to his knowledge of Japanese because already in 1627 he accompanied the Dutch governor, Peter Nuyts of Formosa (Taiwan), as a translator to the court of the shogun at Edo (Tokyo).

Nuyts took Caron with him when he left Japan in December 1627, full of anger about the humiliating treatment he had received from the Japanese. Returning to Formosa, he held back two Japanese ships, but the Japanese managed to capture Nuyts with a group of Dutch, who, with the exception of Nuyts were imprisoned in Japan. Caron was again busy as translator between the Japanese official delegation and the Dutch in the factory of Hirado. On the 1st of May 1630 the Dutch were released and travelled to Batavia (Jakarta). Caron did not succeed in preventing the imprisonment of Nuyts, who had to be turned over to the Japanese. When Caron returned to Batavia in 1632, he was promoted to *koopman* under most advantageous conditions. Again he sailed to Japan, where he became the second man in the factory after the *opperhoofd* (chief) of the establishment, Peter van Santen.

In these rather difficult times it was Caron again who achieved a great diplomatic success when he secured the release of Peter Nuyts in 1636 by negotiations after there had been various unfruitful attempts by other Dutch delegations in the preceding

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years. During the journey to Nagasaki in that year he visited the artificial island of Dejima, which was under construction at the time. In July of the same year he learned of the nomination of Philip Lucasz as general-director of the VOC in Batavia. Lucasz sent a questionnaire to Caron about Japan that later became the basis of his famous book.

In October 1636 Caron travelled again to Japan, this time to support the Dutch representative in negotiating better trade conditions than the ones granted to the Portuguese. The Dutch had not yet been able to break the supremacy of the Catholic Portuguese, who had been active in Japan since 1570, trading silk from China to Japan and exporting silver and copper from there to the Chinese market. Even Caron's proposal to sell silk 20 percent cheaper than the Portuguese was not accepted by the Japanese, who

showed themselves very well informed about the costs and profits of the Dutch. They also discussed military actions against the Portuguese settlement in Macao, and against Manila and Formosa, but these actions were not carried out because the Shimabara Rebellion of 1637 changed the whole situation at one blow.

Although the persecution of Christians in the years 1614, 1619 and 1627 had been severe on the peninsula of Shimabara on western Kyushu,²⁶ they were exceeded by the campaigns in the 1630s. The Japanese Christians had been in opposition against the local Daimyo and combined their protests against the prince with the religious hope of redemption of the worldly conditions. After local battles at the end of 1637, the rebellion assumed such proportions that national defence seemed the only solution. The Dutch played, unwillingly, a certain role in this quarrel,

The Dutch Factory of Dejima Island.



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because the *opperhoofd*, Nicolaes Couckebacker, was taken into custody for improper behaviour. He was released but had to confirm to Japanese officials that he would support the administration if necessary. Now the time had come, and the Dutch supported the Japanese troops with five cannons, ten barrels of gunpowder and ships. The 11th of April 1638 saw the last battle: all the Japanese Christians were killed. Although no European priests were found among the dead, from then on Japanese officials were very suspicious concerning new infiltrations. Couckebacker was not received personally by the Shogun during his last journey to Edo. He recommended Caron as his successor as *opperhoofd*, which suggestion was accepted by the central directorate of the VOC. In February 1639 Caron was installed as *opperhoofd* of Dejima.

OPPERHOOFD DURING A DIFFICULT PERIOD (1639-1641)

From now on the Dutch held an advantageous position in Japan, and their position marked as well the decline and end of the Portuguese influence in and trade with Japan. The decision of the Japanese was not only founded on gifts but on the capacities of the Dutch as merchants and on the conclusions which the Japanese drew from the Shimabara rebellion. When the next Portuguese ship reached Japan in July 1639 they were informed that their *sejour* was no longer welcome, and they were forbidden under pain of death to enter Japan again. However, only one year later Caron was informed that a Portuguese ship had landed in Nagasaki. All the Portuguese were sentenced to death. At the same time the Dutch imports to Japan increased to the nearly incredible amount of six and a half million florins.

The atmosphere was not friendly. From now on the Japanese officials had a deep distrust of all foreigners, meaning Christians. At the end of 1640 the anti-Christian movement arose: Caron was summoned to the chief inquisitor, who informed him that the Japanese knew that the Dutch were also Christians. For this reason he ordered the Dutch to demolish the factory in Hirado. They were forbidden to celebrate Sundays, and the *opperhoofd* of the factory had to leave Japan after one year. It is a sign of the presence of mind of Caron and his deep understanding of the mentality of the Japanese that he listened to the sentence stone-faced, accepted it and did not hesitate to carry out the

Japanese demand. He knew very well that he himself and the Dutch would have suffered the same fate as the Portuguese (of which he had been informed secretly).

Caron started immediately with the demolition of the factory. Although the Japanese officials had a more positive attitude toward him, he felt that he had to leave the country to avoid the risk of endangering Dutch trade as a whole. He had decided independently and correctly from his own knowledge of the Japanese mentality, as was described by the German Johann Jacob Merklein, who knew Caron personally from Batavia. Although he acted in favour of the Dutch position, his own situation, which must have seemed to be rather strange, was damaged. What Merklein acknowledged as correct behaviour was not understandable to later authors.²⁷

AT THE TOP OF THE VOC AND RESIGNATION (1641-1664)

Caron left Japan on 15th February 1641 after more than twenty years of successful acting by order of the VOC. When he came to Batavia he was named by reason of his merits to be extraordinary councillor and member of the *Raad van Indië*, the highest executive committee of the VOC under the direction of the governor general. In November of the same year he was named admiral of the return fleet, with which he reached the Netherlands in 1642. Here he gave a report to the *Heeren XVII*, the highest administrative committee of the VOC, comprised of representatives of the seventeen provinces. Caron's report was highly esteemed, and he left with a remarkable donation.

In 1643 Caron left the Netherlands again bound for Batavia with new orders. Under Governor General Antonio van Diemen, Caron was responsible for the success of the military action against the Portuguese in Ceylon. They had been there when the first Dutch came to the island in 1602 and 1603. Although they controlled the coastal provinces, they were in sharp conflict with the ruler of Ceylon, who would have liked to see the end of the Portuguese occupation earlier rather than later. In 1638 this ruler made a pact with the Dutch to expel the Portuguese finally from the island.

During the following years the fight between the hostile parties continued and in 1641, when the Dutch learned of the separation of Portugal from the

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Spanish crown, which had taken place in December 1640, they decided to step in more forcefully. One could reckon that the Portuguese had not had the possibility under the circumstances to expand their political and economic power in Asia. Caron reached Ceylon in December 1643 with a fleet of eleven ships and 1,700 men, among them 950 soldiers. The first battle was won by the Dutch only because of the disunity of the Portuguese commanders. Although Caron had not defeated the Portuguese who retired to Colombo (which the Dutch could not attack because of its strong forts), he had managed to occupy the cinnamon-producing districts.

The consequence was that Caron was named governor of Formosa where the Dutch had maintained a flourishing and expanding factory since 1624. This factory was extremely important as a supply base for the yearly fleets bound for Macao and Manila as well as a base for the fight against Chinese pirates, who were a considerable danger in the China Sea. Caron had hardly checked the books when he fell so ill that he had to leave the business to his substitute. Nevertheless, he had a part in the regulation of coal and sulphur mining and reinforced the fortification of the Dutch establishments. He informed the central government in Batavia of the possibilities of improvement of the soil and helped the Protestant missionaries. After some time the whole west coast was in the hands of the Dutch. The profits were high, to the satisfaction of Caron as well as of the VOC. In March 1646 Caron returned to the VOC in Batavia.

The *Heeren XVII* had decided to reorganize the administration in Batavia, and within this context in 1647 Caron was named general director of the VOC—the second highest rank within the company directly after the governor general. This was a post with immense influence and much responsibility. The governor general at that time was Cornelis van der Lijn, a friend of Caron's. Nothing extraordinary happened during this period, and Caron himself tried to consolidate trade with Japan, Ambon and the Coromandel Coast as well as maintaining the Dutch monopoly in Southeast Asia. At the same time he still had an eye on Japan and gave leaving missions good orders and support.

Nevertheless, from one moment to another the tide began to turn. The directors in the Netherlands started to be doubtful about the lawfulness of the

actions of Van der Lijn and Caron; they were said to have collected great personal fortunes to the disadvantage of the VOC. These insinuations and accusations were fruitful in these years when the VOC fought permanently against the increasing private trade of many of its employees. Van der Lijn and Caron were removed and left Batavia in 1651. While Van der Lijn could defend himself, probably it was not possible for Caron to get an honourable dismissal. In 1652 he left the VOC, securing all of his considerable financial assets, which in the Chamber of Amsterdam reached an amount of 61,000 florins.

CARON'S SECOND CAREER IN THE FRENCH EAST-INDIA-COMPANY (1664-1673)

For the next fourteen years the life of Caron as a citizen of The Hague is mostly unknown. In 1662 the VOC offered him the post of *staatsraad* (state councillor) in Batavia, which he declined because it did not fit his expectations concerning rank and prestige, but very soon his life was to take an unexpected turn.

On the 1st of September 1664 Jean-Baptiste Colbert founded, under the patronage of King Louis XIV, the French East-Indian Company (*Compagnie Royale des Indes Orientales*), and, of course, Caron was one of the very few who were able to head this enterprise. In 1665, to the greatest displeasure of the VOC, the French and Caron signed a contract. Not only had Caron provoked his former employer, he also broke the rules because all former VOC members were forbidden to occupy a similar post in another company after having left the VOC. Only political circumstances saved Caron from prosecution for this 'high treason' because the Dutch were fighting desperately against the British and trying eagerly to win the French as allies. Under these circumstances Caron was allowed to move to Paris with his family and his whole private fortune.

Only a few weeks later he presented to Colbert a detailed plan for the company and proposed as the central base of the new company one of the Bangka Islands east of Sumatra—a strategically optimal position at the intersection of all routes to India, to the Spice Islands as well as to Siam (Thailand), China and Japan. Due to his official experiences in Japan, he was able to formulate very detailed orders, including the behaviour of the legation and the gifts for the Japanese officials.²⁸

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Colbert was completely convinced by the proposals of Caron and named him director of the enterprise.

The journey to the Indies that Caron started in March 1666 with ten ships and 2,000 men was very unlucky, with huge losses of staff and great delay, so that Madagascar was reached only in March 1667. When Caron reached Surat in February 1668 he found rather disadvantageous circumstances. The economic expectations could not be met, and the spirit in the French colony was so negative that even the British noticed the deep disagreements among the French. By his untiring activity and zeal Caron managed to calm down the situation so that by the end of 1670 he could say that French trade in India was established. Besides Surat, he had founded outposts in Rajpur, Mirza and Tellicherry on the western coast of the subcontinent and in Masulipatnam on the eastern coast.

Now Caron began to initiate trade with Japan and China. His plan was to install a factory in Bantam. There he was surprised by the message that the company would send two more directors who should act at his side, supported by strong French troops who would give the French enterprises the necessary military support. Back in Surat he had already met French ships with orders to team up with the Portuguese to fight the Dutch. At the time Caron was highly honoured by the membership of the (Catholic) order of Saint Michel, which was definitely a rare honour for the convinced Protestant he was.

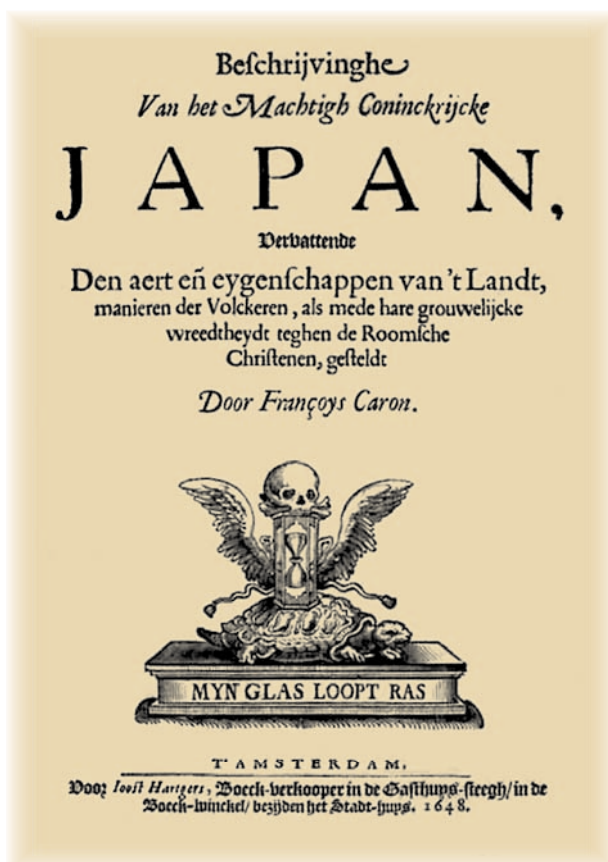
The alliance with the Portuguese that Caron tried to establish in 1672 in Goa failed, but he reached a contract of support with the ruler of the Malabar coast. Finally, the French obtained in March 1672 a bay in Ceylon, whose harbour was hastily fortified, but already in May of the same year the Dutch Rijklooff van Goens appeared before the harbour with a fleet and started a blockade. Caron pleaded in a letter to the head of the company for a diplomatic procedure in order not to endanger the French position and stressing the advantages of Trincomalee as a base for the French troops and fleets. After having left Trincomalee, Caron learned that the French and British had attacked the Netherlands earlier that year, which fact made the hostile mood in Asia understandable.

Instead of building a base near Singapore—as planned before in order to seize the richly loaded ships from Japan and China—the French only occupied Mailapur on the Coromandel coast. Caron was

invited to defend his part of the success at the court in Paris—in fact an elegant solution to get him out of the way. On the way to France his ship sank in a heavy storm off the Portuguese coast on 5th April 1673, and Caron drowned. Thus ended a restless life that was crowned by great successes as well as many vicissitudes.

The significance of François Caron lies firstly in his function as a key personality for the Dutch trade with East Asia between 1619 and 1641. His ability to answer very diplomatically to the Japanese mentality, in combination with his knowledge as a merchant and his ability to achieve the best for the VOC in very critical situations had been acknowledged by all sides. His perfect command of the Japanese language made it possible for him to gain information in teahouses as well as in official receptions and to move without limits through the land—which was not possible for his successors. All this gave him a strong position for the collection of new impressions and ideas.

The Dutch 1646's edition of *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Japan*.



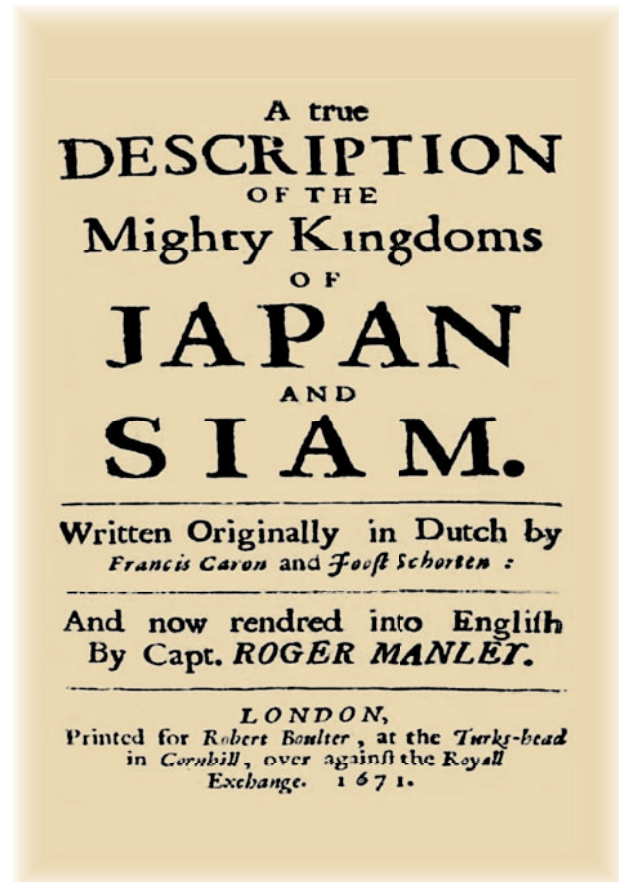
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The period after he left the VOC was not as successful as his years with the mighty company. As a Protestant director in a company of a Catholic kingdom, from the first day on Caron had a curb on his activities. In spite of the Westfalian Peace of 1648, religious barriers continued to exist, and so Caron had to fight against much opposition and resistance, which were considerable obstacles against the realization of his plans. In addition to that, a certain pride and lust for power made it difficult for people in his environment to cope with him in a constructive way. With his apparently limitless energy and his great talent for organisation, Caron was a typical personality of the Baroque era who made possible the planning and realization of giant projects and whose influence was felt not only in the arts and architecture but also led to the formation of economics and politics.

THE EDITIONS OF CARON'S
*BESCHRIJVINGHE VAN HET MACHTIGH
CONINCKRIJCK IAPAN*

Caron did not write his description of Japan in 1636 as a free author but in answer to a questionnaire from his superior Philip Lukasz, who was at that time general director of the VOC in Batavia.²⁹ Because he had to write the text during a phase of intensive activities in Japan, it is understandable that the text is rather short and unpretentious.³⁰ In addition, he did not plan to publish it because two larger descriptions of Japan had appeared on the market.³¹ A short printing history of his book can show some of the mechanisms of the book market and book reception in the Early Modern Period.³²

The first Dutch edition, *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijck Iapan, gestelt door Francoys Caron, Directeur des Compagnies negotie aldaer, ende met eenige aenteekeningen vermeerderd door Hendrick Hagenauer*, appeared in 1645 as the second volume of the series *Begin ende Voortganch der Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, which was edited by Isaac Commelin in Amsterdam and contained also several previously unpublished texts concerning Japan and Siam. In 1646 this edition was reprinted twice, and in 1648, 1649 and 1652 new editions appeared at the publishing house of Joost Hartgers in Amsterdam nearly unchanged. In 1661 Johannes Tongerloo in The Hague published a new



The 1671's English edition, *A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam*.

edition, which was reprinted in the same year as well as in 1662. The earlier editions had been printed without the knowledge of Caron, but he revised the Tongerloo editions carefully. Tongerloo added illustrations, which are nevertheless without any value in terms of the representation of Japanese reality; his map of Japan is extremely inaccurate. Tongerloo's purpose was apparently only to popularize the book.

In 1662 the first English edition appeared in the compilation *The Voyages and Travels of J. Albert de Mandelslo [...] into the East Indies* (London: printed for J. Starkey and T. Basset) without naming the source and the author. This translation by John Davies came after the French translation of a German edition of Mandelslo in 1659 of Abraham de Wicquefort, and appeared again in 1669. In 1663 there appeared in London *A true Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan and Siam. Written Originally in Dutch by Francis Caron And Joost Schorten [!]: And now rendred into*

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English by Capt. Roger Manley. The second edition of this English translation lacks the reproduction of some illustrations and other alterations. Manley's translation was reprinted in 1811 in the seventh volume of John Pinkerton's *General Collection of Voyages and Travels*.

1663 was the year of another German edition.³³ This version was translated by Johann Jacob Mercklein from the Dutch, which was stressed by the learned editor and polyhistorian Christoph Arnold of Nuremberg. Caron's text is followed by eleven other texts of Dutch, Spanish and German writers who experienced the culture of Japan or Southeast Asia, allowing the reader to inform himself from the best and still current information at that time.

The next German edition appeared in 1672. Entitled *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche Japan, Siam, und Corea. Benebenst noch vielen andern im Vorbericht vermeldten Sachen: So mit neuen Anmerkungen und schönen Kupferblättern/ von Christoph Arnold/ vermehrt/ verbessert/ und geziert. Denen noch beygefüget Johann Jacob Merckleins/ von Winsheim/ Ost-Indianische Reise: Welche er im Jahre 1644 löblich angenommen/ und im Jahre 1653 glücklich vollendet. Samt einem nothwendigen Register. [...]* Nürnberg/ In Verlegung Michael und Joh. Friederich Endters, it contained seventeen reports, including one from Montanus, letters of Jesuit priests and other travel accounts. The illustrations were taken from the Dutch edition of 1661 and enriched by other copperplates.

The first French edition is a translation of de Wicquefort in *Suite de la Relation du Voyage en Moscovie, Tartarie, et Perse, avec celui de I. A. De Mandelslo aux Indes Orientales* after an unknown German version. A second French edition of Caron's work appeared only in 1673 in the second part of Jean de Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages curieux*. The translation is by Thevenot himself, with some additions after the Dutch edition of 1661; it appeared again in 1732 in another French collection of travel accounts in Amsterdam. Two Latin editions of 1649 (Amsterdam) and 1673 (Cambridge) show the still living interest of the late humanistic society, which was nevertheless in decline. Finally, the book of Caron was translated into Swedish in 1667 and 1674, and in 1693 into Italian, which is added here for the reason of curiosity.

The numerous editions, translations and reprints until 1732 show an extremely vivid public

interest in the whole of Europe. Because copyright was not yet invented, it is useless to judge the nearly uncountable omissions, changes, shortenings and other alterations; the editor or printer in charge changed the texts after his feeling for the actual resonance of the public readership. Another fact is more interesting: no other book on Japan before Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan* in 1727 (and later editions) was received on such a broad scale.³⁴ The reason is that the information on Japan in the first half of the 17th century focused upon far less differentiated themes and contents, being predominantly reports of the Jesuits with their always extensive descriptions of the persecution of Christians in Japan.³⁵ For this reason, it is understandable that Caron's book attracted the highest interest because it was not written from secondary sources but based on his own experience. Even the first editor of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, Johann Caspar Scheuchzer, wrote in 1727 in his introduction within the frame of an overview of the literature on Japan, not uncritically but in the tone of acknowledgement and respect: 'The account of Japan by Francis Caron, who was the Director of the Dutch Trade there, is in proportion to its shortness, beyond question one of the best extant, though not altogether without mistakes.'³⁶

STRUCTURE, STYLE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF CARON'S *BESCHRIJVINGHE*

Caron's text is the work of a practical thinking man and not of one who thinks theoretically about Japan. He writes within certain European traditions and regulations of written production. Also, the questions on which his report is based are founded in the tradition of European thinking. It is the genre of state description or description of a region. One can compare the text of Caron with that of Bernhard Varenius, whose *Descriptio Regni Japoniae* was published in 1649, i.e. only some years before the first edition of Caron's book. Varenius chose a form that is indebted to the 'Geographia specialis' as opposed to the 'Geographia generalis' which was formulated by the thinker Bartholomäus Keckermann (1571-1608).³⁷ The 'special geography' deals with the conditions of a country: principally geographical factors such as extension or quality of the soil, social components such as history and characteristic features

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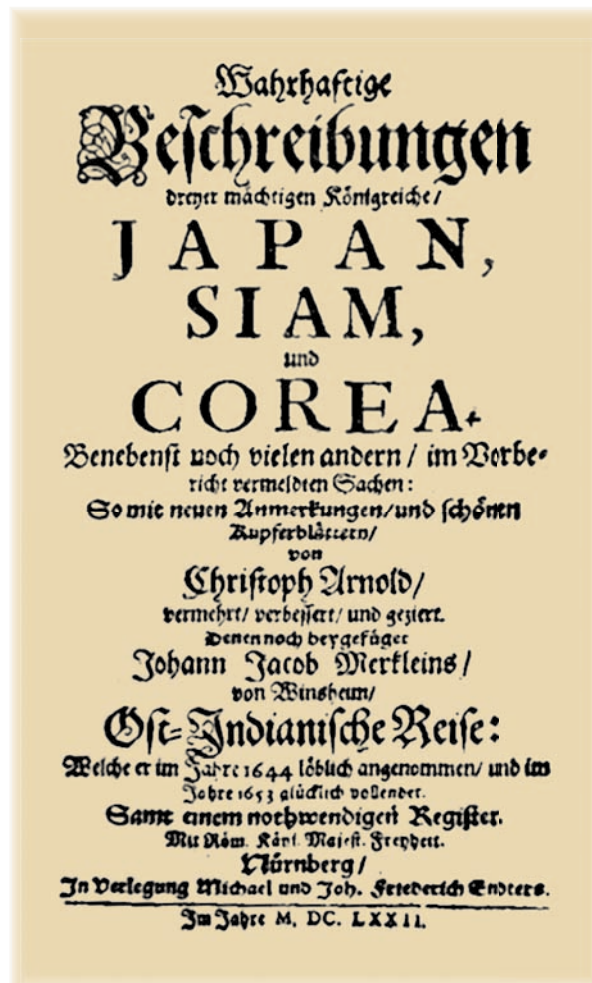
of the inhabitants, manners and habits, language, religion, administration as well as cosmological references and astrological influences.

We find the same system in Caron's text: questions 1 (extension of the country), 28 (fauna) and 29 (therapeutic water) are related to geographical factors; questions 3 to 11, 15 to 27 and 30 and 31 touch upon social components; the cosmological-religious references are touched upon (with a certain extension of the notion) by the very short answer to questions 12 to 14 concerning the forms of religious veneration. The answering of the questions is not systematically organized, and quite a number of items are missing (i.e. flora, rice cultivation, Japanese medicine with acupuncture and moxibustion, sea fauna, arts and crafts do not appear). Because Caron's text is not a theoretical treatise but a report directed to his superior, Philip Lukasz, he may have had in mind primarily to answer his questions. Likewise, it may be added, the special geography of Varenius' book on Japan also lacks certain aspects; but working on a compilation, he could accumulate information more easily.

Lukasz' questions to Caron did not aim to fulfil the topical scheme of a description of a region or a state. He was mainly interested in receiving from Caron directly useful information.³⁸ An attempt to situate Caron's report within inter-textual relations is senseless because Caron did not need to study European sources to write his own description of Japan due to his long practical experience in the country. A look at the title of the first Dutch edition is clarifying because it highlights

certain religious aspects: '*Den aert en eygenschappen van't Landt, manieren der Volckeren, als mede hare grouwelijcke wreedtheydt teghen de Roomsche Christenen, gesteldt Door François Caron*'.³⁹ The 1661 edition is more explicit and says, '*in verscheyde Vragen, betreffende des selfs Regiering, Coophandel, maniere van Leven, strenge Justitie &c. voorgesteld door den Heer Philips Lucas,*

Directeur Generael wegens den Nederlandsen Staet in India, ende door de Heer Francoys Caron, President over Comp. ommeslach in Iappan, beantwoort inden Iare 1636'.⁴⁰ In the first title the cruel persecution of Christians is equal to the descriptive aspect, unlike the second title where the cultural aspect is more dominant, and the persecution of Christians is eliminated completely. At the time it did not play any further role within the relation between Japan and Europe. The change in the formulation of the titles makes clear the intention and strategy of the publisher: Caron is mentioned as the author in both titles, but in the second the regional information is transformed into a historical report because the actors and the actions had become part of the past. The German title, on the other hand,⁴¹



The 1672's German edition, *Wahrhaftige Beschreibungen dreyer mächtigen Königreiche Japan, Siam, und Corea*.

had to stress the truthfulness (*Wahrhaftigkeit*) twenty-seven years (one generation!) after the text had been written, with the prefaces of the editor and the printer underlining the principles of the edition and its seriousness. This was an act of witness, as was usual in many travel reports of those days.⁴² This excursion into the history of the reception of Caron's report shows their mechanics and also the acknowledged quality of Caron's text.

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The information about the organization of official power in Japan and on the persecution of Christians was extremely useful for the Dutch in order to know more about the structure of the state and its instruments. Also, the mentality of the people was informative because Japanese culture was completely different from European cultures and even built a unique mentality in Asia. Of course Caron, as a man of practical life, wrote his information in a terminology which, strictly speaking, was inadequate but gave the reader an impression of what he was writing about. He did not write 'temple' but 'church', not 'shogun' but 'king', and so each European reader had a clear vision of the strange culture. In the same way, his formulations were orientated to the rhetorical means of the 'exemplum'. Instead of giving long explanations, he inserts a little story which is taken from his rich experience in the land. The map and the illustrations (suicide, torture, audience of the lords at the shogun, the crucifixion of a criminal and the burning of

Christians) serve as 'exemplum' too, because they show punishments which were thinkable in Europe too, but the Japanese suicide was so strange that it underlined the exotic character of this land.⁴³ The official audience, finally, was a realistic scene witnessed by the Dutch each year. On the other hand, he gives a list of twenty-five pages listing the ranks and incomes of Japanese nobles. Nobody in Europe would have been able to analyze this list, but it shows that Japan was, in spite of its 'exoticness', to a degree a civilized country with a socially and hierarchically structured society.⁴⁴

In short, this little book presented Japan to the European reader in a more concrete and vivid way. This is the reason for its astonishing public success in Europe. The amount of new and first-hand information had never before been so high. For the first time the East Asian country was liberated from misrepresenting stereotypes, even if an 'end of the exotic view' of Japan was still far away. **RG**

NOTES

- 1 See Haberland, "Zwischen Wunderkammer und Forschungsbericht," passim.
- 2 Cf. Pauly, *Sakoku, to the background of the Japanese way into the national seclusion*. After the uprising of Shimabara, on 5 July 1639, Iemitsu Tokugawa declared finally that foreigners were forbidden to stay in Japan.
- 3 Cf. Kreiner, "Das Bild Japans in der europäischen Geistesgeschichte," pp. 13-18.
- 4 Concerning the scantiness of the literary transfer at the beginning of the 17th century, cf. Kapitza, "Japan in der deutschen Literatur des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts," pp. 49-51.
- 5 *Nippon. Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan und dessen Neben- und Schutzländern*. Leiden 1832-1851.
- 6 *Heutiges Japan. In einer zweifachen Hoff reise durchgeschauet und beschrieben etc.*
- 7 Cf. Hans-Ulrich Wehler, *Deutsche Gesellschaftsgeschichte*. Vol. 1. München: C. H. Beck, 1987, pp. 35-58; concerning the principle of social order about 1600 cf. Erich Trunz, "Der deutsche Späthumanismus um 1600 als Standeskultur." In: same author, *Deutsche Literatur zwischen Späthumanismus und Barock. Acht Studien*. München: C. H. Beck, 1995, pp. 7-83. His analysis can be applied to other European countries.
- 8 Cf. *Macrocosmos in Microcosmo. Die Welt in der Stube. Zur Geschichte des Sammelns 1450 bis 1800*. Andreas Grote (ed.). Opladen: 1994 (Berliner Schriften zur Museumskunde, Bd. 10); Julius Schlosser, *Die Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sammelwesens*. 2nd ed. revised and augmented, Braunschweig: 1978.
- 9 Cf. Erwin Ackerknecht, *Kurze Geschichte der Medizin*. Stuttgart: Enke, 1967, pp. 100-112, Karl Ed. Rothschild, *Konzepte der Medizin in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. Stuttgart: Hippokrates Verlag, 1978, pp. 164-167. Irmgard Müller, "Arzneien für den 'gemeinen Mann.' Zur Vorstellung materieller und immaterieller Wirkungen stofflicher Substrate in der Medizin des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts." In: Joachim Telle (Ed.), *Pharmazie und der gemeine Mann. Hausarznei und Apotheke in der frühen Neuzeit. Erläutert anhand deutsche Fachschriften der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel und pharmazeutischer Geräte des Deutschen Apotheken-Museums Heidelberg*. 2nd revised ed. Weinheim, New York: 1988, pp. 27-34. Concerning the scientific-historical background cf. E. J. Dijksterhuis, *Die Mechanisierung des Weltbildes*. Berlin, Göttingen, Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1956.
- 10 About the development of the conception of academies within the frame of the history of sciences, cf. Conrad Grau, *Die Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Eine deutsche Gelehrtenengesellschaft in drei Jahrhunderten*. Heidelberg, Berlin, Oxford: Spektrum Akademischer Verlag, 1993, pp. 14-24.
- 11 The historical development is described with many details in the bulky monograph of Hamann, *Der Eintritt der südlichen Hemisphäre in die europäische Geschichte*; Reinhard, *Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, Vol. 1, pp. 28-49; Meyn, Mimler, Partenheimer-Bein, Schmitt (Hrsg.), *Die großen Entdeckungen*, Vol. 2, pp. 50-88, draw a great line by presenting many historical documents.
- 12 The documents concerning the expansion of the Europeans into the Indo-Asiatic space under the aspects of political power and by reason of extreme capitalistic thinking are presented in *Die großen Entdeckungen*. Ed. Meyn, Mimler, Partenheimer-Bein and Schmitt, especially ch. 7 and 8. Also basic reading is Hamann, *Der Eintritt der südlichen Hemisphäre in die europäische Geschichte*. Cf. also Reinhard, *Geschichte der europäischen Expansion*, Vol. 1, ch. 10 and 11.
- 13 The history of the VOC is broadly presented by Pieter van Dam [and others], *Beschryvinge van de Oostindische Compagnie*. 6 vols. Den Haag 1927-1954; cf. also the overviews of Boxer, *The Dutch*

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- Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* and Gastra, "Die Vereinigte Ostindische Compagnie der Niederlande - ein Abriß ihrer Geschichte." Still of interest concerning Japan is Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*.
- 14 In this context are to be seen the fruitless attempts of Prussia to build up political and economical power in Persia; cf. Hundt, 'Woraus nichts geworden'. *Brandenburg-Preußens Handel mit Persien (1668-1720)*.
 - 15 Cf. Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, p. 73.
 - 16 Concerning hygiene and mortality on Asia-bound ships cf. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*, pp. 85-93.
 - 17 *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteitenverzamelingen, 1585-1735*. Ed. Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker. Vol. 1: Aufsätze; Vol. 2: Catalogus. Zwolle: Waanders, 1992. See also Ayers, Impey, Mallet (ed.), *Porcelain for Palaces*.
 - 18 This very short overview of the political and economical history of Japan from the 16th to the 17th century within the contact and confrontation with the European powers follows mainly the following studies: Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*; Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*; Lehmann, *The Roots of Modern Japan*; Massarella, *A World Elsewhere. Europe's Encounter with Japan in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*; Murdoch, *A History of Japan*; Totman, *Early Modern Japan*.
 - 19 On the genealogical tree of the family of Hideyoshi see Murdoch, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, p. 200.
 - 20 Concerning the government of Oda Nobunaga and Hideyoshi see Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 40-50.
 - 21 From this word rises the notion *Edo bakufu*, i.e. the Edo shogunate. From 1590 to 1657 the population of Edo grew from about 30,000 to over half a million. Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, p. 153.
 - 22 Concerning the improvements of the living conditions in Japan of the Tokugawa-era see Hanley, *Everyday Things in Premodern Japan*, pp. 1-50.
 - 23 Pauly, *Sakoku*. For the backgrounds of the Japanese way into the national seclusion under the Tokugawa cf. s. 21f. See also Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Japan*, pp. 359-372.
 - 24 About this complex of problems under Iemitsu see Totman, *Early Modern Japan*, pp. 107-117.
 - 25 The following biographical information is obligated to the extensive, exact and still valid biography of Caron by Boxer, in *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. xv-cxxix. Additional and shorter information are in (here are given only the most important articles and monographs): *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne* (Michaud) [...]. Ouvrage rédigé par une Société de Gens de Lettres et de Savans. Paris, Vol. 7 (1854), p. 28; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* [...] Publiée [...] sous la Direction de M. [...] Hoefer. Paris, Vol. 7 (1863), pp. 812f.; *Biographie Nationale publiée par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. Bruxelles, Vol. 3 (1872), pp. 334-337; *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* [...]. Nieuwe Uitgaaf. Haarlem, Vol. III (ca. 1880), pp. 59f.; *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*. Onder red. van P. C. Molhuysen, P. J. Blok en Fr. K. H. Kossmann. Leiden, Vol. 8 (1930), pp. 255-259; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française*. Ed. J. Balteau [a.o.]. Paris, Vol. 7 (1956), pp. 1200f.; Dietmar Henze, *Enzyklopädie der Entdecker und Erforscher der Erde*. Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt Vol. 1 (1978), p. 502; Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 3, 1, pp. 459f.
 - 26 The description follows the meticulous analysis of Riess, "Der Aufstand von Shimabara," and Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Ostindischen Kompagnie zu Japan*, pp. 259-270; cf. on further political and economical implications Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, pp. 308-397.
 - 27 It is interesting that Engelbert Kaempfer wrote (my translation): 'Our actual chief-interpreter who is already ninety years old [...]
- ascribed to the pride conduct of our resident at that time, Caron, the greatest fault causing this change [of the attitude of the Japanese towards the Dutch]. He said to me that the Japanese nation cannot bear the pride of merchants because they are in this country reckoned among the fourth and last class of people. For this reason the grand-judge of Miaco, at the same time first director of all foreign affairs, was by Caron's superciliousness so much offended, that one would neither give him an audience in Miaco nor receive the presents of the noble Company from him. Hence he presented to the Shogun the bad intention of the Dutch by building a warehouse and caused therefore the rapid change of humour.' Kaempfer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (1964), Vol. II, pp. 104f. It is obvious how a distance of about fifty years makes it difficult to understand the real circumstances.
- 28 In his works "Mémoire pour l'établissement du commerce au Japon [...] par Mr. Caron," and "Instruction pour François Caron, Envoyé du Roi de France & de Navarre à l'Empereur du Japon, pour lui délivrer la lettre & le présent de Sa Majesté: & suivant laquelle il se conduira pour l'exécution des affaires projetées, & qui lui sont commises," both in *Recueil des Voyages au Nord*. Amsterdam: 1732, Vol. IV, pp. 150-194.
 - 29 Compare *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, S. cxxviii f.
 - 30 Boxer writes rightly: 'At first sight Caron's Description of Japan is apt to appear disappointing. The whole thing is compressed into some ninety small octavo pages, and compared with the monumental works of Kaempfer or Von Siebold, or with the detailed if at times unduly long-winded narratives of the Portuguese Jesuits, it seems a rather superficial effort for a resident in the country of fifteen years' standing, as Caron was when he wrote it.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, S. cxxviii. A common characterizing of the report of Caron in Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. 3, 4, pp. 1855-1866.
 - 31 Besides numerous printed letters of Jesuits and other works in which the spreading of the faith and the prosecution of the Christians are reported and as well as numerous prints of the sensational visit of the four Japanese princes to Pope Gregory XIII in 1585 (bibliographically prepared in Boscaro, *Sixteenth Century European Printed Works on the First Japanese Mission to Europe*), there were many travel reports, atlases and learned works in which Japan was treated rather extensively. In this context are only named some of the texts of the 17th century which appeared before the book of Caron: Thomas Herbert, *Some Yeares Travels into divers Parts of Asia and Afrique* (London, 1638); Gerhard Mercators Atlas (Latin edition: Amsterdam, 1607, English edition: Amsterdam, 1636); *Arte da Lingoa de Iapam composta pello Padre João Rodriguez Portuguez da Companhia de Iesu dividida em tres livros*. [...] ([Nagasaki], 1604, Manila, 1620). With these and other books the interested as well as learned reader could inform himself about numerous aspects of Japanese culture. Also in literary works Japan was thematized, for instance in plays presented in schools in the Early Modern Period, such as the ones written by Mateo Alemán (*Guzmán de Alfarache* 1599, German 1626), Lope de Vega or by Johann Michael Moscherosch.
 - 32 The following bibliographical notes are after Boxer, who was able to revise the existing editions in a meticulous analysis because he owned the rarest editions himself. *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. 169-180.
 - 33 The bibliographical proof is also in Cordier, Sp. 339-343; here Sp. 341f.; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog 1542-1853*, pp. 65-67; here p. 66.
 - 34 Concerning the diffusion of Kaempfer's report in the 18th century see the bibliography of Hüls in *Kaempfer zum 330. Geburtstag*. Wägen: Lemgo, 1982, pp. 209-258; here pp. 227-231. In the supplementary volume to the reprint of *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan* (Berlin,

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- New York: Springer Verlag, 1980); Kapitza, *Engelbert Kaempfer und die europäische Aufklärung* in Kaempfer, *Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan. Aus den Originalhandschriften des Verfassers*; and Hüls "Zur Geschichte des Drucks von Kaempfers Geschichte und Beschreibung von Japan," devote themselves to the reception of Kaempfer in the 18th century.
- 35 See Kleinschmidt, in the first line of p. 150, concerning Funccius (Funcke), who refers still in 1673 to Varenius and Caron as main sources. See also Peter Kapitza, *Japan in Europa* (München: Iudicium 1990), passim.
- 36 Here quoted after: [Kaempfer], *The History of Japan*, Vol. 1, p. lxxvii.
- 37 Compare Manfred Büttner, "Die Neuausrichtung der Geographie im 17. Jahrhundert durch Bartholomäus Keckermann. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Geographie in ihren Beziehungen zur Theologie und Philosophie." In: same author (ed.), *Religion/Umwelt-Forschung im Aufbruch*. Bochum: 1989 (Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Geowissenschaften und Religion/Umwelt-Forschung, Vol. 2), pp. 211-227. See also Schwind in Varenius, *Descriptio Japoniae* pp. XXI-XXVI.
- 38 The only reference of "field studies" to topical and rhetorical traditions is not given as Pekar claims. Of course Caron, like his successors Olearius and Kaempfer, is orientated at the linguistic patterns of his time. However, the facts are taken not from literature but from reality.
- 39 'The kind and qualities of the country, the ways of life of the people as well as their cruel fury against the roman Christians, written by François Caron.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Boxer, pp. 171; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog*, p. 65, Nr. 280.
- 40 'from different questions concerning the own government, trade and kind of life, rigorous jurisdiction etc., asked by Philip Lukasz, general director of the Dutch state in India, and answered by François Caron, president of the employees of the company in Japan, in 1636.' *A True Description of the Mighty Kingdoms of Japan & Siam*, ed. Charles R. Boxer, Ibid.; *Bibliographischer Alt-Japan-Katalog*, Ibid. Nr. 283.
- 41 *François Carons wahrhaftige Beschreibung des Königreichs Japan, aus dem Niederländischen von Johann Jacob Mercklein ins Hochdeutsche übersetzt und nach der neuen Ausgabe von 1661, die der Autor selbst durchgesehen hat, spürbar verbessert.*
- 42 See Wolfgang Neuber, "Zur Gattungspoetik des Reiseberichts," p. 57f.
- 43 Concerning stereotypes of European perception of Japanese manners in travel accounts of the 17th century see Haberland, "Hollander Mann schlemm Mann"; concerning the reception of Asia in Europe see Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*; concerning the European view on Asiatic cultures see Gewecke, *Wie die neue Welt in die alte kam*, pp. 59-87.
- 44 Concerning the development of the image of Japan before Kaempfer see Kreiner, *Deutschland - Japan. Die frühen Jahrhunderte*, p. 23. Kreiner states rightly on the basis of the quoted texts that very early there existed a 'very good founded knowledge about this country' (my translation); Ibid., p. 25.

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Anonymous Chinese painter, Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (Collection of Stichting van Braam Houckgeest).
Reproduced from Leonard Blussé, *Visible Cities: Canton, Nagasaki, and Batavia and the Coming of the Americans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).



Andreas Everardus Van Braam Houckgeest, or the Optimistic Adventures of a Dutchman in China

LEONARD BLUSSE*



The genre of traditional biography, written for the sake of celebrating the lives of admirable persons who may serve as role models for later generations, has by now almost faded away, and with it we may say farewell to the most hypocritical genre that history writing has bequeathed upon us. If we ignore the ongoing predilection of the boulevard press for the 'scandalous lives' of media figures and movie stars, it may be agreed that biographies are now primarily written (and read) because of the light they throw on interesting events in times past that we would not be able to understand without following the *faits et gestes* of individuals who played a role in them. One colourful individual who has received much flak from moralists, contemporaries and biographers of contemporaries of his, but who deserves the attention of anyone interested in the history of the China trade, is the rotund Dutchman Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801). Van Braam spent his life seeking to build a fortune as an entrepreneur and as a critical observer of 'things Chinese' while serving off and on as a Dutch East India Company servant at Canton in the latter part of the 18th century. Although after a life

of many ups and downs he passed away, at the age of sixty-two, a destitute man, leaving behind hardly any material means for his young wife and baby boy, it cannot be denied that he lived an interesting life in very interesting times.

Proud of his writings and the objects he collected during his adventurous career abroad, Van Braam would undoubtedly be happy to know that these memorabilia are treasured today in various locations. In the Dutch National Archives at The Hague we may find his personal writings as well as those of his brother, Vice-Admiral Jacob Pieter Van Braam;¹ at President George Washington's estate, Mount Vernon, throngs of tourists admire the china service which he presented to Martha Washington; and recently the *Rijksmuseum* in Amsterdam acquired from his American descendants some Chinese furniture from the now-demolished mansion that he built for himself by the banks of the Delaware River after his return to America in 1796. Finally, historians still regularly refer to the fine narrative of the tribute mission he undertook to the court of the Qianlong emperor in 1794-95 at the behest of the Dutch East India Company, first published in French in Philadelphia and later republished in Europe in cannibalized versions in English, French and Dutch.² Van Braam would probably be also pleasantly surprised to learn that Edward Barnsley, a great-great grandson through his eldest daughter, has written a family history of him and his offspring in America and Holland.³

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CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)



Two pieces of the china service presented by Van Braam Houckgeest to Martha Washington.

This extraordinarily detailed study, which Barnsley wrote with great enthusiasm after he retired from public life in the 1980s and 90s, has unfortunately been published in a very limited edition only for his own family and a few local libraries and is therefore, except for one copy in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum library, unavailable outside the United States. (The present author is still pulling his own hair out of frustration that he did not know about

Mr. Barnsley's existence while he was doing research at Princeton in 1990. Van Braam Houckgeest's great-great-grandson, a much esteemed local historian, was living only several miles away across the Delaware River). The present notes on Van Braam are a collage of information from the archival documents in Holland, his own writings and the various materials that his great-great-grandson was able to tease out of the local archives in the United States.

Like his older brother, Jacob Pieter van Braam (1737-1803), who was to become an admiral later in life, Andreas joined the navy as a cadet; but he then left the service at the age of nineteen and joined the VOC, the Dutch East India Company. The directors of the Company, known as the Gentlemen Seventeen, in view of improving the quality of tea imports, had just started a new, direct shipping connection between Amsterdam and Canton. Until then all the VOC's trade with China had been managed from Batavia, the Company's headquarters in Asia. Although in 1727, a similar move to create a direct shipping link had been made to thwart competition from the Flemish Ostende Company, the trade soon returned to Batavia after this rival had been done away with.

But in 1755, Amsterdam reached the conclusion that too much pilfering was going on in the East and decided to take the Chinese tea trade into its own hands. The Company found that the new trading

link soon paid off, and, to the chagrin of the colonial administration in Batavia, the 'Chinasche Commissie' in Amsterdam would not slacken its grip on the trade with Canton until the demise of the Company itself in 1797. Hired by the China Commission, Andreas Everardus Van Braam travelled regularly back and forth between Canton and Amsterdam to report on the activities in China; and on his second trip home, in 1763, he stopped at the Cape of Good Hope to marry Catharina Cornelia Gertruida, Baroness Van Reede van Oudtshoorn, third daughter of the governor of the Cape colony.

One colourful individual who has received much flak from moralists, contemporaries and biographers of contemporaries of his, but who deserves the attention of anyone interested in the history of the China trade, is the rotund Dutchman Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801)

As we are still awaiting further publication of the diaries that were kept at the Dutch Canton factory starting in the early 1760s, it is hard to learn more about Van Braam's daily activities.⁴ In the only journal published so far, we witness him as an assistant testing the quality of tea and doing all sorts of errands. But in a recent monograph on the Dutch tea trade in Canton, Liu Yong gives a vivid account of the man's inventive character and improvisational genius.⁵ In the summer of 1772, the VOC ship *Rijnsburg* foundered in a typhoon on the Chinese coast. Apart from the loss of lives and goods on board that ship, the Canton factory staff faced additional problems because it was feared that there was

Catharina Cornelia Geertruida van Braam Houckgeest, glass. Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

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not enough cargo space left to ship the tea off to Europe. Van Braam, who was by then serving as Supercargo, went to see the governor of Macao and asked him if he would sell a ship he owned. When the governor agreed to sell, Van Braam inspected the vessel and, after some further negotiation, bought it for 38,000 Spanish rials. As soon as the transfer had taken place, Van Braam prepared to sail the ship, which he had renamed the *Herstelder* (the Repairer), to the Whampoa roadstead. But there he underestimated the reaction of the local Chinese mandarin or *hoppo*, who haughtily informed him that he would not let in a foreign ship which had no cargo to tax and which had originally been owned by a Macao resident. The tug-of-war that followed between Van Braam, the Macao Senate, the Macao governor, the *hoppo* in Macao and the Chinese authorities in Canton forms a textbook example of bureaucratic wrangling on the China coast. But in the end, through a skilful combination of patient negotiation, veiled threats and unexpected action, Van Braam got his way, and the ship was allowed into Sesame cave.

One year later, after spending a total of fifteen years at Canton, Van Braam decided that he had amassed enough fortune to return home and live a rentier's life with his wife and children at a country estate near the old Hansa town of Zutphen (Province of Gelderland). Setting himself up as a country squire of sorts, he added the name of a possession of his father-in-law, Houckgeest, to his name. And, restless person that he was, he soon found himself embroiled in factional local politics. He joined the faction of reformers that later became known as the "Patriots" and aimed to topple the local governing elites. Inspired by the revolutionary events on the other side of the Atlantic, and probably bored to death on his country estate, Van Braam emigrated in 1783 with his wife and five children to the United States, where he settled in Charleston, South Carolina, as a merchant and rice farmer, and acquired the American nationality. Shortly after the family's arrival, four of his children fell ill and died in a diphtheria epidemic. Only his eldest daughter, who married the independence war hero Richard Brooke Roberts, survived. When Van Braam's agricultural business, which was inspired by the Chinese practice of riziculture, also folded, he and his wife chose to return home. As a result of this personal tragedy, which greatly affected his wife, the marriage also seems to have broken up. Probably thanks to the help of his brother Jacob Pieter, who enjoyed a meteoric

career, rising from navy Captain to Counsellor of the Indies and finally to Vice Admiral of the Navy, Andreas was able to enter VOC service again as Supercargo in Canton, where he arrived in 1790.

On the way to China he spent some time in Malacca, where he wrote an interesting report on tin production and the tin trade and how it could be reformed to the benefit of the Company.⁶ Convinced that the Company was no longer able to enforce the tin monopsony which was being bypassed on all sides by English and American country traders, Van Braam advocated a more liberal trade policy. Upon his arrival in the Pearl River region, Van Braam found that a lot had changed since his departure twenty years earlier. The English competition was now stronger than ever in the tea trade, but to his delight he discovered many American ships anchored at Whampoa. He figured that he could make himself a lot of (illicit) money helping out his American fellow citizens by procuring tea through the well-established channels of the Dutch East India Company. Thanks to Barnsley's research, we know that in addition to his VOC duties, Van Braam bought or loaded at least seven American ships for private trade during the years 1792-1795.⁷ The famous American navigator and travel writer Amasa Delano also refers to a business deal with Van Braam, although he seems to have lost a great sum of money in that venture.⁸

Like all other Company officers, during the trading season Van Braam lived in the comfortable Dutch factory, situated next to the English factory outside the walls of Canton; but in spring and summer he would move to nearby Macao. There he must have learned to play the guitar, and acquired a tender spot for Portuguese songs. His American grandson remembered later how his grandfather would occasionally withdraw from public and softly sing Portuguese songs while accompanying himself on strings. The Portuguese language obviously also attracted Van Braam's interest, for he wrote a grammar for those who wanted to learn the language. Both the manuscripts of his article on the Malacca tin trade and of the Portuguese grammar are proudly depicted in the portrait he commissioned from a local Chinese painter.

As head of the Canton factory, in 1793 Van Braam witnessed the coming and going of the Macartney embassy to the court of the Qianlong Emperor, and was quite relieved that the British were not able to get hold

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of an island of their own in the Canton delta as they had envisaged. Yet the failure of the English mission did not discourage him from drafting an adventurous plan of his own. He knew that VOC ambassadors had visited the Qing court on several occasions in the 17th century and had produced beautifully illustrated works which had been published and turned into best-sellers by the then famous publishing house of Van Meurs in Amsterdam.⁹ He decided the time was ripe to make such an interesting trip through China himself, and therefore he wrote a letter to the Governor-General and Council of the Indies in Batavia informing them that the Viceroy of Canton had invited all western trading nations to send an envoy to the Qianlong Emperor to congratulate him on the sixtieth anniversary of his reign. His gamble worked out, but not altogether as he had hoped. The Dutch colonial administration at Batavia accepted his proposal, but instead of appointing Van Braam Houckgeest himself they delegated Isaac Titsingh as first ambassador and Van Braam as second envoy. Titsingh (1745-1812), the *éminence grise* of the Council of the Indies, was a man with considerable experience in India and before that in Japan, where he had paid several tribute visits to the shogunate in Edo.¹⁰

The embassy to the Qing court has not only been elaborately described by Van Braam Houckgeest himself, but also by Titsingh, who kept his own diary, as well as by a young Frenchman, C. L. J. de Guignes, who joined the embassy on the invitation of Titsingh, a good friend of his father, the famous orientalist Joseph de Guignes (1721-1800).¹¹ In 1938, the Dutch sinologist J. J. L. Duyvendak wrote an extensive article about the trip to the court, based on sparse Chinese documentation, Van Braam's book and Titsingh's manuscript which he had at hand.¹²

The beginning of the voyage to the Chinese capital was not at all what the two aging envoys had envisaged. After Titsingh disembarked in the autumn of 1794, a letter was sent to the Viceroy of Guangzhou province, informing him of the arrival of the Dutch envoy and asking permission to travel to Peking to congratulate the emperor on the 60th anniversary of his reign. When the old monarch was informed of the arrival of the Dutch ambassadors he immediately let it be known that they should leave Canton immediately, because if they hurried they could arrive at the northern capital just in time to participate in the officially

planned great celebrations in January, which would also be attended by envoys from Mongolia and Korea. Given the late arrival of Titsingh and the early arrival of winter that year, the Dutch had hoped to make the trip in spring, but they clearly had underestimated the enthusiasm of the Qianlong emperor himself. They now faced an exhausting trip of several thousand miles. As Titsingh wrote in his travel account: 'This news I found very disagreeable, because of the inconveniences of cold and discomfort to which one is exposed in such a severe and raw season, and which urgently required the necessary provision, and because of the fatigues of the journey which then for the greater part, the rivers being frozen, would have to be continued overland.'¹³ What followed was indeed a harrowing, highly uncomfortable rush overland because the rivers and canals were frozen. By the time the Dutch envoys reached Peking several coolies had died of exhaustion, Van Braam had lost most of his impressive girth, and Titsingh was literally at his wits' end.

On January 20, 1795, Chinese New Year's Day, the VOC ambassadors were received, together with the ambassadors from Korea, at Baohe Palace, where they were presented with wine upon having performed the customary kowtows. After the celebrations were over, the Dutch visitors were invited to accompany the Emperor to the imperial gardens, where they went skating, much to the amusement of their host, who toasted their health several times. A few days later the envoys received a paternalistic letter from the emperor to the "Dutch king" in which *stadtholder* Willem V was admonished 'to rule his people with a pensive mood and a forthright heart and to remember the generosity of the emperor, who emphatically tells him to devote himself diligently to his government!'¹⁴ Little could either the Chinese emperor or the two envoys imagine that almost at the same moment that the letter was handed over, the stadtholder already had cleared off to England after French troops under the command of general Pichecru had invaded Holland across the frozen rivers. On their way back south in early spring, the Dutch visitors enjoyed a very pleasant trip and were wined and dined wherever they went.

Back in Canton, Titsingh and Van Braam each went their own way. Titsingh decided not to return to Batavia but sailed to England with a large collection of manuscripts and Japonalia he had amassed during his long stay in the East. There he would await the

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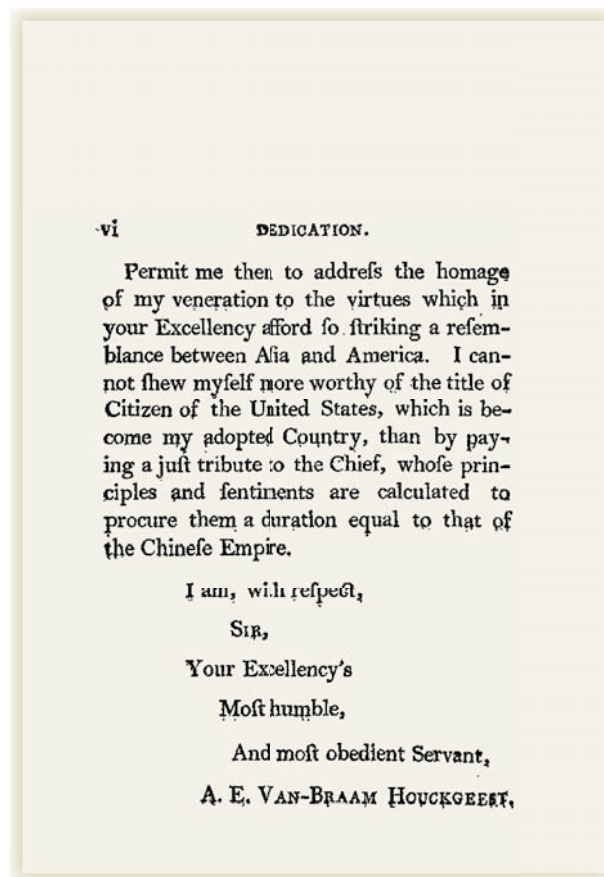
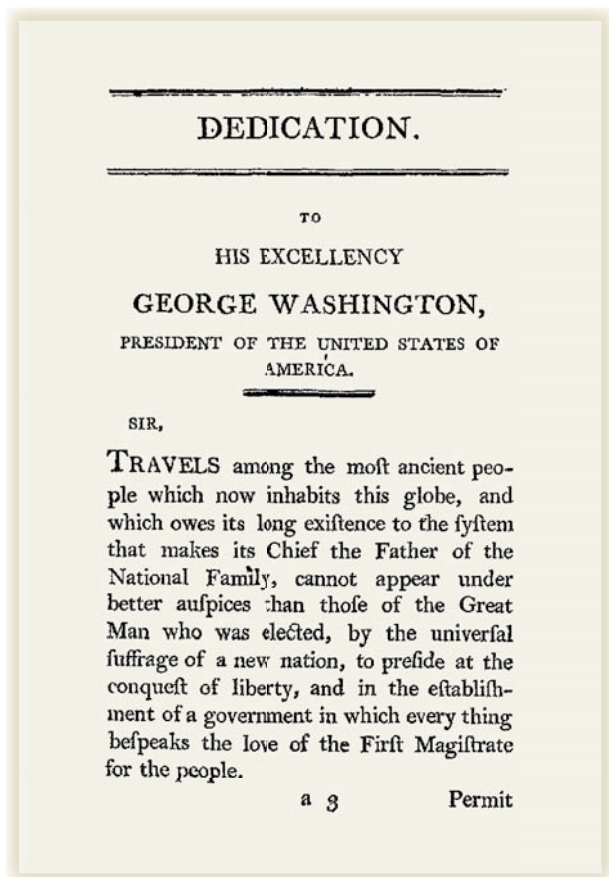
outcome of the war that had broken out with England now that a change of regime had occurred in Holland. Van Braam harboured other plans. He ordered a china service for the wife of the American president, Martha Washington, and a complete suite of furniture and paintings for a new mansion that he planned to build for himself upon his arrival in the United States. He loaded all his *chinoiseries* aboard an American vessel and set course for Philadelphia. On the way, he called at the Cape Colony, where he took on board a 19-year-old orphaned cousin of his estranged wife, with the promise that he would take care of her education, and thus assured himself of a surrogate daughter who soon turned out to be more than that.

Once he had arrived in the United States and had presented Martha Washington with her porcelain china service, the indefatigable old man embarked on two

large projects which would eventually break his neck. But before we turn our attention to this, let us make a short remark on the decorations and motto inscribed on the porcelain platters in the china service. Amidst garlands showing the names of the various states of the new republic is written *Decus et Tutamen* – the legend on the English pound piece – followed by *Ab Illo*. At the Mount Vernon estate, this is translated as ‘Glory and Arms from that,’ which is really meaningless. The correct reading should be ‘Glory and Honour *away from him*,’ referring to the secession of the American states from the English king—a mischievous pun Van Braam makes at the expense of his former English neighbours in Canton.¹⁵

What did Van Braam’s new projects entail? First of all he wanted to publish his travel account, and in order to reach the largest possible reading public he decided to publish in French. It so happened that Philadelphia was crowded at the time by learned French *evacués* like Talleyrand and Moreau de Saint-Méry who had fled the Jacobin butchers and were biding their time

Dedication to George Washington of Van Braam Houckgeest’s *An Authentic Account of the Embassy of the Dutch East-India Company, to the Court of the Emperor of China in the Years 1794 and 1795*.



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Andreas Everardus Van Braam Houckgeest
by Chitqua, terracotta.
Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



CRONISTAS ESQUECIDOS DO EXTREMO ORIENTE (SÉCULOS XVI-XVIII)

A N
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT
OF THE
E M B A S S Y
OF THE
DUTCH EAST-INDIA COMPANY,
TO THE
COURT OF THE EMPEROR OF CHINA,
In the Years 1794 and 1795;
(SUBSEQUENT TO THAT OF THE EARL OF MACARTNEY.)
CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF
SEVERAL PARTS OF THE CHINESE EMPIRE,
UNKNOWN TO
E U R O P E A N S;
TAKEN FROM THE JOURNAL OF
ANDRÉ EVERARD VAN BRAAM,
CHIEF OF THE DIRECTION OF THAT COMPANY, AND
SECOND IN THE EMBASSY.
TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL OF
M. L. E. MOREAU DE SAINT-MERY.

With a correct Chart of the Route.

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ALL OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1798.

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abroad until the revolution had eaten its children. Both Talleyrand and Moreau soon became personal friends of the vivacious Van Braam, and with Moreau's assistance – he must have been royally remunerated for this – Van Braam published a beautifully illustrated account of the *Voyage de l'ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes orientales hollandaises, vers l'empereur de la Chine, dans les années 1794 & 1795, 'en deux tomes'*, dedicated to George Washington himself.

Always in a hurry to make money and to gain fame, the author had already sent the first volume to Europe before the second appeared. By some whim of fate, almost the entire print run of this book fell into the hands of a French privateer and the book was forthwith published in France without the author's authorisation—in two “tomes,” of course, as if it were the whole original opus. This pirated edition in two volumes published in France in 1798 was subsequently translated into English (1798), German (1798-9), and Dutch (1804-6), and it is now generally but quite mistakenly thought to be the original book. Yet all these editions include only the text of the first volume of Van Braam's work; they do not carry the entertaining story of the envoys' trip from Peking to Canton further than April 4, 1795, while they did not arrive in Canton until September. Also, the various appendices that Van Braam added, such as a brief version of a Chinese drama, are lacking. Reading the pirated edition one gets the impression

that the Dutch embassy was a colossal failure in which the envoys had to suffer much physical discomfort and discourteous treatment from the Chinese. The second volume of the original American edition was published in 1798, but by then nobody was interested because the first volume had disappeared. Thus Van Braam ended up losing a great deal of money on this venture, and only a few specimens of the original two-volume Philadelphia edition have been preserved.

An even deeper pit into which the remains of Van Braam's capital disappeared was the mansion he built at Bristol, close to the banks of the Delaware River. The construction of *China's Retreat* was like a gigantic potlatch ceremony. Van Braam had to sell the house almost immediately after it was finished to square his debts—but not before he celebrated there his marriage to his youthful Cape bride. He thereby became a bigamist, because his first wife was still alive in Holland and he had never obtained a divorce from her. Almost penniless, he took his small family (his wife gave birth to a son shortly afterwards) to Europe where, after some peregrinations through the German states, he finally settled in Amsterdam. When the exhausted Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest met his maker in 1801 he truly could look back on a worldly existence in which he had tried to live up to his personal motto: *'In magnis Voluisse sat est'* [In matters of great importance striving is enough]. **RC**

NOTES

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- 3 Edward Roberts Barnsley, *The First VBH, a biography about the remarkable life of an eighteenth century Dutch citizen and naturalized American named Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest*. Beach Haven, N.J., 1989, 2 vols.
- 4 *The Canton-Macao Dagregisters 1762*. Translation and Annotation by Paul A. Van Dyke and Cynthia Viallé, Macao: Instituto Cultural, 2006.
- 5 Liu Yong, *The Dutch East India Company's Tea Trade with China, 1757-1781*. TANAP Monographs on the History of Asian-European Interaction, vol. 6, Leiden/Boston: Brill Publishers, 2007, pp. 101-111.
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- 8 Amasa Delano, *Delano's voyages of commerce and discovery: Amasa Delano in China, the Pacific Islands, Australia, and South America, 1789-1807*, Stockbridge, Mass.: Berkshire House Publishers, 1994.
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- 11 Chrétien-Louis-Joseph de Guignes, *Voyages à Peking, Manille et l'île de France, faits dans l'intervalle des années 1784 à 1801*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1808, 3 vols.
- 12 J. J. L. Duyvendak, 'The last Dutch embassy to the Chinese court', *T'oung Pao*, (1938) Vol. 34-4, pp. 1-137.
- 13 *Ibidem*, p. 20; Frank Lequin, *Isaac Titsingh in China (1794-1796)*, cit., p. 81.
- 14 Hendrik Müller, *Azie gespiegeld, Malakka en China*. Leiden: Sijthoff, 1918, p. 130.
- 15 Eleanor H. Gustafson, 'Hidden Meaning, Dutch American Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801)', *Magazine Antiques*, October 2004. http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1026/is_4_166/ai_n6276484



The Bookkeeper and the Sultan, the First Dutch Visit to Pontianak, 1778

JURRIEN VAN GOOR*



In the many letters that Indonesian princes wrote to the Governor-General of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) at Batavia, the relative status is expressed in the address. The titles range from 'friend and ally' to 'father' and 'grandfather', reflecting the formal relationship laid down in the contracts. The address shows the position the VOC occupied during the greater part of the 17th and 18th century.¹ The Dutch East India Company, though a large bureaucratic apparatus, was approached in a personified way. The formal distance to the Governor-General was expressed in terms derived from daily social life. It also makes one realize that a trading company had become an Asian ruler and in the Indonesian archipelago the VOC constituted an important political power.

From the beginning the Dutch traders were drawn into politics by the harbour-princes they had to deal with. Strife and rivalry in the Indonesian archipelago were very intense in the beginning of the 17th century; there was no central power. A number of new states, connected with the trade in spices and pepper, had come to the fore. In these kingdoms there was a strong connection between royal power and the management of the proceeds of that trade, which made the customers interesting partners for more than one reason. They could bring wealth to the ruler, enabling him to overcome his rivals, embellish his court and subdue local grandees. Trade was an economic tool

for political gain. Enlightening in this sense are the descriptions of the first arrival of the Dutch in Banten, Aceh and the Moluccan kingdoms.² Everywhere they were asked to take part in campaigns against neighbouring princes or against the Portuguese, in exchange for shiploads of spices. Within a relatively short time, three quarters of a century, the Dutch had firmly established themselves as a new central power, running an economic and political network that stretched out into the most remote corners of the archipelago. The actual Company state that had arisen was a conglomerate of territorial possessions, exclusive trade rights, a network of vassals or client states, and a number of allies.³

Batavia was neither the exclusive power, nor the only state in the area; it was a 'primus inter pares.' The Dutch East India Company had not only become a great force and an important factor to reckon with; it was also a potential patron. The requests for Dutch aid, protection or friendship did not diminish after the Company's first establishment. The regular occurrence of exactly this phenomenon through the 17th and 18th centuries makes clear that the Dutch had become part and parcel of the political landscape. This situation deeply influenced the position of its servants vis-à-vis local rulers. Instead of remaining mere trading-agents, they also had to act as diplomats in the cities where they were established. Their superiors in Batavia were primarily interested in trade and did not want them to dabble much in politics. To withdraw completely from

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politics was never possible. Some Company agents, probably most of them, were well-enough suited to their task, but others failed, like Nicolaas Kloek in Pontianak.

The story of the first contacts between the Sultan of Pontianak and the company's bookkeeper Kloek is an example of the many problems inherent to this relationship. The opportunity to analyse so deeply these first personal contacts is due to the richness of the Company archives and the mental disposition of Nicolaas Kloek. As a representative of the Company he was a downright failure; as a recorder of his own miseries and reporter of the situation at the Pontianak court it would be difficult to find his equal.⁴ Therefore, the relationship between these two men provides us with an interesting example of daily political life on the local level.

Before we start the analysis, it is useful to bear in mind the statement of the Dutch historian J. C. van Leur. He once characterized the influence and power of the VOC as follows: 'The threads coming together at Batavia stretched far and wide, but they were fragile and often without political significance.'⁵ Van Leur's viewpoint embraced the entirety of the VOC's Asian contacts, and formed part of a chain of reasoning which set out to contradict the idea that in the 18th century one could speak of a European Asia. 'It knew,' he went on, 'a mighty fabric of a strong, broad weave with a more fragile Western warp thread inserted in it at wide intervals.' Van Leur's words offer a good starting point for the analysis of the relationship between the Dutch and Pontianak on the western coast of Kalimantan between 1778 and about 1840. The threads between Batavia and Pontianak were indeed fragile, and even non-existent between 1791 and 1819. Both in 1778 and 1819 the reigning Sultan of Pontianak was very eager for Dutch recognition of his position. The Sultanate had been founded only a short time before the first Dutchman visited the place in 1778.

The requests of the Sultans of Pontianak in themselves did not constitute an exceptional phenomenon in the history of the Indonesian archipelago. The Sultan of neighbouring Sambas did the same, and there are many other examples of a ruler looking for the support of a great power in the archipelago. The histories of Perak, Palembang and Banjarmasin, to name but a few, show the same characteristics. In this sense the activities of the Sultans

of Pontianak are an illustration of a recurring theme in the history of the Indonesian archipelago: the attraction between a powerful centre and a state on its periphery. Translated into general terms, this implied the emergence of a strong polity based on Java, Sumatra or mainland Asia, which came to dominate, more or less successfully, the archipelago and parts of the Malay Peninsula. Smaller or regional powers, dissatisfied factions within the royal courts, unruly princelings, *anak raja* (son of a prince), and royal pretenders were always willing to look for support elsewhere to gain a foothold or a more secure position. Smaller polities that dominated parts of the archipelago were states like Aceh, Malakka and the Moluccan Sultanates. Among the greater powers were Srivijaya, Majapahit and the VOC or *Kompenie*. In the 17th century, the Thai kingdom of Ayuthaya wielded also great influence in the Malay world. An outward symbol of obedience or vassalage was expressed in the habit of sending golden and silver flowers to the Thai court. Afterwards the ambassadors left richly remunerated. It sometimes occurred, for instance in the case of Jambi around 1680, that local rulers applied for support to more than one great power, which in this case were Thailand and Mataram.⁶

This pattern of alliances and vassalage did not alter after the coming of the Europeans. It just meant that more powers had entered the arena, and could be drawn into the political vicissitudes of the area. From the first moment Dutch traders arrived, Indonesian rulers tried to use them in struggles with other princes and against the Portuguese. A hundred years after their first arrival, when the Dutch had established themselves firmly in the Spice region and had founded their headquarters in Batavia, the situation had not changed fundamentally. Repeatedly princes requested the Dutch to settle in their country, offering glittering prizes like half the proceeds of the gold rivers of Jambi, a monopoly of pepper in Banjarmasin, and so on. The Dutch, for their part, were by no means eager to enter into these propositions, for they feared being drawn into internal struggles. They were aware of the fact that a Dutch settlement was meant as a barrier against invaders from the sea, and that an exclusive monopoly often meant an enlargement of the royal revenue and an according increase in royal power.

Here the emphasis will be upon a case of interaction between centre and periphery in which the

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Dutch were involved. It should be stated at the start that the influence and power of the Dutch East India Company and, after 1816, the Dutch East Indian government, should be considered one of a kind. The *Kompenie* operated as one of the greater powers in the archipelago: it exercised its influence directly in certain areas, while with other local powers alliances or monopoly contracts were concluded; the *Kompenie* regularly patrolled large areas of the waters in the East. In this way the VOC and later on the Dutch East Indian government can best be characterized as an Ancien Régime state, a conglomerate of territorial possessions, rights and pretensions exercised in a certain area without definite boundaries. Until far into the 19th century the Dutch government was unwilling to indicate exactly where its territorial claims ended. The transition from Company to state about 1800 did not constitute a break with the past as great as might be expected from the change in name, and certainly not if the matter is seen in an Asian perspective. After 1800, tendencies towards formal state-formation were stronger in Dutch circles than before, although one should not forget that the basis for the Dutch East Indies had been laid in the heyday of the Company.

The regional states shared a number of characteristics with the *Kompenie* state. Local lords were not always omnipotent within their realm, but were dependent upon relatives, allies and chiefs. Boundaries were very often not fixed, for the possession of a strategic position on a river was more important for maintaining superiority in a given area.

ECONOMICS AND POLITICS: THE RISE OF PONTIANAK

In and around the basin of the Kapuas River several states existed in the 18th century. On the coast were to be found Sukadana, Mampawa and Sambas, while further inland were situated Landak, Tayan, Sanggau, Sekadau and Sintang. In terms of the genealogy of the ruling houses, these states could be divided into three different groups. Sukadana and Landak claimed extraction from Majapahit; Sambas originally stemmed from Brunei, while Mampawa was in Buginese hands. All houses were interrelated by marriage. Sukadana had been the superior power in the area in older days. It had disintegrated, and Landak had broken away at the end of the 17th century, enlisted

the help of Banten, and had since been its vassal. Sukadana offered only a token acceptance of the Banten overlordship, and maintained itself independently. Mampawa was originally a Dayak kingdom that came under the influence of Sukadana through the wedding between a princess of the ruling house and the Sultan of Sukadana. Their daughter married the Buginese Daeng Menambong, whose descendant ruled thereafter. The states on the river were 'Malay kingdoms.' All of them consisted of a 'Malay' minority, which provided the ruling houses, the ministers and other officials, and a Dayak majority that lived in a more or less subordinate position. Several cultural traditions and ethnic origins had influenced these rulers. Javanese influence can be gauged from the claim to Majapahit origins by Sukadana, Sanggau, Sintang and Tayan. The suzerainty of Banten over Landak was expressed in the bestowal of titles. The Buginese had mixed with the Malays, the rulers of Pontianak were Arabs from Hadhramaut, and all of them had married Dayak women. Although these differences were sometimes expressed in dress and behaviour, the 'Malays' also had much in common. The origin of these river states was a combination of Malay/Javanese/Buginese trading activities with a Dayak willingness to submit to certain tribute obligations in exchange for highly prized commodities that were very scarce in the interior.⁷

Among the goods imported were salt, iron, cloth and tobacco. Exports included rice, gold, diamonds and certain forest products. The relationship between the Dayaks and the Malays was never purely commercial, but was always tinged by traditional and sacral elements. For instance, the myth of the origin of the rulers of Sanggau relates that this kingdom was founded on the spot where the entourage of Princess Dara Nanti from Sukadana met a group of people who were not able to talk because of their hairy tongues. After the distribution of salt they had learnt to speak. Dara Nanti married a leper she had healed—not an unusual theme in many a myth of origin in the Indonesian archipelago—and they produced the first kings of Sanggau. The kings more or less organized trade between the Dayaks and the people on the coast. Part of this trade was subjected to fixed rules about the exchange rates whereby the Malay rulers, their *menteris* (ministers), and descendants were entitled to exchange a fixed number of items on specified occasions at established prices with the Dayaks they held in

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appanage. The volume of exchange goods permitted depended on a person's rank. Our sources indicate that it was not always easy for a collector of goods to get what he was entitled to, and in order to coerce the people, the *anak raja* sometimes sent out a large party to live in a Dayak village until the inhabitants had paid. According to oral traditions taken down by Dutch civil servants, the Malays gradually became more oppressive, and the equal position between the original inhabitants and the newcomers was altered to the advantage of the latter. The process in which enterprising Malays obtained an influential position within a Dayak community was still to be seen at the end of the 19th century.⁸

At the time the first Dutchmen visited the western coast of Kalimantan, the subjection of Dayak communities to the Malays was still in progress. In the river kingdoms a clear distinction was maintained between the two parties. The obligations of the Dayaks to the ruler were more onerous than those of the Malays. The institutionalization of the relationship between the two groups was clear from the habit of the Malay rulers of awarding titles and ranks to the Dayak

chiefs. Dayaks served as part of the fighting force of the Malay princes. Marriages between the rulers and Dayak girls regularly took place. On the other hand Dayaks were not allowed to transgress the religious border and embrace Islam, for otherwise the rulers would have lost their tribute-payers. Apart from standardized exchange, private trade between dealers in forest products and Dayaks also occurred. The only items that fell outside the general trade categories mentioned were the large Chinese jars, or *tempajan*. These were held in high esteem and were a token of personal wealth.

The Malay kingdoms on the river were based on trade; the stronger the position, the better the opportunity to monopolize trade. Sanggau for instance forbade traders from the coast to pass its boundaries and bring goods up the river. All merchants had to sell their wares there at a fixed price. People from kingdoms further up the river were not permitted to bypass Sanggau on their way downstream, but were

Dayak people in their war dress by F. Boyle, *Illustrated London News*, November 5, 1864.



DYAKS IN THEIR WAR DRESS.

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forced to buy all necessities there. It is not yet clear who dominated the entrance to the estuary of the Kapuas before the foundation of Pontianak. Probably Sanggau, together with Landak, had the best claim to being the most important state. Landak was situated on a tributary of the Kapuas and could be reached only by several days of rowing.⁹ The *dalem* (palace) of its *panembahan* (prince) was less refined than the one at Pontianak. In dress and behaviour Landak looked more like a mixed Malay-Dayak state than a Javanized Malay kingdom. The mouth of the Kapuas offered a much better inlet for ships than the river at Sambas or Sukadana. The hinterland of the Kapuas comprised a much larger area than that of the other kingdoms. On the other hand it should be stressed that easy access to a river could constitute a danger. The possibility of a sudden attack by pirates from the sea was a constant threat. Overland roads were also important. No one could claim complete control of the whole of the Kapuas: several states were to be found along its borders deep inland, like Meliau, Sekadau, Sintang and others, each with its own clientele of Dayaks. The foundation of Pontianak on a site much nearer to the mouth of the river was partly intended to ward off any pirates.

Originally the name Pontianak was attached to an island in the river near the confluence of the Kapuas and Landak rivers. All traffic on the river had to pass this spot. The reasons it had not been occupied permanently much earlier than 1772 are probably twofold. Firstly, most states on the western coast of Kalimantan preferred a less open access from the sea. Secondly the place was haunted: it derived its name from the spirits of women who had died in childbirth, and who were said to linger on there. Only Buginese had on occasion dared to settle there temporarily.

On 14 Rajab 1185 A.H. (1772) *pangeran* (prince) Sayid Syarif Yusuf Alkadri, with fourteen *proas* (small ship) and two European ships, manned by two hundred followers, attacked the island from all sides. After a heavy bombardment to chase away the *pontianak* (spirit of a woman died in childbirth), the *pangeran* was the first to jump on land and to start clearing the island. First of all a mosque was built, and then a house for Syarif Yusuf. Those accompanying him were members of the leader's family, Buginese and Malays. The great charisma of the *pangeran* became manifest in the way he had overcome the dangers associated with

the island. This did not mean however that he held undisputed power over his followers. The sovereignty over Pontianak was vested in the first founders, and only those who lived within the city were entitled to elect the new ruler. The inhabitants could not be taxed, nor was the ruler allowed to demand services except for the defence of the city. The ruler had to pay for his own. Within a relatively short time, the *pangeran* succeeded in founding a settlement that seemed destined to rule over the older kingdoms on the coast. In 1778 he was given the title of sultan. His career and the first fifty years of his kingdom offer some insights into the way in which these kingdoms functioned, and how their rulers rose in rank and power.

The origins of Pontianak had much to do with the special qualities of its founder Syarif Yusuf, also called Sultan Syarif Abdurachman ibn Husayn Alkadri. Personal charisma, an excellent education, and noble blood were the ingredients for a successful start in the world. Another element important for the rise of the new state was its position as a trading station. A third factor was a good relationship with the greater powers in the archipelago: the princes of Johor and the Dutch.

Syarif Yusuf's father, Syarif Husayn ibn Achmad Alkadri came from Hadhramout to the Indonesian archipelago in about 1734, and settled in Sukadana. He soon made a name for himself through his great religious knowledge and personal devotion. The Sultan gave him a former slave-girl in marriage, who also happened to be the mother of the current sultan of Matan. She gave birth to Syarif Yusuf. Due to problems with the ruler of Sukadana about the administration of justice, Husayn moved to Mampawa, which was not entirely unexpected, for the ruler of Mampawa had already begged him many times to settle in his country. Here he became supreme judge with the title of Tuan Besar (Great Lord). In these places Yusuf spent the greater part of his boyhood. By both descent and breeding he became an *anak raja*, with the aspirations that went with this status. From his early youth he showed qualities that made him rise above other princelings.¹⁰

The intrepid way in which Yusuf led his men during the attack upon the island of Pontianak shows a fundamental trait of his character. Qualities of daring, leadership, and the ability to assemble and maintain a following, are features already present in the stories about his youth, another characteristic being the ability

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to win support from all corners. Undoubtedly the high esteem accorded to his father, not only on the western coast of Kalimantan, but also by the princes of Palembang and those of Riau/Johor, was important for his first beginning. His own qualities did the rest. In one of the first written accounts about his younger years it is stated that Syarif Yusuf assembled around him a gang of boys, who went out to kill and eat other people's goats. Although Syarif Husayn paid for the damage, he was neither willing nor able to stop his son. Another story makes clear that Yusuf was not lacking in imagination. While his father and other men were saying prayers for the body of a drowned man, from underneath the floor Yusuf put a stick in the corpse's clothes and so lifted him up. Whether or not it was true, it clearly displays the reputation that Yusuf had earned.

The Kompenie operated as one of the greater powers in the archipelago: it exercised its influence directly in certain areas, while with other local powers alliances or monopoly contracts were concluded...

After his coming of age, Yusuf and his friends made a living by attacking small ships in the coastal rivers, an occupation quite common among *anak raja*. In dress and behaviour Yusuf is said to have been an impressive man of gracious manners. His birth, together with his father's position and behaviour made him quite acceptable to the ruler of Mampawa, who gave him a sister in marriage. In 1768 during a long stay in Banjarmasin, he secured in marriage Ratu Sribanom, a daughter of the reigning Sultan of Banjar. This prince was by far the most impressive of the rulers of Kalimantan at that time. He could claim a long pedigree, and his predecessors stemmed from Majapahit. A large part of the coastal area of South Kalimantan was paying tribute to him, or had done so in the past. Great festivities accompanied the marriage. Syarif Husayn had come over from Mampawa to take

part in the celebration. According to the Banjarese *adat* (traditional law) Yusuf was elevated to the rank of *pangeran* by his father-in-law after the wedding. He stayed there for three years and had two children by Ratu Sribanom. It is more than likely that these years spent at a court full of splendour were crucial to the education of the future sultan. Banjar became more or less his standard. It is possible that in Pontianak the *adat* of Banjarmasin was applied. Banjar stood out head and shoulders above Mampawa in splendour. Banjar had grown rich in the pepper trade, while Mampawa at that time had a much smaller trade, mainly in salt and minor commodities with the Dayaks of the interior. The Chinese migration and gold mining was only beginning. In Banjarmasin, Syarif Yusuf was able to meet many more people than would have been the case in Mampawa. He established a good relationship with the Dutch Resident there, and once they were involved together in an endeavour to put another sultan on Banjarmasin's throne. In Mampawa, Dutchmen and other Europeans were seldom seen. The reigning *panembahan* only met his second Dutchman as late as 1778, although his ancestors had lived in Batavia.¹¹

Traders of many different countries visited Banjarmasin. Between the ruling house and the chiefs there was a continuous struggle over the sale of pepper. Pepper was the most important export crop of the region and the one that brought in large revenues. Chinese junks, European traders, and skippers from all parts of the archipelago frequented the port. The position of the Sultan as supreme ruler was undermined by the many outlets for illegal trade in pepper along the coast. Political positions depended upon the access to the pepper trade. The importance of pepper for the ruling dynasty can be gauged from the references to pepper cultivation in the *Hikayat Banjar* [Chronicle of the House of Banjarmasin], in which the forefathers exhort the later sultans not to grow pepper for export.¹²

As far as we can tell, Syarif Yusuf spent his time in Banjarmasin assembling enough riches to establish his position. An indication of the way he used economic means as a source of political influence is told in a story by a man from Banjar who had known him. Syarif Yusuf was said to have bought opium from a Frenchman and to have sold it for a much lower price. To dispense with his debts he had killed the Frenchman. Whatever the truth of this story—there are other versions of it—it points to an important problem: Syarif's constant need

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of money to pay the expenses of his entourage. At Pontianak, Javanese *juragan* (skipper), Bugis traders and Chinese skippers complained about the length of time they had to wait for their money. 'Robbing Peter to pay Paul' is probably the best way of characterising the quality of this economic policy.¹³

During his stay in Banjarmasin Yusuf ran into trouble with the Sultan as a consequence of his involvement in an attempt on the throne. He had to leave the country and went to Mampawa. The *panembahan*, afraid of his imposing brother-in-law, advised him to settle at Pontianak. The new settlement was founded with the approval of the older state of Sanggau, because of the barrier it constituted against pirates. According to the traditions of Sanggau, Pontianak was built with the help of the Dayak subjects of the *panembahan* of that state. Concerning the proceeds of the trade on the river, it was agreed to divide equally the profits made from the Chinese traders. Every Chinese had to pay one real of eight on entering the river. A Chinese who had worked in the goldfield had to pay a tael of gold on his return to his fatherland, a sum of money equal to a third or one half of the value of a debt-bondsman. Duties levied on the Chinese, and income from his personal trade, seem to have been the most important sources of Syarif Yusuf's income. He monopolized the trade in salt and rice. Both commodities could be bartered against gold and forest products. It also seems that the Syarif continued to fit out privateers. He owned a number of *penjajaps* (armed vessel), which were used to ambush other vessels. Debt-bondsmen and slaves often manned ships of this kind. A fixed share of the booty had to be given to the Sultan. Comparable relationships were used in other situations in order to bind a number of people to a rich man or noble. The constant need of Syarif Yusuf may be explained by his need to bind as many people as possible to his settlement and his person. Other reasons given for his great need of money were his growing family and the necessity to live as a prince. The growth of his family was not inconsiderable. He married twenty wives. By about 1850, 800 living men and women could claim him as a forefather. In contradistinction to other princes in the area, he had no gold or diamond mines in his territory, neither was he lord over any Dayaks who could mine gold. He was not able to tax his Malay subjects, so he was left to use his own wits and had to provide for himself by trade and commerce. He was

certainly living in a royal style, his *dalem* was full of attendants and other followers, the *benteng* (fortress) and *kraton* (palace) were extensive, and a *balai* (open council hall) was set apart in front of the *dalem*. At his inauguration as a Sultan by the Dutch in 1779 he organized great festivities in which several gamelans were used. More than a thousand people took part in the *selamatan* (ritual meal) afterwards. Compared with the 200 men he had brought with him seven years before, this meant an enormous increase, even if not all of them were inhabitants of the place. He also cut a good figure in comparison with his neighbours. Landak consisted of few Malay subjects, but numbered a lot of Dayaks. Therefore we may assume that Syarif Yusuf's forces were sufficient to defend his position and to bar the entrance to the river, but that he was not strong enough to attack neighbouring princes with his own forces alone. The strong defensive position of Pontianak becomes clear also from a comparison between the number of guns in the *benteng* at Pontianak and those at Landak. The *panembahan* owned only two, while the Syarif had many more.¹⁴

We may safely assume that the rise of Pontianak soon evoked bitter feelings among neighbouring princes. Within a few years of its foundation, Pontianak had grown so quickly that princes who lived higher up the stream threatened to burn it down. In the early stages the support of the rulers of Mampawa and Sukadana prevented an attack. Six years later, war actually broke out. In the local chronicles a number of reasons are mentioned, one of which was the refusal of the rulers of Sanggau to pay gold as a form of tribute to the king of Sukadana. The *panembahan* of Mampawa was requested to bring the people of Sanggau to terms. He was assisted by Syarif Yusuf and Raja Haji, the son of the former Buginese Raja Muda of Johor, Daeng Cellak. Raja Haji and the *panembahan* were cousins. Syarif Yusuf, who had married a niece of Raja Haji, strengthened the bond by giving him a sister in marriage. After one or two assaults, Sanggau was burned down, the population fled inland, and the strong ironwood palisade of the *dalem* of Sanggau was brought over to Pontianak and was used to strengthen the syarif's *kraton*. From Dutch sources one might gain the impression that the role of Mampawa was less important than stated in the chronicle. Syarif Yusuf had to pay for the upkeep of Raja Haji's following for fourteen months, which explains his shortness of funds

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when the first Dutch envoy reached Pontianak in 1778. The reason given was the heavy cost of the visit of his new brother-in-law.

Yet the costs were worth paying. Sanggau had relinquished its part in the Chinese trade. Syarif Yusuf had strengthened his grip on the river by building a *benteng* near Pulau Jambu to control the trade through the southern outlet of the Kapuas. After the return from Sanggau, Raja Haji elevated the Syarif to the rank of Sultan of Pontianak and Sesango. Although this did not mean a real increase in power over his subjects, the status of the new lord was enhanced among the princes of Borneo. The rulers of Sanggau never acknowledged this pretension. In later years the relationship was improved, and Raden Patih of Sanggau was adopted as Sultan Abdulrachman's eldest son. From this event the house of Sanggau claimed equality with the house of Pontianak. The strength of Sanggau lay mainly in the opportunity to impede the trade in foodstuffs with Pontianak and Landak, states with a shortage of rice.¹⁵

Besides its strategic position on the river, Pontianak profited from a more general increase in trade in western Kalimantan at the time. The Chinese junks that travelled between the mainland and Batavia or Banjarmasin also came to the area and left their people behind to dig for gold and diamonds. In this competition for wealth the Buginese traders from Mampawa were the most successful. The Sultan of Banten, who was the official overlord of the region in which Pontianak was founded, was not able to have his power enhanced. The Buginese outwitted his traders. It also seems that the settlement of Pontianak made it more difficult for traders from Banten to take part in this profitable trade. Not being able to make Landak pay its tribute, the Sultan of Banten decided to cede his rights and claims voluntarily to the Company. 'Son Paduka Sultan' offered Landak and Sukadana with all its income to the Governor-General at Batavia. The reason for the Dutch to accept the offer was the reported increase of trade. In order to organize the transfer of power, a mixed Bantenese-Dutch commission was sent out. The Bantenese had the task of explaining the new position, while the Dutch were to take over the rights and had to negotiate the relationship with the new vassals. The commission was empowered to nominate anybody as a ruler 'who was willing to serve the company in his own fatherland.' Whoever

this might become was no yet clear. In the instruction both the *pangeran* of Landak and Syarif Yusuf were mentioned.

On their way to western Kalimantan, the commissioners were told that the Syarif had been raised to the rank of sultan. In July 1778, shortly after the elevation of Syarif Yusuf as Sultan Abdulrachman, the envoys reached Pontianak. Raja Haji had left town together with a number of Buginese of Landak, who had spread the rumour that the Company had come to take Yusuf prisoner and would send him to Ceylon. Syarif Yusuf for a moment tried to counter a possible negative effect by sending one of his brothers to Batavia. Dutch sources suggest that he corresponded and traded with private Dutchmen on Java. Nothing came of the mission, however. The strategic position of Pontianak made Yusuf win the day. Before the contact could be established with Landak or Sukadana, the Dutch commissioners were already ensconced in his palace.

SYARIF YUSUF AND NICOLAAS KLOEK:
UNEASY ENCOUNTERS

At that time, Yusuf was in the prime of his life. Visitors describe him as a well-proportioned man of five-foot-six, with European looks, slightly brown, wearing a short beard and having a strong nose. He really behaved like a king, gracious and friendly toward his subjects, who were allowed audience at any time of the day. He took an active part in the deliberations of the council, and no decisions were taken without prior consultation. He attended all meetings in person. In matters in which he held the decisive vote, he did not let other people interfere. Generous, and even extravagant, he was willing to give everything away. His general friendliness did not exclude precaution, for he was said to be constantly on his guard against poison. Other qualities like pride, enterprising behaviour and good leadership are also mentioned.

Pontianak had grown rather quickly after its first foundation. Central to it were the great mosque and the palace. An impression of the state of the court, a mere six years after the foundation of the city, can be gauged from the description of the reception of the Dutch in 1778 and 1779. In the first year the commissioner was received in state by the captain of the Malay community on behalf of the Sultan. He was escorted to the palace by twelve musketeers and forty pikemen. Syarif Yusuf

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received him sitting on a sort of throne, while a high bench encrusted with small mirrors was reserved for the Dutchmen. The court dignitaries sat on the left on a common bench. The ceremonial followed the usual pattern of that at a Malay court. According to the *Tuhfat al Nafis* (The Precious Gift, the chronicle of house of Johor/Riau), the court of Pontianak was modelled on the one of Johor. Unfortunately, the titles of officials are not mentioned in the Dutch sources of those early years. In 1779, when another Dutch commissioner from Batavia brought the act of investiture of Syarif Yusuf as Sultan of Pontianak and Sesango, the attire was much more elaborate. The cortège consisted of twenty Buginese pikemen, the company's militia, two Malay scribes, a coach for the commission with two runners, Chinese and other chiefs of the city and the *juragan* of the vessels that were in the river. The Sultan's retainers lined the road on both sides while musicians played upon gamelans and other instruments. The Sultan was seated on a new throne covered with scarlet cloth and gold trimming, surrounded by more than twenty women from his household bearing regalia. The Dutch commissioners were seated on the right side on chairs. The crown prince and all the dignitaries were placed on the left side. The entire floor of the room was covered with carpets. When we read that more than a thousand persons were present at the *selamatan* afterwards, we get some idea of the number of inhabitants of Pontianak at that time.

The relative status of Pontianak becomes clearer if compared with the reception of the act of investiture in Landak. The *pangeran* of Landak had fewer guns and gamelans and fewer Malay retainers; the men of his following were dressed in the Malay fashion, the women wore only a sarong. The ceremonial was less well organised. Guns were discharged, while some Dayaks jumped around swinging with their cleavers. The obverse of the coin was less splendid. The stay of Raja Haji and his following, two Dutch commissions, and the festivities on these occasions left the new Sultan practically broke. But also in this respect his relative position vis-à-vis Landak can be ascertained. The *pangeran* had much smaller debts.¹⁶

Foremost among the commission was Nicolaas Kloek, bookkeeper in Banten, who was designated to become the first Dutch Resident in Pontianak. Kloek came from Glückstadt in Schleswig-Holstein, nowadays Germany. He had already served the

company for twenty years in different outposts in Eastern Indonesia. He came from the military ranks, having been a corporal in Ternate. Being a bookkeeper in Banten did not mean that he could boast much experience in dealing with Indonesian princes: this was the primary concern of the Dutch commander and other high-ranking officials there. Kloek, who saw the commission as an opportunity to become head of a station, volunteered for the job. As such he was entrusted with the negotiations with the local rulers he was to meet. His instruction was to take possession of the land and install a ruler, to hoist the Dutch flag and to inquire after the proceeds of the country. No fort or *benteng* should be built before a clear insight had been gained into the income the Company was to get from tolls and other dues. The mission became Kloek's first major assignment. From his letters one can glean a strong consciousness of facing an important task. Alas, he was not up to it. The long time he had spent in subaltern positions and his military approach were the main handicaps. Preoccupied with security, he was not able to deal with Syarif Yusuf or other princes in an open way, mistrusting their intentions too deeply. His letters also show contempt of indigenous rule, which he considered to be tyrannous and arbitrary. In his letters and in the talks with the people of Pontianak and Landak he posed as a friend of the 'common man', offering them his protection against their rulers.¹⁷ As a consequence of these ideas, Company rule should be introduced. This train of thought was too deeply ingrained to alter under pressure of circumstances. Kloek wanted to introduce direct Dutch rule. He was not satisfied with a nominal acceptance of suzerainty but wanted to bring it about completely. After an altercation with Syarif Yusuf over the use of Company passes, he disclosed his views in a letter to Batavia saying that he had to give in, 'because I'm not able to prescribe the law to him yet. But when by means of a stratagem, I can penetrate into his government in such a way that I win the regard of his subjects, while keeping the *benteng* in good order, I hope to set limits to his violence and tyranny.'¹⁸ The ensuing sequence of events after Kloek's arrival was full of drama until the end, when Kloek completely broke down in a frenzy. In one of his last letters he confessed that he never in his life had wanted a native to be his friend. The conflict that arose very soon between the Syarif and Kloek undoubtedly had to do with Kloek's character and his

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inability to understand the ruler of Pontianak. Yet apart from the picturesque anecdotes in this history, some fundamental elements of the relation between Batavia and a ruler in the region can be discerned. It also throws light on the actual position of the Sultan.

The reason we know so much of the daily skirmishes between the Sultan and Klock, has most probably to do with Klock being a German. In that country many boys and men were accustomed to write a travelogue with a strong autobiographic character. Klock's moralistic and personal remarks strongly suggest such an aim.¹⁹

From the beginning Klock showed ignorance masked by overdone bravado. Without enquiring into the state of affairs or weighing the position of Landak, he almost directly accepted the Sultan of Pontianak as the new potentate in the area. In a dramatic session, Sultan Abdulrachman had succeeded in finding favour with Klock. The Sultan used all his diplomatic skill and psychological insight and was willing to go rather far in order to make Klock his friend and ally. This meeting was the first of a series of bizarre encounters between the two men, who very soon were to become antagonists. The following episode is 'no novel by aggrandizement' to quote Klock's words, but is directly taken from the sources.²⁰

In their first meeting, the Sultan did his best to take away all suspicions the Dutch might harbour. He pointed out that neither he nor any of his subjects had ever done the Company any harm. He tried to counter possible reproaches beforehand, so he did not deny having been in possession of a former Company vessel, saying that he had not taken it himself, but that he had bought the ship in order to get the guns on it. Nor had the robbery of another, French, ship been an act of piracy; it was a case of honour, the Frenchmen having bought gold and jewels without paying him. He went on 'saying not to fear anybody, being strong enough to fend for himself.' Hereupon Klock remonstrated that the Company had no fear either, and could be a formidable opponent. Even if Syarif could muster a thousand men, he might win for the moment, but in the end, perhaps after ten years, the Company would destroy him. The message was clear: the best thing would be to accept the Company's sovereignty. Yusuf retaliated by saying that he had not meant to threaten the company, but that he had always wanted to live in peace with the Dutch. The atmosphere was tense. Klock

who was sitting opposite the Sultan, held a double-barrelled gun ready on the table, while his slave-boy was guarding his back with a drawn Japanese sword. 'I wanted to make clear I felt no fear whatsoever.' A request of the Sultan to disarm was met by a refusal stating that Dutchmen did not lay off their arms first. Hereupon the Sultan called one of his wives, handed over his *keris* and returned smilingly to Klock, trying to embrace him. 'I however evaded him suspecting another weapon in his dress.' Thereupon the Sultan opened his gown and showed his bare chest. 'Then I let my suspicion go and went towards him. He did the same and embraced me shedding many tears. I asked him to sit down and to feel at ease, because the Company had not come to take him prisoner, but only to take possession of the effects it was legally entitled to. Then he promised always to remain faithful to the Company, even if he should be banished to Ceylon.'

A few days later the agreement was officially sealed by the reading of the act of cession by Banten of Landak and Sukadana to the Company in front of the throne of Pontianak in the presence of the inhabitants. Publicly Syarif Yusuf announced his willingness to attach himself to the Company and to send his son to Batavia. On the Sultan's request that one Dutchman should stay behind, Klock willingly yielded. As a token of goodwill the Sultan offered the heavily armed *benteng*, his fort, as a place to stay. Apparently both parties enjoyed the new situation. The Company without much trouble had won a foothold in western Kalimantan, while the Sultan had found a mighty suzerain to protect him, who acknowledged his title, enhanced his status by a higher number of salutes than other princes in the area were accorded, and who lent extra prestige to the weekly visit to the mosque by accompanying the Sultan with a Dutch guard of honour. As a token of the new alliance, the Dutch flag was hoisted in Pontianak. The position of ruling family was strengthened by a Dutch guarantee of the future succession of Syarif Kasim: an important promise considering that the ruler of Pontianak had to be chosen by the descendants of the original inhabitants of the town. And last but not least, the Company could lend money and was a source of credit; princes in western Kalimantan did not hesitate to plead for Company support if their subjects were maltreated elsewhere. In sum, there was no reason to mistrust Yusuf's willingness to accept Batavia as his suzerain.

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The importance of the new alliance can be gauged from the gamut of reactions among other princes in the area. Within the shortest time possible, Kloeck had drifted into the middle of politics in western Kalimantan. From the reactions, two elements can be discerned. First and foremost, other princes strongly felt that they had been outmanoeuvred by the newcomer Pontianak, who reaped all the advantages of the Company's advent. Secondly, all of them tried to induce the Dutch to ally with them, too. In order to lure the Dutch away from their new friends, some princes did not shrink from offering to exterminate Pontianak and its ruler. All tried to impress the Dutch with stories about the number of men they could muster and the allies they were able to bring into the field against the new city. Within two months after the Dutch arrival at Pontianak, the *pangeran* of Landak, who felt offended because his family had older claims on pre-eminence in the area, approached Kloeck with the offer of an alliance against Syarif Yusuf; in order to emphasize his words, he came to Pontianak with eight hundred men and sixty ships. Gusti Bandar, a brother of the ruler of Sukadana, had already preceded him with three hundred men, and with the same message. The lord of Mampawa also opened overtures about an alliance; he, too, tried to interest Kloeck in ventures against another ruler. Syarif Yusuf did not lag far behind; he proposed to bring the whole island under Dutch rule. Aside from the reactions of a number of smaller princelings who in the same way tried to make the best of the coming of the Dutch, it should be sufficiently clear that regional politics in western Kalimantan were constantly in motion. A continuous reshuffling of alliances, secret plotting and intriguing and defection of vassals are the main features of this process. Outsiders could influence the system strongly by bringing new forces and means to the game. Syarif Yusuf, by playing out his strategic position on the river, was able to get the upper hand and score off his neighbours. By giving Kloeck entrance to his *benteng* and advising him on some crucial matters he made full use of his new suzerain. At first all the rewards of the new alliance seemed to be his. None of his neighbours would dare to face him openly thanks to the Company flag that was hoisted above the *benteng*.

The establishment of the Company at Pontianak only meant the beginning of a struggle for power between Kloeck and the Sultan. The main reason for the friction was Kloeck's wish to introduce Dutch rule.

He felt entitled to do so because of the cession of the territory by Banten and the alliances concluded afterwards with Pontianak and Landak. If this policy had been executed in reality the Sultan would have been robbed of all he had won in the previous years. The ensuing conflict and the reaction of W. A. Palm, who was sent in 1779 to settle the problems, show not only that Kloeck overstepped his instructions, but also misinterpreted the position of the Sultan. This problem was aggravated by Kloeck's distrust of native rule.²¹

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The material position of the Sultan of Pontianak mainly depended upon his share in the trade that passed on through the city. He owned a number of ships and was said to take part in certain freebooting expeditions. He was not able to tax the inhabitants of the city directly. Trade was the mainstay for his large household, consisting of at least twenty wives, relatives and an unknown number of *panakawan*, armed men. To keep up his position not only meant the maintenance of a high material status, but also honour, outward splendour and recognition of the royal character by others. In all these fields Kloeck partly on purpose, partly unknowingly, became a direct menace to the Sultan. He even insulted him in his own house. In a number of altercations the limits placed by the Sultan became clear. For as long as possible he tried to protect Kloeck against the consequences of his own deeds and to maintain a good relationship. But the acceptance of Company suzerainty did not mean that the Sultan was without a will or policy of his own.

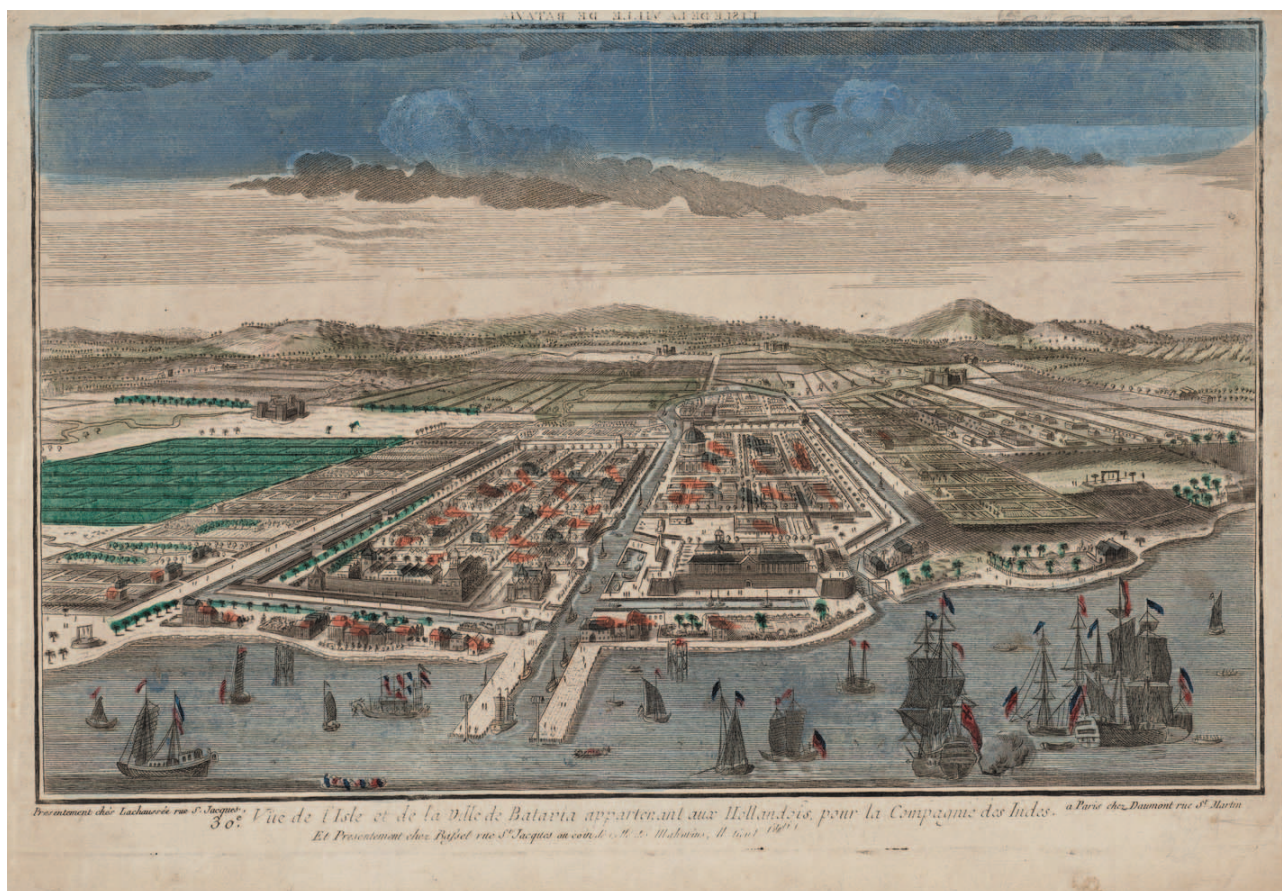
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The beginning was not too bad: on request of Syarif Yusuf, Kloek addressed him as Sultan although the Company had not yet recognized him as such—a token of honour ‘for the eyes of his subjects.’ The Sultan was willing to accept the Company as suzerain provided Batavia was willing to recognize his title and allow him to pass it to his descendants, and provided the Company was willing to provide him with a living and allow him to deliver products to Batavia.

Trade with Batavia meant much to Yusuf; he was practically broke when the Dutch arrived. He was heavily in debt to the traders from Java and the Bugis who frequented the city. The war with Sanggau and the long stay of Raja Haji had cost much. The Sultan promised to deliver to Batavia yearly a number of diamonds and some *pikul* (porters load) of gold in exchange for rice and salt. As Kloek’s computation of the profits of the new settlement was based on figures provided by the Sultan, a much too rosy picture was projected, as was shown afterwards. The Sultan’s want

of money was so great that he had to borrow from Kloek to send some diamonds as a present to Batavia. He exploited the strategic position of Pontianak to the utmost. People from Landak who had to pass his city were forced to cede their trading goods unless they could make direct tax payments, a practice also familiar in other places of western Kalimantan. The Sultan tried to exploit the Dutch in the same way, for within a short time he was heavily in debt to the Company. Several times he sounded Kloek for a loan or yearly subsidy, in order to be able ‘to live according to his rank and character and to be able to leave trade to others.’ The narrow connection between royal position and income was manifest. Thus, one may easily understand the danger for the Sultan’s position when Kloek started to meddle with trade and shipping in Pontianak and tried to undermine the Sultan’s relation with Landak.

I. Van Ryne, “Vue de l’isle et de la ville de Batavia appartenant aux Hollandois pour la Compagnie des Indes”, 1754. Courtesy of Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies.



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Some months after his coming, Klok and the Sultan had already quarrelled about the right to levy tolls on the river to Landak. Another point was whether people from Landak could deal with the Dutch directly without the intermediary of the Sultan. An endeavour of Klok to have a house built outside the *benteng* in which he could receive people from up-river was forbidden by the Sultan, and Yusuf was able—with some difficulty—to keep Klok from attacking another prince on the river. In consequence, some people were already telling Klok that the Sultan was more powerful than the Company.

Wilfully spread rumours, mutual spying, remonstrances and unnecessary shows of vigilance raised the tension, while open communication became more difficult. When Syarif Yusuf by accident walked into a thorough Dutch examination of Pontianak's weapons and guns, he reacted two days later by mounting a gun in front of his palace. The piece was removed when Klok complained to some locals that he considered it an unfriendly act. The tension erupted into an open conflict when Dutch soldiers made advances to the women from the Sultan's household who daily brought food. It seems that one of the women who had been kissed by the sergeant afterwards sent *sirih* (betel) as a token of willingness to meet again. When one evening two women from the Sultan's household were missing, an extensive search of the whole compound was started. Armed *panakawan*—retainers—also wanted to look in the Dutch lodgings. Klok, who had been roused by the noise, considered it only a pretext to surprise the Dutch, had all his men mount guard, and refused the *panakawan* entrance. When all the Dutchmen as one man jumped to their feet on the wooden boards of the stilted house, many fled from under the house, for Klok a clear indication of a ruse. During the rest of the night he and his slave boy sat up armed with his double-barrelled gun and the Japanese sword. Syarif Yusuf, who wanted to talk with him, was not allowed to come close. Hereupon the Sultan withdrew. The man who had brought the *sirih* was executed.

In the morning another encounter followed. The Sultan, who tried to appease Klok, was rebuffed. The bookkeeper even challenged him to a duel, accused him of treason, and questioned the fatherhood of the successor to the throne. When the Sultan, who remained silent, wanted to leave, Klok requested a safe place in which to live in peace. Hereupon the

Sultan was said to have implored him not to leave his palace, because the presence of the Company had given him more prestige with the other princes. Klok was completely out of his mind, as he confessed afterwards to have considered shooting the Sultan. Strange as it may seem at first sight, Klok was not insane as many might think. His behaviour was typical for military officers of his time, who were expected to fight any supposed slight upon their honour. Rude words, great insults were used to belittle the opponent. Showing off by playing a part as if on stage were elements of the Baroque style of conduct.

The inhabitants of the city closely followed the outcome of the conflict. Several traders, especially those who came from Java and Bugis, implored Klok to leave the *benteng* in order to prevent a war. Whatever may have been true of this, Klok indeed settled in the Chinese *kampong* (village), but for only one day, when all the soldiers became drunk owing to the bounteous supply of *arak*. He then moved out to 'Company territory' and made a new *benteng* on Batulayang, a piece of higher land, some miles downstream. Here he tried to blockade the city, not allowing ships to pass. He ended up with systematically firing shots every hour into the neighbouring wood. He once more rebuffed the Sultan by refusing to return runaway slaves from the Sultan's household.

A month before Klok had written down his version of what had happened, the Sultan had already warned Batavia about his unusual behaviour. 'Mister Klok does not want to trust me, and if you do not believe me then ask the traders.'²² The complaints led to a second Dutch mission to Pontianak, this one headed by W. A. Palm, an experienced hand, who knew Syarif Yusuf from the time they both spent in Banjarmasin. Within a day Palm was able to sort out fact and fancy and re-establish the relationship on the old footing. He ascribed the strange course of events to 'Klok's faintheartedness, and his being a man of insufficient experience with Malay princes, not being able to appraise Syarif's interest.'²³ A formal contract was agreed upon; the Company solemnly invested the Sultan in his rank and as a vassal. A new Resident was nominated, a man with long experience at the courts at Java. Though being a bookkeeper he was a real diplomat. His letters were mainly concerned with matters of trade and only hinted at political affairs in a minimal way. The relationship, however, was sound and stable.

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The advantages of the pact concluded between the Company and Pontianak were mostly in the Sultan's favour, if not always in writing, invariably in practice. The Dutch acknowledged his elevation as a Sultan. They provided him with money at a time when he was in dire financial straits, and they gave him support against neighbouring rulers. It seems more or less likely that Sultan Abdurachman changed his political preference. The Bugis of Landak who supported him in the fight with Sanggau had tried to set him against the Company, but in vain. From Klock's reports we get the impression, to say the least, that the relations between the states on the Kapuas were rather complicated. The prince of Landak felt himself passed over by the Dutch, and considered that they should have settled in Landak. The rulers of Landak and Sukadana were hardly on friendly terms with Pontianak. All of them envied Sultan Abdurachman's success. Company troops and ships were used during Klock's visit to keep Landak quiet. To sum up: the new Sultan seemed to be the outright winner. The kingdom with the smallest number of inhabitants was able to outmanoeuvre the other states in the neighbourhood with the help of outsiders, first by siding with Raja Haji, and then by entering into an agreement with the Dutch. The financial rewards of the new Dutch trading post, which were nicely computed beforehand by Klock, never came about. The Sultan kept the larger part of the profits. The Company supported him in his regional conflicts. In 1786 the Company and Abdurachman waged war against Sukadana and Mampawa. Mampawa's trade, which had seemed to expand considerably, was wiped out by a combined endeavour in which the Dutch led the attack, while the Sultan entered the scene in a very late phase of the blockade. He was, however, the first after the surrender to enter the *negeri* (state) and to accept the oath of fidelity of that part of the population that had stayed behind: truly the end of a successful intrigue.²⁴

The reasons given for the struggle between Mampawa and Pontianak are manifold. According to the Sultan of Sambas it had to do with a fraternal struggle. Syarif Abdurachman told the Dutch he had started the war because of the interdict on visiting his father's grave in Mampawa. The *Tuhfat al Nafis*, a Riau source, suggests that greed moved the ruler of Pontianak. Without intending to settle the matter definitely here, it seems that economic aspects played a

prominent part. After the establishment of the Dutch in Pontianak, the number of incoming ships dropped dramatically.²⁵ Whether this should be ascribed to the presence of the Dutch or to other factors is not clear. According to the Dutch Resident, this should not be attributed to the imposition of a Dutch tax upon incoming goods, but to the unwillingness or inability of the Sultan to pay the traders for the goods they had sold to him. All his money was dissipated by gifts and spent on his court. Although one might assume that the Sultan was building up his number of debt-bondsmen and dependents, it is also clear that at a certain moment he hardly had the money to pay for the upkeep of his household. Another explanation might be the greater proficiency of the Bugis of Mampawa in the gold trade. They paid higher prices than the Dutch. Bugis were also active in the hinterland of Pontianak. It seems that they had been able to oust the Bantenese influence in the area in the same way by offering higher prices for the diamonds. The Sultan of Pontianak had never been able to deliver the quantity of gold he had promised.

The outcome of the attack on Mampawa was very much in favour of the Sultan. Syarif Kasim, designated successor to the throne of Pontianak, was installed as ruler of Mampawa and a vassal of the Company. A small Dutch garrison was left behind to protect him against the former ruler, who had withdrawn into the woods. It looked as if in a very short time Pontianak would overrun all the other kingdoms in the area. In reality the influence of Syarif Kasim was limited to the groups who had supported his father's coming: members of his family, including an extensive entourage, a number of Chinese, and some Bugis from Riau. Did Kasim want to emulate his father's example? The greater part of the Dayaks remained loyal to the old ruler.

This expansionist policy was not stopped after the departure of the Dutch in 1791, who left because the settlement had proved too expensive. The reactions of the rulers in western Kalimantan to the English presence on Java followed more or less the same pattern. Kasim (1809-1819), who had in the meantime succeeded his father, invited the Dutch back to Pontianak. Again he was able, like his father before him, to lure the Dutch into an alliance. Sambas, his competitor at that time, was less successful in capturing the attention of the Dutch, and indeed was blamed by the newcomers for the sea robbery and piracy in western Kalimantan, a culpability cleverly fostered by Sultan Kasim. To explain

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Kasim's successes in terms of better diplomatic skills alone, however, does not seem correct. Although it is hard to substantiate, I have the impression that Kasim and his father before him maintained private relations with Company officials on Java: Kasim spent much time trading in Semarang. The ease with which the Alkadri family could obtain entrance to official circles in Batavia presupposes a network of interested Dutchmen.²⁶

Kasim held a high reputation among the Dutch commissioners who were sent out to negotiate a new contract in 1818. He skilfully managed to put the idea into their heads that the up-river state of Tayan needed a lesson, because it had not paid the correct tribute to Pontianak, a duty that, according to other sources, Tayan was not actually obligated to fulfil. Zealous Dutch officers were very willing to accompany the Sultan on his trip to Tayan. From the sources it is obvious that the people of Tayan held quite a different view of the rights of Pontianak, but the presence of the Dutch army made them comply.

Similar actions were launched against Sanggau in 1825 and 1831. A Dutch-supported expedition from Pontianak forced the abolition of tolls in Sanggau and the introduction of free trade on the river. No wonder the population of Pontianak enthusiastically supported the expedition, although they were not obliged to carry arms for aggressive aims outside their city. Another indication of the growth of the influence of the Sultan of Pontianak in the Kapuas area is the stationing of representatives of the Dutch government along the river. Instead of European civil servants, members of the Sultan's family acted as *inlands gezaghebber* (native civil servant) of the Dutch East Indian government in Mampawa, Landak and Tayan. The Sultan of Pontianak was witness to the contracts between the government and Sanggau, Silat, Suhaid and Jonkong, Selimbau and Bunut. The *Pangeran Bendahara* (minister of finance), the Sultan's brother, was said to be a very influential man on the Kapuas.²⁷

EPILOGUE

The foundation, rise and expansion of Pontianak was due to not one, but a number of factors. It had much to do with the qualities of the founding family. Not only the first generation but also later generations of the Alkadri clan were very adept in making the best of the circumstances. Although little is known about the

relationship between the first Sultan and the inhabitants of his town, it would seem that they shared certain interests: the encouragement of local and overseas trade constituted a bond between rulers and inhabitants. In order to channel trade through their station, the rulers of Pontianak were in need of a strong outside power that could be used against neighbours like Sanggau, Mampawa and Tayan, who were unwilling to accept the upstart competitor. The citizens of Pontianak were not obliged to follow the Sultan in his aggressive exploits, but nonetheless contributed voluntarily to expeditions in the neighbourhood. The expansion of trade was considered a sufficient reward for these efforts.

Pontianak was founded as a protection against invasions from the sea. The protector very soon turned against the protected, but never without outside support, firstly from the Bugis from Mampawa and Riau, and later on from the Dutch. Under the guise of the expansion of Dutch influence, Pontianak was able to achieve a hold on the river and the surrounding princes. But, like Dutch influence in Pontianak, the influence of Pontianak was at times rather shallow in the surrounding states. The breaking of the tolls on the river, and the abolition of the intermediary position of Sanggau by the Dutch, meant greater opportunities for trade in Pontianak, which, together with unfettered access to the higher reaches of the river, caused not only trade in Sanggau to wither, but also the power of its rulers to decline. Support by an external sea power was a constant and important factor in the history of Pontianak, and was instrumental in its rise.

The profits for the central Dutch state from the connection with Pontianak seem at first sight to have been rather disappointing. There were the high costs of maintaining a settlement (which, not unlike *Almayer's Folly*²⁸, threatened to sink away into the morass), costly wars, and the payment of a vast sum of money for the rights to administer the proceeds of the kingdom. In the first half of the 19th century Pontianak remained a constant drain on the Dutch treasury. Although several residents made calculated forecasts in which the future income from western Kalimantan was shown in bright lights, Batavian circles were apparently not dazzled by the economic prospects. To explain this, attention should be paid to the political context. Pontianak constituted the capital of the residency of western Borneo. The contracts made it possible to keep out other European competitors, while future

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income from the area would eventually flow into the coffers of the Dutch East Indian government. In this situation one can speak of a division of labour between the government and the Sultan. In order to obtain a foothold and gain an ally, the government entered into an agreement with Pontianak's Sultans. In this co-operation the maintenance of a naval empire, patrolling the sea, and warding off pirates were considered tasks for the central government. The Lord of Pontianak on his side acted as local agent to ensure the Dutch influence in the area. In this light the relationship can be seen as a possible explanation of the foundation of even greater empires in the archipelago in earlier days, and of how those empires worked. This kind of alliance could only be based on the idea of mutual profit. Whether it always worked to that effect is another question. Much

depended on the force both parties could muster. In the case of Pontianak one gets the impression that only in the second half of the 19th century did the relationship undergo gradual change in which the tables were definitely turned in favour of Batavia.

To end by turning once more to van Leur, the case of Pontianak makes clear the political significance of the Dutch connection with the newly founded sultanate. That connection meant a great deal to Pontianak's political existence and economic expansion. The Dutch, on the other hand, could claim sovereignty over western Kalimantan. This entanglement of politics and economics leads us to a reformulation of Van Leur's quotation: the threads coming together at Batavia may sometimes have been fragile, but they always had political significance. **RC**

NOTES

- 1 E.g. National Archives (NA) The Hague, VOC archives, 3558, f. 351-382, Letters of Asian Princes received in 1780.
- 2 See H. Terpstra in F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch Indië* Amsterdam, 1938-1940, Vol. II, pp. 337, 360, 372, 386.
- 3 Jurrien van Goor, 'A Hybrid State: the Dutch Economic and Political Network in Asia' in Claude Guillot, Denys Lombard and Roderich Ptak eds., *From the Mediterranean to the China Sea Miscellaneous notes*. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 1998, pp. 193-215.
- 4 The most important sources are: NA, VOC 3524, f. 1-146; VOC, 149 3554, f. 1469-1509; VOC 3553, f. 1-125.
- 5 J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society*. The Hague: W. van Hoeve, 1967, pp. 274, 289.
- 6 Cf. J. van Goor, *Kooplieden, Predikanten en Bestuurders overzee. Beeldvorming en plaatsbepaling in een andere wereld*. Utrecht: HES, 1982, p. 35.
- 7 J. T. Willer, 'Eerste proeve eener kronijk van Mampawa en Pontianak' in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1885, pp. 516-652; E. Netscher, 'Kroniek van Sambas en Sukadana' in *ibid.*, 1853, p. 2; W. H. Senn van Basel, 'Het Maleische vorstenhuis op Borneo's Westkust' in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1874, pp. 190-201; J. M. Gullick, *Indigenous Political Systems of Western Malaya*. London: The Athlone Press, 1965; Georg Müller, 'Proeve eener Geschiedenis van een gedeelte der Westkust van het eiland Borneo' in *De Indische Bijl.*, 1843, pp. 197-375.
- 8 H. P. A. Bakker, 'Het Rijk Sanggau' in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1884, pp. 343-463; Dr. W. A. Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo*. 2 vols. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1900, pp. 282-290.
- 9 VOC 3534, f. 1495-1497. Description of a trip to Landak in 1779.
- 10 W. L. Ritter, 'De oorsprong van Pontianak', in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1893, pp. 401-427; VOC 3553, Dagregister Pontianak, 29 October 1779.
- 11 VOC 3234, f. 10; VOC 3534, f. 1470; f. 1507-1509, VOC 3524, f. 130-134; Raja Haji ibn Achmad, *The Precious Gift*, annotated and translated by Virginia Matheson and Barbara Watson Andaya. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982, pp. 70-75.
- 12 J. J. Ras, *Hikajat Banjar*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1968, *passim*.
- 13 E.g. VOC 3553, Dagregister Pontianak 1778, October 12.
- 14 Bakker, 'Sanggau', p. 368; VOC 3524, f. 24; R. C. van Prehn Wiese, 'Aantekeningen omtrent de Wester-afdeling van Borneo' in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 1881, p. 491.
- 15 *Tuhfat al Nafis*, pp. 153-158; VOC 3524, f. 6, 7, 11, 12.
- 16 VOC 3553, f. 1478-1480; *ibid.*, f. 139.
- 17 Cf. Van Goor, *Kooplieden*, Chap. 4.
- 18 VOC 3553, f. 47, 147.
- 19 Roelof van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch avontuur, Duitsers in dienst van de VOC 1600-1800*. Nijmegen: Sun, 1997, pp. 71-91.
- 20 VOC 3553, f. 16.
- 21 VOC 3524, f. 189-190.
- 22 *Ibid.*, f. 77-83.
- 23 *Ibid.*, f. 1473.
- 24 VOC 3524, f. 1-146; VOC, 3534, f. 1469-1509.
- 25 J. van Goor, 'Seapower, Trade and State-Formation: Pontianak and the Dutch' in J. van Goor, *Trading Companies in Asia 1600-1830*. Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1986, pp. 83-107, 99.
- 26 Graham Irwin, *Nineteenth Century Borneo: A Study in Diplomatic Rivalry*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1955, pp. 25, 26; P. H. van der Kemp, 'De vestiging van het Nederlandsch Gezag op Borneo's Westerafdeling in 1818-1819 naar onuitgegeven stukken' in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, 1920, pp. 136, 137, 147-157.
- 27 *Ikhtisar Keadan Politik Hindia Belanda tahun 1839-1848*. Jakarta, 1973, Arsip Nasional R. I., no. 5, pp. 209-247.
- 28 Book written by Joseph Conrad on a European lost in a fictive Bornean port.

O Lugar das Filipinas na Memória da Gesta Castelhana na Ásia nos Inícios do Século XVII

Os Casos de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola
e de Antonio de Morga

MIGUEL RODRIGUES LOURENÇO*



Considerando, no seu estudo já clássico, a divulgação de notícias sobre as Filipinas na literatura impressa europeia, Donald F. Lach não pôde deixar de notar a lateralidade com que aquelas tenderam a ser veiculadas durante os séculos XVI e XVII, amiúde por elementos comprometidos com projectos de aproximação à China, ao Japão ou a Maluco. Não sem operacionalidade considerou o autor que apenas a partir da primeira década do século XVII foram as Filipinas assumidas enquanto objecto literário de pleno direito¹.

A continuidade da presença castelhana no arquipélago desde 1565, e com maior estabilidade logística a partir de 1571, possibilitou a acumulação directa de um extenso banco de dados informativo acerca do Sueste Asiático e da Ásia Oriental. O contexto de aparente facilitismo bélico em que se processou a apreensão hidrográfica, geográfica, mercantil e política do seu entorno gerou, quer entre os elementos estantes no terreno, quer ainda nos vice-reinos americanos – em particular a Nova Espanha – e na própria

península Ibérica, uma verdadeira euforia de intervenção militar, comercial e evangélica nos litorais asiáticos – entusiasmo que o acesso de Filipe II à Coroa portuguesa, meros quinze anos volvidos sobre o início da expansão nas Filipinas, veio ampliar.

Ao longo das três últimas décadas do século XVI, a acumulação do conhecimento sobre a Ásia foi concomitante a uma dispersão dos campos de intervenção. China (a partir de 1575), Bornéu (1578), Mindanau e Sulu (1578 e 1596), Macau (a partir de 1582), Maluco (1582, 1584, 1585, 1593), Japão (a partir de 1592), Camboja (1596): o reconhecimento do valor geoestratégico do arquipélago como “*plataforma insular de expansión hacia los diversos ámbitos de Asia Oriental*”² foi imediato e impulsionou movimentos de afastamento em relação ao que, em certa medida, se poderia chamar de área vital de segurança do estabelecimento castelhano – o núcleo das Visayas até o Sul de Lução –, ao sabor das oportunidades político-mercantis que a tela epocal do Sueste Asiático e Ásia Oriental proporcionava.

Período de ânimo expansionista, as décadas finais de Quinhentos não corresponderam menos a um tempo formativo e de aprendizagem sobre os limites e possibilidades de intervenção nos litorais asiáticos. À medida que se frustravam as expectativas e projectos diplomáticos na Ásia Oriental (China e Japão) e se goravam os esforços de se assegurar uma posição de

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“Representação ou delineação fiel de todas as costas e terras da China, Cochinchina, Camboja, Sião, Malaca, Arracão e Pegu, assim como das ilhas vizinhas, grandes e pequenas, e ainda dos escolhos, recifes, bancos e baixios, tudo tirado dos mais correctos roteiros e cartas actualmente usadas pelos pilotos portugueses”. gravura inserida em *Itinerário, Viagem ou Navegação de Jan Huygen van Linschoten para as Índias Orientais ou Portuguezas* (1596), edição preparada por Arie Pos e Rui Manuel Loureiro, Lisboa, Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1997.

influência ou de força no Sueste Asiático (Camboja) e na Insulíndia (Bornéu, Sul de Mindanau e Maluco), a experiência castelhana no extremo Ocidente do seu Império proporcionava cada vez menos episódios de dimensão comparável às conquistas que se haviam sucedido na América. Estes fenómenos explicam, em parte, que a fixação da memória histórica sobre as ilhas tenha sido conduzida, primordialmente, pelas ordens religiosas aí residentes³ e que a dimensão histórica da “gesta castelhana na Ásia” surja, até finais da primeira década de Seiscentos, estreitamente articulada ou diluída na expressão literária dos diversos projectos apostólicos desses institutos.

Entre 1585, quando a produção impressa de natureza histórica começa a afectar a inclusão de

elementos decorrentes das explorações asiáticas, com o aparecimento, em Roma, da *Historia del Gran Reino de la China* de Juan González de Mendoza, O. S. A., até à edição dos textos de Marcelo de la Ribadeneira⁴, O. F. M. (1601), Pedro Chirino⁵, S. J., e frei Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio⁶, O. P. (ambos em 1604), a lógica de narração dos sucessos militares/profanos foi subordinada aos objectivos de promoção institucional das novas províncias religiosas com sede nas Filipinas.

A opção por um afastamento consciente em relação a uma fenomenologia da conquista e da exploração não deixou de se traduzir, globalmente, em insuficiências significativas ao nível da percepção e apreensão do espaço, em especial, do próprio arquipélago que constituía a sua base de operações. É possível notar,

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a título de exemplo, equívocos grosseiros, quer ao nível da adequação da toponímia ao objecto que pretende designar (ilha, porto, arquipélago), quer ao nível da confusão e troca de topónimos, o que sucede não apenas em quem nunca se deslocou à Ásia, mas também em figuras que se demoraram no arquipélago⁷.

Cumulativamente, as expectativas face a outros cenários de apostolado mantidas por Agostinhos, Franciscanos e Dominicanos retiraram enfoque ao espaço geográfico das Filipinas, salientando, ao invés, uma concepção geoestratégica do arquipélago não como ponto de destino, mas como território de passagem. É sintomático que apenas o livro de Pedro Chirino, S. J., se atenha à geografia do arquipélago, coincidente com os limites da vice-província das Filipinas, ou não estivesse o seu instituto já envolvido, por via do Padroado Português, na evangelização dos territórios circundantes.

A literatura histórica deste período privilegia, portanto, narrativas orientadas em função dos projectos apostólicos que presidiram à preparação destes livros. O tempo histórico destas obras é o tempo da missão, tempo religioso, o qual não se compadece com o tempo político, diplomático, comercial. A História relatada é a da Província e o discurso, ritmado pelo progresso anual das missões e pela sucessão dos *exempla* e milagres da missão.

II

A impressão, em 1609, dos escritos de Antonio de Morga (1559-1636) e de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1562-1633) representa uma alteração qualitativa nas soluções de apreender a expansão castelhana na Ásia. A novidade situa-se, em larga medida, ao nível do enfoque. O protagonismo histórico, que um autor como Marcelo de Ribadeneira colocara modelarmente sobre o exemplo da varonia apostólica dos seus correligionários⁸ desloca-se sobre quem, “*con armadas y gentes Españolas, an surcado los mares, descubierto y conquistado grandes reinos, en lo más remoto e incógnito del mundo*”⁹, em nome de uma edificação verdadeira e digna da memória de quantos lutaram pela monarquia, contra a heresia, em paragens longínquas¹⁰.

Em 1609, o discurso histórico privilegia os sucessos profanos em detrimento dos apostólicos. O projecto literário de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola

encontra-se, por este, enunciado desde o início da obra: “*Yo escribo la reducción de las Islas Malucas a la obediencia de Felipe III*”¹¹. Variante significativa, porquanto a opção por uma fenomenologia de cariz militar, retirando a condução da narrativa história a um determinando instituto/projecto religioso, acarreta consigo o desdobramento do espaço geográfico apreciado, uma visão espacialmente mais holística da gesta castelhana na Ásia.

O advento, no mesmo ano, de dois textos com estas características é tanto mais afortunado, quanto a sua preparação foi levada a cabo em meios societários distintos, onde circulavam perspectivas particulares da experiência asiática, o que se reflectiu, ulteriormente, em programas literários independentes. As suas narrativas materializam os primeiros esforços de proporcionar, em perspectiva histórica, uma visão global dessa mesma realidade.

Recentemente assinalada como a “primeira História das Filipinas”¹², a obra que conhecemos pelo nome de *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, de Antonio de Morga, corresponde a um esforço de reelaboração de escritos anteriores preparados nas Filipinas entre 1598 e 1602¹³. Morga desempenhou funções oficiais no governo das ilhas como assessor e tenente-general do governador das ilhas e primeiro ouvidor da refundada *Audiencia* de Manila entre 1595 e 1603, ano em que regressou à Nova Espanha para assumir a *alcaldía del crimen* na *Audiencia* do México¹⁴. W. E. Retana, primeiro editor da obra em castelhano no século XX, sugere que a preparação dos *Sucesos* decorreria nos quatro anos seguintes à sua saída do arquipélago até 1607, de quando há notícia datar um manuscrito, actualmente desaparecido, intitulado *Descubrimiento, conquista, pacificación y población de las Islas Filipinas. Por el Doctor Antonio de Morga*. A julgar pela proximidade de algumas passagens entre os *Sucesos* e a obra coetânea de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, o texto circularia já em cópias na península nos anos seguintes, o que teria possibilitado a sua integração por este cronista na sua própria narrativa¹⁵.

O programa literário subjacente à composição dos *Sucesos* não tem suscitado um debate amplo na historiografia que se dedicou ao estudo da obra. A distribuição quantitativa e qualitativamente desigual da informação histórica proporcionada ao longo dos oito capítulos em que se dividem os *Sucesos* tornou



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patente, na economia da narrativa, a singularização de um período específico na cronologia da ocupação castelhana: os anos do seu mandato em Manila, onde a personagem do próprio autor assumirá particular relevância no decurso da acção.

A preferência cronológica e o protagonismo histórico de Antonio de Morga têm sustentado a intencionalidade, não apenas promocional do texto mas, igualmente, apologética. A obra constituiria a resposta a um período de contrariedades pessoais na vida do autor, marcado pelo recrudescimento progressivo das inimizades contra si no seio da sociedade manilense, bem como pela desastrosa ofensiva naval que conduziu contra a esquadra de Olivier van Noort, junto à costa de Lução, nos finais de 1600. A identificação, por Retana, de núcleos literários nos *Sucesos* cuja elaboração pode ser datada de 1598-1602 (durante, portanto, a sua estância no arquipélago) reforça a ideia de uma redacção impulsionada pela necessidade de justificação de um oficial régio em desprestígio¹⁶. Um motivo cuja urgência o passar dos anos não terá atenuado, à medida que a versão de van Noort sobre o confronto era tornada acessível na Europa em flamengo e francês (1602) e, no *Consejo de Indias*, se arrastava a apreciação do fiasco naval (em 1608, o caso ainda mantinha actualidade)¹⁷.

Contrariamente a *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, a *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1561-1631) aparenta ter passado por um período de concepção e maturação

menos demorado. O seu autor, oriundo de uma família com tradição de serviços à Coroa aragonesa na península e em Itália, foi reitor paroquial nos estados do Duque de Villahermosa (Reino de Aragão) e capelão da imperatriz viúva, María de Áustria, desde 1592 até à sua morte, em 1603¹⁸. A assistência à imperatriz permitiu a sua estadia prolongada na Corte dos Habsburgo e a aproximação à família do Conde de Lemos, Don Pedro Fernández de Castro (1572-1622), 7.º do título e, desde 1603, Presidente do *Consejo de Indias*. A redacção de *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, encomendada a Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola para celebrar a tomada da fortaleza de Ternate pelas forças de Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña em 1606, deve, por conseguinte, ser entendida no contexto da gestão do organismo que dirige e, sobretudo, da sua carreira política.

Em 1603, quando é nomeado para a presidência do *Consejo*, funções que ocuparia até à sua saída para o vice-reino de Nápoles, em 1610, Don Pedro Fernández de Castro encontrava-se, ainda, nos alvares do seu percurso político. O seu acesso ao condado era ainda bastante recente (1601). Contudo, o sucessor da casa de Lemos beneficiava, desde logo, da aliança da sua família com a dos Sandoval, formalizada pelo seu casamento, em 1598, com a filha daquele que viria a ser o valido de Filipe III, o Duque de Lerma, Francisco de Sandoval y Rojas, num momento em que Don Pedro era apenas Marquês de Sarriá¹⁹.

Justamente, de acordo com Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, o início da vida política do Conde de Lemos seria marcada por uma luta pelo poder



Frontispício de *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* de Antonio de Morga, México, 1609.

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contra o primogénito do Duque de Lerma, Cristóbal de Sandoval e, paralelamente, por um esforço reformista no *Consejo de Indias* que viria a contrariar uma estratégia que o próprio Lerma havia apoiado para o organismo: o funcionamento, desde 1600, de uma *Junta de Cámara de Indias*, composta parcialmente por membros do *Consejo* e com intendência sobre o provimento de ofícios e mercês. Don Pedro Fernández de Castro, ao defender a extinção da *Junta* e a redução do oficialato no *Consejo* em nome de um necessário racionalismo económico, efectivamente criava condições para diminuir a capacidade de intervenção do valido do monarca nas dinâmicas de patronato²⁰.

A oportunidade da conquista de Ternate, apresentada ao Conde de Lemos no próprio ano do início das suas funções²¹ e a concretização imediata da empresa em 1606 – dois anos após a aprovação da empresa e sua atribuição ao governador das Filipinas, Don Pedro Bravo de Acuña – surgiam, neste contexto, como uma ocasião de promoção pessoal que o recém-empossado Presidente não deixaria de aproveitar. Como se disse, a crónica da conquista seria encomendada a Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola que, dispondo de todo o manancial documental do *Consejo de Indias*, finalizaria a obra logo em 1608, dando-se aos prelos no ano seguinte.

III

A independência dos programas literários das duas obras, concebidos em meios societários distintos por elementos com níveis profundamente desiguais de ligação ao objecto narrativo, influiu, de forma decisiva, na participação das Filipinas na economia do discurso. Desse modo, afectou, igualmente, a função qualitativa das ilhas no momento da sua inscrição no sistema de pensamento dos autores.

O peso da experiência individual de Morga e de Leonardo de Argensola não deixou de se evidenciar ao nível mais elementar da apreensão geográfica do arquipélago. Para este último, por exemplo, as *Filipinas*, assim denominadas por Miguel López de Legazpi, em detrimento do seu nome original de *Luzones*²², são igualmente *Manilas*²³ que, por sua vez, não deixam de ser *Zebu*²⁴. O autor não impõe nunca às Filipinas um topónimo decisivo com personalidade suficiente que permita a sua sobreposição aos restantes.

Esta confusão toponímica coloca problemas que, conquanto, no imediato, se materializem ao

nível da identificação espacial, se situam na ordem da conceptualização identitária e da conformação geográfica. Dito de outro modo, a existência de perturbações no campo fundacional da denominação sugere que o elemento de identidade, o topónimo, não goza da necessária estabilidade semântica para a sua utilização inequívoca.

*A continuidade da presença
castelhana no arquipélago
desde 1565, e com maior
estabilidade logística
a partir de 1571, possibilitou
a acumulação directa
de um extenso banco de dados
informativo acerca do Sueste
Asiático e da Ásia Oriental.*

Por um lado, importa considerar, como se disse, que a redacção de *Conquista* se processa a instâncias do Presidente do *Consejo de Indias*. Desta forma, Leonardo de Argensola beneficiou da mesma facilidade de acesso documental que Antonio de Herrera, *coronista mayor de Indias*, já havia gozado para a preparação da sua *Historia General de los hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas y Tierra firme del Mar Océano*, entretanto impressa em 1601. Neste contexto, a possibilidade de leitura de um elevado manancial informativo significa contactar com tradições diferenciadas e nem sempre conciliáveis de percepção geográfica. Contudo, o processo de harmonização discursiva de toda a documentação compulsada nem sempre gerou a consciência de uma necessidade prévia de sistematização e nivelamento dos dados disponíveis.

Por outro lado ainda, a expansão castelhana por um arquipélago a que nos habituámos a adjectivar de “filipino” não encontra uma correspondência entre espaço geográfico e espaço político, donde não ser viável, como evidência identitária, o recurso ao topónimo *Filipinas*. Pelo contrário, falar de *Filipinas*, nestes textos, implica, em larga medida, um jogo de



BARTOLOMÉ LEONARDO D. ARGENSOLA

*Aragonés. Canónigo de Zaragoza, y Cronista
del Reyno de Aragon: ilustre Historiador, y
Poeta. Nació en 1566, y murió en 1631.*

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oposições entre sistemas de ordenação geográfica e construções culturais: fazer valer, no fundo, uma dada percepção do espaço em detrimento de sistemas e de imagens preexistentes de compreender a realidade asiática insular.

Esta dinâmica de oposições encontra-se muito vincada nas páginas de *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*. A necessidade de situar o leitor face ao espaço narrado aportou ao discurso uma variedade de referentes geográficos e culturais no interior dos quais se desenvolve a identidade do arquipélago: referentes complementados, no fim da obra, pela descrição minuciosa das ilhas ditas *Filipinas*.

Justamente, será nesta alteração de enfoque entre o macro-geográfico e cultural e o micro-geográfico e governativo/etnográfico/militar que o topónimo *Filipinas* ganhará um substrato identitário que, a um tempo, será paradoxal e complementar.

Em Morga, as *islas Filipinas* – designação que começa por utilizar logo no prólogo e que corresponde ao topónimo de identidade – são, simultaneamente, uma realidade acabada e em construção. A contabilização do Bornéu, ilha sobre a qual escreve que “*no está pacificada*”²⁵, entre a imensidão das “*que son del nombre y gobierno de las Filipinas*”²⁶, indicia que, para a percepção dos limites geográficos do que corresponde, fundamentalmente, a uma unidade governativa sobre uma realidade insular, concorrem expectativas geoestratégicas de projecção territorial. Neste registo, o referente espacial como ordenador de um sistema de enquadramento geográfico expresso na forma toponímica *Filipinas* revela uma operacionalidade limitada para a apreensão do conceito. Inversamente, a “castelhanização” das ilhas como estrutura unitária de uma geografia, de outro modo, indistinta – mercê da ausência de sistemas políticos sofisticados no arquipélago – afigura-se como um instrumento analítico de maior utilidade.

No início da obra é possível ler:

“*Sujetadas las islas, con la soberana luz del santo Evangelio, que en ellas entró, se bautizaron los infieles, desterrando las tinieblas de su gentilidad, y mudaron sus nombres con el de Cristianos. Y dexaron también las islas el que tenían, tomaron (con la mudanza de ley y bautismo de sus naturales) el nombre de Islas Filipinas*”²⁷.



Retrato de Antonio de Morga. *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, ed. de Francisca Perujo, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2007.

Na passagem, as *Filipinas* representam uma acção pretérita. Nesta perspectiva, distancia-se, fundamentalmente, das crónicas religiosas sem negar a imagética da transformação que os une a todos. A conversão, nestas últimas, é uma acção em contínuo que se projecta para o futuro e que se intenta permanentemente conservar, um digladiar contínuo entre os religiosos e a constância dos novos cristãos e não o processo acabado que insinua Morga.

A metáfora do baptismo empregue por Antonio de Morga permanece, contudo, adequada e remete para o enquadramento das Filipinas no universo referencial expansionista dos Habsburgo dos finais do século XVI. A conquista integra as ilhas na mundividência castelhana: o baptismo do arquipélago, a mudança do seu nome, transporta-o a uma realidade nova. A nova lei é divina e terrena: após a entrada nas ilhas, Morga distingue três momentos – a pacificação, a conversão e a implementação de um novo modo de governo²⁸.

Filipinas veicula, portanto, uma actualidade que se percebe pelo confronto entre a sua realidade passada e presente. A dimensão castelhana é um aspecto

Gravura de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, desenhada por J. R. Rodríguez, executada por J. A. Carmona (c. 1790-1805), Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa.

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estrutural da percepção e modelação do conceito que se manifesta, em primeiro lugar, na toponímia. O nível mais elementar de identificação do arquipélago, o seu nome, é uma expressão da intervenção castelhana sobre o mesmo. Em Morga, a denominação, entendida como consequência da conquista²⁹, assume um valor simbólico operativo na medida em que concretiza transformações reais ao espaço denominado. A introdução da Lei (nas suas vertentes divina e humana) é o que marca verdadeiramente o passado e o presente das ilhas, para ilustrar porque foi cunhado o topónimo por que então passaram a ser conhecidas. A Lei afasta o Demónio e a sua tirania e instaura a ordem do governo e da religião.

As *Filipinas* substituem-se a uma designação anterior, assumindo uma realidade e, necessariamente, uma identidade, completamente diferentes, onde a intervenção castelhana se assume como o momento decisivo das mesmas e o marco entre o antes e o agora. Em Morga, a toponímia rejeitada poderia ser o *Archipiélago de San Lázaro*. Contudo, o topónimo constituiu, não uma designação arcaica, mas um referencial geográfico.

Na abertura do capítulo primeiro de *Sucesos*, Morga procura enquadrar as ilhas adjacentes à Ásia no marco do conhecimento europeu, remetendo para um constructo cultural veiculado pelos cosmógrafos do seu tempo:

*“Llamanlas de ordinario en sus libros, y descripciones y cartas de marear, el grande Archipiélago de San Lázaro, que son en el mar Océano Oriental; de las quales, entre otras más famosas son las islas del Maluco, Céleves, Tëndaya, Luzón, Mindanao y Borneo, que agora se llaman las Filipinas”*³⁰.

Cunhado originalmente para designar as ilhas descobertas e exploradas pela expedição de Magalhães, *San Lázaro* nunca conseguiu assumir poder vinculativo para se impor junto da comunidade de navegadores e de expedicionários que posteriormente haveriam de frequentar o arquipélago. A projecção da Coroa de Castela sobre os mares asiáticos suscitou, contudo, a necessidade de introduzir e de instituir uma visão castelhana de um espaço até então perspectivado a partir de referentes geográficos predominantemente veiculados por portugueses. A resposta a este imperativo estratégico processou-se pela expansão funcional e semântica do topónimo *Archipiélago de San Lázaro*. A incorporação semântica da multitude de ilhas e de

arquipélagos do Sueste Asiático e do Pacífico Ocidental criou a possibilidade de uma categoria geográfica unitária de apropriação espacial mais ampla. Deste modo, o topónimo subsistiria como forma erudita de classificação geográfica³¹ sobre um espaço que se reivindica de tutela castelhana. Neste sentido, as Filipinas, enquanto corporização de uma autoridade governativa que se realiza no interior desta construção, constituem a expressão mais acabada das ambições castelhanas.

*A impressão, em 1609,
dos escritos de Antonio
de Morga (1559-1636)
e de Bartolomé Leonardo
de Argensola (1562-1633)
representa uma alteração
qualitativa nas soluções
de apreender a expansão
castelhana na Ásia.*

A dimensão de soberania e de governo é crucial para a compreensão do sentido semântico de *Filipinas*. No final da obra, quando Morga abandona a forma *San Lázaro* em detrimento de uma relativização dos referentes geográficos do arquipélago, é pela afirmação do domínio sobre as ilhas que estas ganham personalidade. No último capítulo, redigido, provavelmente, desde 1598³², *Filipinas* surge como um espaço delimitado dentro das noções geográficas mais alargadas de *“islas del poniente”* e *“islas orientales”*. Subjacente está o reconhecimento do carácter artificial das denominações geográficas e da sua legitimidade à luz dos diferentes processos expansionistas que as originam. Neste contexto, a individuação nominativa de *Filipinas* retira o seu sentido do facto de se encontrarem *“sujetas a la corona de Castilla”*. A distinção é feita sobre *“las que son del nombre y gobierno de las Filipinas.”*³³

Este marco da identidade das ilhas sente-se, quicá de modo mais vincado, em Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. Ao narrar a expedição de Esteban Rodríguez

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de Figueroa a Mindanau (1596), o autor dirá que, após a sua morte, o *Maestre de Campo*, Juan de Xara, abandonou a ilha para regressar às Filipinas, o que indicia uma distinção geográfica conceptual³⁴. Pode suceder que, no cronista (ou no autor de que se socorre), tenha pesado a tradição geográfica de inserir a ilha de Mindanau no arquipélago dos Celebes, directamente consagrada nas páginas de *Conquista* a partir da *Década Quarta* de Diogo do Couto (1602)³⁵. O mais viável, contudo, é que a noção de *Filipinas* como espaço governado se tenha sobreposto à de espaço de projecção estratégica.

Esta instância de percepção não é pouco relevante, dado que, embora a ilha estivesse longe de estar pacificada, parte dela se encontrava repartida em *alcaldías mayores*³⁶. Donde ser admissível a existência de outros patamares de identidade na apreensão e utilização do topónimo.

Em Morga, a redução do enfoque a uma escala de descrição sistemática das ilhas sugere a ideia de um espaço vital estratégico que se concentra entre as Visayas superiores e a região de Lução-Mindoro:

“... las que son del nombre y gobierno de las Filipinas, serán quarenta islas grandes, sin otras menores, todas continuadas, que las más principales y conocidas, se llaman Luzón, Mindoro, Tendaya, Capul, Burías, Mazbate, Marinduque, Leite, Camar, Ybabao, Sebu, Panay, Bohol, Catenduanas, Calamianes, Mindanao, y otras de menos nombre.”³⁷.

A selecção de ilhas divulgada nesta passagem pretende articular os pontos nucleares da presença castelhana no arquipélago. Nesta acepção, as Filipinas são definidas por dois eixos estratégicos. O primeiro corta diametralmente as ilhas através de um meridiano que liga Lução a Mindanau. As duas maiores superfícies do arquipélago representam as suas fronteiras extremas e a segurança das Visayas que as medeiam, onde se processa a repartição de *encomiendas* e a fundação de missões religiosas. Um segundo eixo, transversal, denuncia a rota de comunicação com o vice-reino mexicano (Catenduanas, Capul, Burías, Masbate, Marinduque), fulcral à sobrevivência e continuidade das ilhas. A imagem de um núcleo fundamental de ilhas, em cujos limites se concreta o essencial da fortaleza castelhana no imenso arquipélago asiático, terá, provavelmente, presidido à formulação de Leonardo de Argensola sobre as movimentações de Juan de Xara.

A coexistência de várias propostas para a delimitação geográfica das Filipinas não deve impressionar. A falta de unidade po lítica nas ilhas permitiu uma apreensão bastante dinâmica do arquipélago, recorrendo à castelhanização como estrutura de coesão de uma geografia de outro modo indistinta. Neste contexto, o sentido toponímico das Filipinas expressou-se, simultânea e complementarmente, pela presença efectiva num conjunto de ilhas, bem como pela projecção estratégica do governo de Manila sobre o seu entorno.

IV

Nos inícios do século XVII, a possibilidade de convergência semântica entre domínio e intenção de domínio no topónimo *Filipinas* foi um produto claro da multiplicação dos espaços de intervenção castelhana na Ásia ao longo da centúria precedente. A experiência asiática foi geradora de uma memória onde a presença nas ilhas se dissocia com muita dificuldade da aproximação a outros cenários políticos e comerciais; onde, essencialmente, a história dos castelhanos na Ásia surge como um processo multifacetado, inteligível a partir de uma dinâmica de articulação do seu núcleo geográfico de operação por excelência, as Filipinas, a realidades a ele exógenas.

Na literatura histórica, contudo, a fixação da memória sobre a empresa castelhana na Ásia não foi imune a uma reflexão ou debate suscitados no seio dos circuitos complexos que, em diferentes instâncias, dela participavam. O aparecimento de um discurso crítico sobre as Filipinas foi contemporâneo e decorreu, em larga medida, do esforço de viabilização económica das ilhas na década de 1570³⁸.

De acordo com Manel Ollé, a polémica cresceu de tom a partir do momento em que o governo do arquipélago revelou a sua incapacidade para sustentar o crescimento demográfico decorrente da concentração de uma população europeia e chinesa não produtiva. O subsequente aumento da fiscalidade sobre os indígenas (acostumados a uma cultura de subsistência e, como tal, incapazes de responder às exigências da ocupação) levou os Agostinhos a ameaçar abandonar as suas missões, num momento em que era a ordem mais representativa no arquipélago. A tudo isto somou-se alguma intermitência inicial da carreira que ligava Manila a Acapulco e as queixas dos comerciantes

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de Sevilha perante a diminuição do afluxo de prata americana. Duas décadas volvidas sobre o início da conquista, as Filipinas assumiam contornos de um cenário pouco rentável, deficitário mesmo, que exigia à monarquia espanhola uma consideração atenta da matéria³⁹.

*As Filipinas substituem-se
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A primeira grave crise económica da ocupação castelhana pôde, entretanto, ser superada, em grande parte, devido à mobilização do jesuíta Alonso Sánchez e do primeiro bispo das Filipinas, Domingo de Salazar, O. P., tendo o recente câmbio dinástico em Portugal e as perspectivas de uma intervenção na China desempenhado um papel relevante nesse processo⁴⁰. Contudo, a integração do Estado da Índia na monarquia dos Habsburgo acentuou tensões em torno dos limites e definição dos espaços de influência portuguesa e castelhana. A multiplicação, até o final do século XVI, de memoriais a defender a conquista da China, do Camboja ou de Maluco a partir das Filipinas colocava como central o devir das ilhas enquanto agente geoestratégico na Ásia Oriental e do Sueste.

Deste modo, o debate sobre a conservação das Filipinas – que, nos inícios do século XVII, volta a ganhar força, mercê do insucesso de vários projectos e empresas militares – acompanha uma outra reflexão que considerava a necessidade de um reordenamento da presença oficial ibérica nestas regiões⁴¹.

Na literatura histórica, estas polémicas encontram particular ressonância na obra de Bartolomé Leonardo

de Argensola. Numa passagem retirada, provavelmente, de um parecer do *Consejo de Estado*, o autor dá conta das principais objecções levantadas à continuidade nas Filipinas. A presença nas ilhas era entendida como uma dispersão dos recursos e de territorialidade da Coroa, que se conjugava para aumentar o seu enfraquecimento, dado o elevado nível de gastos que exigiam e o incipiente retorno que proporcionavam⁴². A apreciação da situação do arquipélago culminava com uma proposta para uma recondução de esforços para a Europa, onde era mais conveniente procurar o acrescentamento do território.

Num período, pois, de interrogação sobre o futuro das ilhas, a figura máxima da coordenação da expansão ultramarina castelhana decide encomendar um texto destinado a exaltar e defender a gesta asiática. Não surpreende, portanto, que na *Conquista* se sinta de forma mais presente a dimensão estratégica das Filipinas que propriamente a histórica. Esta tem, literariamente, um valor estruturante muito reduzido, na medida em que a sua funcionalidade se prende com a necessidade de enquadramento e elogio da situação geográfica do arquipélago. A história da conquista das Filipinas limita-se a indicações sumárias sobre a conquista de Cebú, sua comarca (*Pintados*) e de Lução, descobrimento de Marivelez, ilha próxima de Manila, para passar de imediato à descrição do arquipélago⁴³.

O debate sobre as Filipinas assume, na *Conquista*, um esgrimir de argumentos pela vitória na hierarquia dos valores seiscentistas. A viabilidade das ilhas enquanto plataforma de acesso comercial, mas sobretudo evangélico, à Ásia impossibilitava o equacionar da sua evacuação. A obrigação apostólica da Coroa de Castela para com a gentilidade suplantava a razão de estado que estivera na base, por exemplo, do retraimento voluntário do império chinês que, de acordo com a tradição literária de Juan González de Mendoza, incorporada na *Conquista*, havia, outrora, dominado o arquipélago⁴⁴.

A evangelização assume, em Leonardo de Argensola, um papel fundamental no enquadramento da ocupação. De tal modo assim o é que as últimas palavras redigidas na *Conquista* transmitem o sentimento do dever cumprido quando, recuperada Ternate, “*pasaron a él [Maluco] nuestros Ministros y Predicadores. Volvió la voz del Evangelio a sonar en los últimos fines de la tierra*”⁴⁵. Ulteriormente, a missão mobiliza e justifica a expansão e condiciona-a processualmente.

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Ao longo de *Conquista*, o arquipélago será, neste contexto de incentivo à expansão, claramente entendido como a alternativa ao Estado da Índia para a defesa de Maluco e ao comércio do cravo. Esta posição aproxima-se do teor de vários memoriais preparados na primeira década do século XVII⁴⁶. Referimo-nos, em concreto, aos que foram avaliados pelo Conde de Lemos entre Outubro de 1607 e Fevereiro de 1609, da autoria de Pedro de Baeza.

Baeza, que de acordo com as suas próprias informações participou no comércio entre Cantão, Macau e o Japão e no trato da Insulíndia, pretendeu uma racionalização da fronteira asiática dos dois impérios ibéricos e das estruturas comerciais existentes. Entre as suas várias propostas previa, em notável detrimento das redes mercantis praticadas pelos portugueses, a canalização do comércio do cravo para as Filipinas e seu transporte para a Europa por via da Nova Espanha⁴⁷. A sua idealização da fronteira asiática pressupunha um recentrar de esforços em torno das Filipinas. O abandono das ilhas, num período de investimento holandês nos mares da Insulíndia, condenaria toda a Índia Oriental, dado que os portugueses haviam atingido os limites das suas capacidades no que tocava a impedir o transporte das especiarias para a Europa por outras vias, como pela Turquia e pelas Províncias Unidas⁴⁸. A reorientação do comércio do cravo e o fortalecimento da posição castelhana nas Filipinas dissuadiria, ulteriormente, os holandeses de manter o investimento nas armadas que se deslocavam à região e conservar-se-ia o já conquistado, aumentando-se o lucro.

Estas ideias encontram-se claramente sintetizadas na obra de Leonardo de Argensola (página seguinte).

Em conformidade com a linha de pensamento delineada por Pedro de Baeza, o autor de *Conquista* introduz a ideia de Manila como praça de armas de apoio a Maluco. A incapacidade de Goa ou Malaca para enviar socorros⁵¹ potencia o crescimento da posição de Manila no conceito estratégico da Insulíndia e justifica a alternativa filipina à organização do comércio do cravo.

Numa conjugação entre proposições governativas e a memória histórica do recuo português em Maluco, Leonardo de Argensola caracteriza a intervenção de Manila como uma fatalidade, uma solução incontornável para o problema da posse de Maluco⁵².

A percepção de Manila como alternativa a Malaca foi, de resto, quase imediata ao acesso de Filipe II à Coroa de Portugal. Entre os mais entusiásticos defensores desta solução estiveram os jesuítas da missão de Maluco. A perda da fortaleza de Ternate em 1575 representara um golpe muito duro para as actividades da Companhia de Jesus naquelas ilhas. A distância de Amboíno, e não obstante a nova posição em Tidore, dificultava o acompanhamento da cristandade malucense, que tendia a reincidir e a adoptar a lei islâmica. As atenções viravam-se, então, para a recém fundada missão das Filipinas, onde se reconhecia a rapidez das comunicações com Maluco⁵³ (as viagens tardavam um máximo de vinte dias) e a comodidade e segurança do provimento de novos religiosos a partir da Nova Espanha⁵⁴.

A esperança de uma intervenção militar a partir de Manila que reforçasse os laços entre os dois arquipélagos atravessa a correspondência jesuíta nas décadas seguintes. Particularmente, os religiosos estacionados em Maluco significaram ao seu Geral a convicção da incapacidade da Índia portuguesa em se impor numa região onde as Filipinas se encontravam em ascensão como novo poder hegemónico no Sueste Asiático insular. Essa condição tornava-se, cada vez mais, uma evidência patenteada pela submissão de alguns potentados locais em troca de protecção e assistência⁵⁵. Nas vésperas da expedição de Gómez Pérez Dasmariñas a Maluco (1593), o entusiasmo foi notório, multiplicando-se as recomendações ao envio de padres por via das Filipinas entre certas que a conquista das ilhas das especiarias se concretizaria se fossem enviados soldados da Nova Espanha. O sentimento de urgência sobre o devir da cristandade malucense espelhou-se, melhor que em



Pormenor do retrato de Filipe II por Ticiano (Museu do Prado, Madrid).

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TEXTO DE PEDRO DE BAEZA⁴⁹

Todas estas islas juntas [las del Maluco] dan todos los años vnos con otros veyntedos, veynte y quatro mil quintales de clauo, que se coge en ellas, vn año mucho, otro no tanto, porque se coge como en España la azeytuna. Este clauo se trae por mano de Portugueses en el Galeon del trato que va de Goa a Maluco con el socorro y paga para la gente que reside en el Castillo y fuerça de Ternate, y en otra naue que embia el Capitan de Malaca, y en estas dos embarcaciones se traen cada año siete ocho mil quintales, los quales se traen a Malaca, y de alli se lleuan a Goa, adonde reside el Virrey de la India Oriental, que es la tercia parte del clauo que se coge en estas Islas, y la otra tercia parte la traen de las Islas de Maluco Iaos, y Malayos mercaderes, que lo compran a trueque de bastimientos y paños de algodón, el qual clauo lo lleuan a vender la mayor parte Al dacheim, y de alli se embarca para Alexandria. La otra parte se lleua a vender por naturales a Malaca, y de alli se reparte por todas las partes de los Reynos de la India y toda esta cantidad de clauo, quando llega a Malaca, paga ocho por ciento de entrada de derechos ha Su Majestad: y de todo este clauo vienen a Portugal vnos años con otros dos mil quintales, y muchos años no viene tanto, y lo que viene se gasta en España Francia, Flandes y Inglaterra [sic] Y Alemania. De manera que de veynte y quatro mil quintales de clauo que dan las Islas de Maluco, todos los años solamente [sic] viene a Portugal la dezima parte de ello, y aun no viene tanto, y las nueue partes se gastan todas en Asia, Europa. Lo qual es de considerar, que con mucha facilidad se puede hazer, que la mayor parte de todo este clauo venga a España, por via de Felipinas que sera vno de los mayores arbitrios y aprouechamientos que estos Reynos puedan tener, en grande acrecentamiento de la Hazienda de su Magestad, por el mucho precio que tiene este clauo aca en España, y lo poco que vale alla en Maluco.

TEXTO DE BARTOLOMÉ LEONARDO
DE ARGENSOLA⁵⁰

Decían que ahora son estas riquezas de mayor estimación, y que si por Filipinas se encaminase el viaje y comercio de ellas, evitarían todos los peligros que en el de Amboino, Banda, Borneo, los Arrecifes, las tormentas de aquellos golfos se padecen; porque particularmente el clauo le traen Portugueses en su galeón, del trato que pasa de Goa a Maluco, para socorrer y pagar la gente de los presidios. En esta embarcación se traen cada año, poco más o menos, de veinticuatro mil quintales de clauo hasta Malaca y Goa: desde los puertos y plazas lo reparten navíos de Persas Y Turcos, Chinas y Africanos, y a Europa llega apenas la tercera parte: muchas de las demás ocupa el Rey de Achem en la Sumatra, de donde lo embarcan a Alejandría. Todas estas mercaderías llegadas a Malaca, pagan ocho por ciento. De la droga que llega a España participan todos los reyes de Europa, y que con mucha facilidad se podrá trazar que la mayor parte de ella viniese a España por Filipinas, y que sería uno de los más generosos arbitrios que en materia de hacienda se podía ofrecer, en evidente acrecentamiento de ella, considerando el grande precio que el clauo se vende en España y cuán bajo es el de las Malucas.

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ninguém, nas acções do visitador e depois superior das missões Antonio de Marta que, agastado com a falta de apoio do vice-rei da Índia e o silêncio do seu próprio Geral, rumou às Filipinas apostado em aliciar o seu governador à conquista de Maluco. O zelo deste religioso não passou despercebido a Leonardo de Argensola, que em duas ocasiões o menciona na sua obra⁵⁶.

Contrariamente ao que sucede na narrativa de *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, Antonio de Morga estruturou a memória da presença castelhana na Ásia a partir da experiência nas Filipinas. O discurso histórico desenvolve-se a partir das ilhas e das suas instâncias governativas. A mudança de Governador é um momento de entreacto, onde termina e de onde recomeça, em novo capítulo, a acção. Esta desenrola-se entre marcos temporais que são os da conquista, renunciando ao enquadramento circunstanciado que Leonardo de Argensola privilegiou.

A coetaneidade das duas obras não implica, portanto, uma coincidência das inquietações por parte dos seus autores. Ao antigo *oidor* aparentam distantes as polémicas de conservação das ilhas. O compromisso com a defesa do investimento da Coroa em Maluco, evidenciado em Leonardo de Argensola, bem como as reflexões geoestratégicas que lhe estão subjacentes, não encontram paralelo em Morga: aqui, a estética discursiva impele uma cadência factológica onde o possibilismo e o sentido de devir da expansão castelhana na Ásia não encontram lugar. O autor afecta, é certo, a consciência de um mau-estar provocado pelo entabulamento das conexões comerciais entre os vice-reinos americanos e as Filipinas e o seu entorno, engrossando-se

*“tanto este trato, que
hazía daño y perjuizio*

a las mercaderías de España, que se cargavan al Perú, y a la Nueva España, y a los derechos reales, que por razón dellas se cobran”⁵⁷.

Contudo, a menção a esta corrente de opinião acabaria por esbater-se em meio ao relato sobre o intenso dinamismo mercantil e económico gerado pela presença castelhana, ao qual Morga devotaria longas páginas.

Na sua obra, portanto, a ordem do discurso não é a de um polemismo reflexivo sistemático. No capítulo onde se registam estes elementos, o teor da narrativa é muito mais o de uma memória histórica descritiva, onde a manifestação de um posicionamento crítico sobre o conteúdo não conduz a uma problematização da matéria em causa.

Apenas ao finalizar o sétimo capítulo, e último de matéria histórica, deixou o autor transparecer um pouco das reacções que as apostas orientais começavam a suscitar, mas sobre as quais renunciou, nesse momento, elaborar. A formação de uma opinião negativa relativa à estratégia seguida nas Filipinas e em Maluco é um tópico divulgado em forma de epílogo, de modo a

cruzar-se com o projecto literário pessoal de Antonio de Morga em *Sucesos*: o confronto com Olivier van Noort.

O acosso holandês forma uma tríade de contradições às soluções de ocupação das ilhas asiáticas, de que participam ainda as limitações ao volume de comércio vindo da Nova Espanha e a ineficácia da ocupação de Maluco por Don Pedro de Acuña em suster as incursões de Mindanau e de Sulu às Visayas Centrais⁵⁸. O alerta ominoso com que encerra o sétimo capítulo (e, poder-se-ia dizer numa certa acepção, a obra), prevendo futuras expedições oriundas de Holanda, pretende realçar



Frontispício de *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola.

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Imagem da cidade de Manila em arca filipina do século XVII. Museo Bello y González, Puebla (México).

a importância do combate ao inimigo no acesso à especiaria. Assim erigido à condição de problema mais grave dos castelhanos nas Filipinas, Antonio de Morga potencia o valor da batalha da sua armada contra Van Noort e redimensiona o significado do recontro. O regresso à Europa do navio sobrevivente traduz-se num acentuar da gravidade da questão e, proporcionalmente, da amplitude do exemplo da armada que se opôs aos holandeses.

Se a cadência discursiva de Morga resiste ao polemismo, ao seu programa literário não foi alheio um sólido sentido crítico sobre a presença castelhana nas ilhas, o qual sabemos ter, desde cedo, desenvolvido no exercício das suas funções.

Quando cotejadas com a epistolografia produzida por Morga durante o exercício das suas funções no arquipélago, estas breves considerações revelam um posicionamento crítico acerca das soluções expansionistas dos castelhanos na Ásia e, principalmente, do papel das Filipinas nesse processo. A este respeito, Antonio García-Abásolo e Rosario Pérez haviam já notado o escasso entusiasmo com que Morga apreciava o investimento militar para além das ilhas, privando o arquipélago de efectivos humanos muito necessários à sua defesa e consolidação territorial⁵⁹. O autor manifestou, pelo contrário, uma preferência clara pela conquista de Mindanau, “*la más importante para la seguridad de ellas [ilhas Filipinas] y conquista del Maluco y otros reinos*”⁶⁰. Em

1596, quando escreve esta carta, é visível a consciência de que uma expansão que considerasse cenários exteriores a uma insularidade dependia, em larga medida, de um reforço das posições militares nesta área geográfica. Em contraponto, a insistência nas carências em armamento e soldadesca, onde “*Ya hay muy pocos en estas yslas que sepan tomar el arcabuz en la mano*”⁶¹, alertava para a fragilidade real do arquipélago.

Neste domínio, o mesmo dinamismo comercial que, de certo modo, relativizara uma corrente de opinião adversa aos tratos asiáticos, surge como a causa da indolência dos súbditos de Filipe III. A panóplia de produtos aportados ao território durante os meses do trato foi portadora de consequências sociais de nomeada que influíram na vida da nova conquista, provocando uma atracção pelo comércio e a renúncia aos ofícios e trabalhos braçais⁶². Os ritmos mercantis que estimulavam a economia do arquipélago acabou por fazer com que os castelhanos

“*no se an aplicado, ni tratan de otra cosa; con que, ni ay labores, ni granjerías del campo de consideración, ni labran ni benefician minas, ni lavaderos de oro, (que ay muchos) ni se dan a otras muchas cosas que pudieran, con mucho aprovechamiento (si el trato de China les faltara) que para esto a sido de mucho daño y perjuyzio*”⁶³.

Não obstante as contrariedades decorrentes desta vivência, a conjugação, em Morga, de narrativas

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de conteúdo militar e mercantil relativas às Filipinas reforçam a noção de uma interpenetração muito forte entre as ilhas e o espaço que as rodeia. No plano discursivo, a dimensão comercial das ilhas contraria o movimento narrativo global da matéria histórica, naturalmente expansivo, em direcção às fronteiras do arquipélago e mais além. À lógica da acção alicerçada em redor do espaço geográfico insular e da autoridade dos seus governadores opõe-se o movimento centrípeto de uma plêiade de mercadores das mais diversas proveniências asiáticas, para além dos que chegavam da Nova Espanha⁶⁴.

Em Morga, a localização das Filipinas na Ásia oriental pressupõe, portanto, uma extensão intencional da sua capacidade de representação junto dos restantes cenários asiáticos, aos quais se encontram permanentemente ligadas por laços de comércio. É a este universo que, ao encerrar a matéria histórica, se vaticinam tempos difíceis:

*“Ya hazen los Holandeses el viaje más corto y seguro, de ida y buelta [...]; que como le tienen tan conocido, y experiencia de las grandes ganancias que dél se les siguen, serán malos de echar del Oriente, donde tantos daños an hecho, en lo espiritual y temporal”*⁶⁵.

V

Em 1609, o recurso a dois referentes geográficos distintos para compreender a experiência castelhana na Ásia numa perspectiva histórica é um indicador fortemente expressivo da complexidade que representou a introdução de um novo agente regional nos litorais asiáticos. A consolidação do “governo das Filipinas” é indissociável de um acerto e reajustamento das potências e potentados locais à sua presença, processo que se complexifica quase de imediato devido às alterações políticas no reino de Portugal. A expansão castelhana na Ásia corresponde, portanto, a uma incontornável e necessária dispersão dos cenários de intervenção, onde as Filipinas representam a constante territorial, ponto de partida e centro logístico, mas não um espaço terminal ou cristalizado das ambições castelhanas.

A literatura histórica até 1609 foi, verdadeiramente, o espelho de todas estas perspectivas de passagem. É sintomático que o primeiro impresso a introduzir narrativas da gesta castelhana na Ásia tenha sido, primordialmente, um discurso vocacionado para o

conhecimento da China. Ilustrativa da disparidade das expectativas que se colocavam a quem chegava ao arquipélago foi, também, a dispersão geográfica contida no título que Marcelo de Ribadeneira escolheu para a sua obra – *Historia de las Islas del Archipiélago Filipino y Reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*.

Baeza, que de acordo com as suas próprias informações participou no comércio entre Cantão, Macau e o Japão e no trato da Insulíndia, pretendeu uma racionalização da fronteira asiática dos dois impérios ibéricos e das estruturas comerciais existentes.

A memória da dispersão é, neste sentido, a da construção contínua de um espaço de influência. A expressão de uma conquista inacabada traduz, contudo, um dinamismo de base na percepção desse espaço e, consequentemente, dos seus próprios limites. No que diz respeito às “Filipinas”, a delimitação da fronteira não se processou sobre um referente político anterior, o que possibilitou a incorporação de novas unidades insulares ao “governo das Filipinas”, sem que isso envolvesse a introdução de formas alternativas de compreender a geografia.

Nos textos de Antonio de Morga e Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, designação toponímica e conteúdo semântico são instâncias de identidade que acusam o carácter processual e incompleto da expansão castelhana. Se a prática do governo fornece coerência e estrutura à forma *Filipinas*, é também o que possibilita que a sua expressão geográfica implique, a um tempo, domínio e intenção de domínio.

Esta concepção fluída do espaço, que literariamente se substancia em imagens dissonantes de identidade,

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está subjacente à estruturação do conteúdo histórico das obras, determinando, ulteriormente, a centralidade das ilhas na narrativa e, portanto, um posicionamento particular acerca da expansão castelhana. A possibilidade de enriquecimento semântico do topónimo significa e antecipa a prossecução da empresa expansionista. Em 1609, no entanto, perante dois projectos literários distintos, a inscrição das Filipinas na economia da narrativa desempenha funções particulares, consoante o ideal ou programa de intervenção e de inscrição no Sueste Asiático.

Em Morga, a consciência da desmesurada dispersão territorial, juntamente com o seu desígnio de promoção pessoal, motivou uma valorização das ilhas Filipinas e do seu governo como patamar discursivo fundamental. Tomar o governo do arquipélago como objecto narrativo central permitiu salientar a sua condição de agente regulador basilar das movimentações castelhanas na Ásia, sem o qual seriam inviáveis todos os demais projectos. O antigo oficial da *Audiencia* de Manila cunhava, deste modo, uma imagem das Filipinas como bastião estratégico e núcleo logístico para a continuidade da empresa asiática, tornando premente o reforço da posição nas ilhas.

Para o cronista do Conde de Lemos, o valor estratégico do arquipélago, não sendo menor, foi, contudo, equacionado a partir de um debate mais alargado que considerava a orgânica da presença ibérica na Ásia Oriental e do Sueste e a possibilidade do seu reordenamento governativo e comercial. Em Leonardo de Argensola, tratava-se de afirmar o protagonismo militar das Filipinas na região pela defesa de uma primazia a nível governativo e de promover o arquipélago como via alternativa para a rota do cravo. O compromisso com a celebração da conquista de

Ternate, porquanto se tenha traduzido num decréscimo do enfoque narrativo, não significou uma desvalorização do potencial estratégico das ilhas. Antes, reforçou, no interior de uma problemática distinta da de Morga, a importância das Filipinas para a continuidade da presença ibérica nos mares asiáticos e para a sua ulterior optimização.

Em 1609, construir a memória da gesta castelhana na Ásia significa, em larga medida, enunciar os caminhos futuros dessa expansão à luz de imperativos geoestratégicos particulares. Neste sentido, para a fixação do passado concorrem expectativas de uma maior dimensão de poder no Sueste Asiático. Condição de possibilidade de todas essas ambições, motor do processo expansionista, as Filipinas emergem, nas construções literárias de 1609, como instância governativa estruturante de uma realidade cujos limites são, na sua essência, imprecisos. As percepções fluídas de patamares da identidade das Filipinas significam que esta se projecta sobre um objecto que não é linear nem, ao nível imediato da geografia, finito. Como consequência, *Filipinas* remete para uma imagética fundamentalmente inclusiva, por via de afirmação de soberania, do espaço. Expressão do poder castelhano, correspondem, no Sueste Asiático, à materialização de uma nova ordem regional, cujas implicações suscitaram, em Antonio de Morga e Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, inquietações distintas. **RC**

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NOTAS

- 1 Cf. Donald F. Lach e Edwin J. Van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Vol. III, p. 1493.
- 2 Manel Ollé, *La invención de China. Percepciones y estrategias filipinas respecto a China durante el siglo XVI*, p. 86.
- 3 Rafael Valladares, *Castilla y Portugal en Asia (1580-1680). Declive imperial y adaptación*, pp. 6-7.
- 4 Marcelo de la Ribadeneira, *Historia de las islas del archipiélago Filipino y reinos de la Gran China, Tartaria, Cochinchina, Malaca, Siam, Cambodge y Japón*.
- 5 Pedro Chirino, *Relación de las islas Filipinas i de lo que en ellas an trabajado los Padres de la Compañía de Jesús*.
- 6 Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio, “Breve y verdadera relacion de los sucesos del reino de Camboxa”, in G. de San Antonio e R. de Vivero, *Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón*. Edición de Roberto Ferrando, Madrid, Historia 16, 1998.
- 7 Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, *As Filipinas na Literatura Histórica Ibérica (1580-1640). Uma análise estrutural*, pp. 31-33.
- 8 Marcelo de Ribadeneira, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 9 Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, Madrid, Ediciones Polifemo, p. 7. Será esta a edição que seguiremos ao longo deste artigo.
- 10 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *Conquista de las Islas Malucas*, pp. 13-14.
- 11 *Ibidem*, p. 13.
- 12 Francisca Perujo, “Estudio Preliminar”, Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. xxxiii.
- 13 “Prólogo de W. E. Retana”, in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. 492.
- 14 Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, “Prólogo”, in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, p. xiv; Francisca Perujo, “Estudio Preliminar”, *cit.*, p. xxviii.
- 15 “Prólogo de W. E. Retana”, in Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, pp. 493-494.
- 16 *Ibidem*, p. 492. Leia-se, ainda, Antonio García-Abásolo e Rosario Pérez Alcalá, “Antonio de Morga. La visión de Filipinas de un magistrado sevillano del siglo XVI”, *Andalucía y América. Actas del II Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Córdoba, 1991*, pp. 69-71.
- 17 J. S. Cummins, “Editor’s Introduction”, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas by Antonio de Morga*. Translated and Edited by J. S. Cummins, pp. 17-18; Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, “Prólogo”, *loc. cit.*, p. xxxiii.
- 18 Joaquín Aznar Molina, *Los Argensola*, p. 30 e 136; Otis Howard Green, *Vida y Obras de Luperio Leonardo de Argensola*, pp. 9-10; *Rimas de Luperio y Bartolomé L. de Argensola*, Vol. I, pp. xv-xvi; Pedro Peiré Santas e Estela Puyuelo Ortíz, “La figura de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola”, in Rosa María Marina Sáez *et al.*, *El horacianismo en Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola*, pp. 9-10.
- 19 Isabel Enciso Alonso-Muñumer, *Nobleza, poder y mecenazgo en tiempos de Felipe III. Nápoles y el Conde de Lemos*, pp. 206 e 227.
- 20 *Ibidem*, pp. 210-211 e 227-230; Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias. Historia y organización del Consejo y de la Casa de Contratación de las Indias*, Vol. 1, pp. 180-189.
- 21 Alfonso Pardo Manuel de Villena, *El Conde de Lemos. Noticias de su vida y de sus relaciones con Cervantes, Lope de Vega, los Argensola e demás literatos de su época*, pp. 46-47.
- 22 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
- 23 *Ibidem*, p. 153.
- 24 *Ibidem*, p. 27.
- 25 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 272.
- 26 *Ibidem*, p. 251.
- 27 *Ibidem*, p. 8.
- 28 *Ibidem*, p. 290.
- 29 O anacronismo é claro, pois o topónimo, tanto na sua forma singular como plural, precede a conquista.
- 30 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 21.
- 31 Esta aceção é particularmente evidente na *Breve y verdadera relacion de los sucesos del Reyno de Camboxa* (1604) do dominicano Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio. A descrição do mundo com que introduz a sua relação é dividida em seis grandes blocos geográficos de referência: Europa, África, Ásia, América, um postulado continente austral (Tierra del Fuego) e o Arquipélago de São Lázaro. Gabriel Quiroga de San Antonio, “Breve y verdadera relacion de los sucesos del reino de Camboxa”, in G. de San Antonio e R. de Vivero, *Relaciones de la Camboya y el Japón*. Edición de Roberto Ferrando, p. 43.
- 32 Em 1744, o franciscano Juan Francisco de San Antonio reporta-se, nas suas *Chronicas de la apostolica provincia de San Gregorio*, a uma “Descripción” das Filipinas onde se tratava dos costumes dos indígenas do arquipélago. Esta “Descripción”, redigida, de acordo com San Antonio, pelo mesmo Morga em 1598, corresponderia, não a um texto de natureza histórica, mas antes a um documento com uma vertente etnográfica e geográfica assinalável. “Prólogo de W. E. Retana”, *loc. cit.*, p. 492.
- 33 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 251.
- 34 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- 35 Diogo do Couto, *Década Quarta da Ásia*, Vol. I, p. 386; Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 36 Patricio Hidalgo Nuchera, *La Recta Administración. Primeros tiempos de la colonización en Filipinas: la situación de la población nativa*, p. 35.
- 37 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252.
- 38 Já em 1574 exprimia o vice-rei Martín Enríquez a convicção que as Filipinas não correspondiam a um projecto económico sustentável, mas antes que a sua conservação se justificava pela vontade política de manter o governo das ilhas. Antonio Francisco García-Abásolo, “La expansión mexicana hacia el Pacífico: La primera colonización de Filipinas (1570-1580)”, *Historia Mexicana*, Vol. XXXII, n.º 121, p. 69.
- 39 Cf. Manel Ollé, *La empresa de China. De la Armada Invencible al Galeón de Manila*, pp. 27-32.
- 40 Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 34.
- 41 Rafael Valladares, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 e 20-22.
- 42 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
- 43 *Ibidem*, pp. 153-154.
- 44 *Ibidem*, pp. 146 e 150.
- 45 *Ibidem*, p. 354.
- 46 *Ibidem*, p. 130. O autor justifica esta posição a partir da cláusula do capítulo 24 do juramento de Filipe II em Tomar que tratava do provisionamento das armadas da Índia, pelo qual o monarca se reservava o direito de tomar o assento que mais julgasse conveniente para defesa do Reino.
- 47 Memorial de Pedro de Baeza de 14 de Janeiro de 1608, Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, R/14034, p. 4.
- 48 *Ibidem*, pp. 2-3v e 8-8v.
- 49 *Ibidem*, p. 4. O itálico é nosso.
- 50 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-87.
- 51 *Ibidem*, pp. 88, 145 e 211.
- 52 *Ibidem*, pp. 99 e 211.
- 53 Carta de Antonio Sedeño, Superior da Missão das Filipinas, de 12 de Junho de 1582, de Manila, in *Documenta Malucensia*, Vol. II, p. 123.

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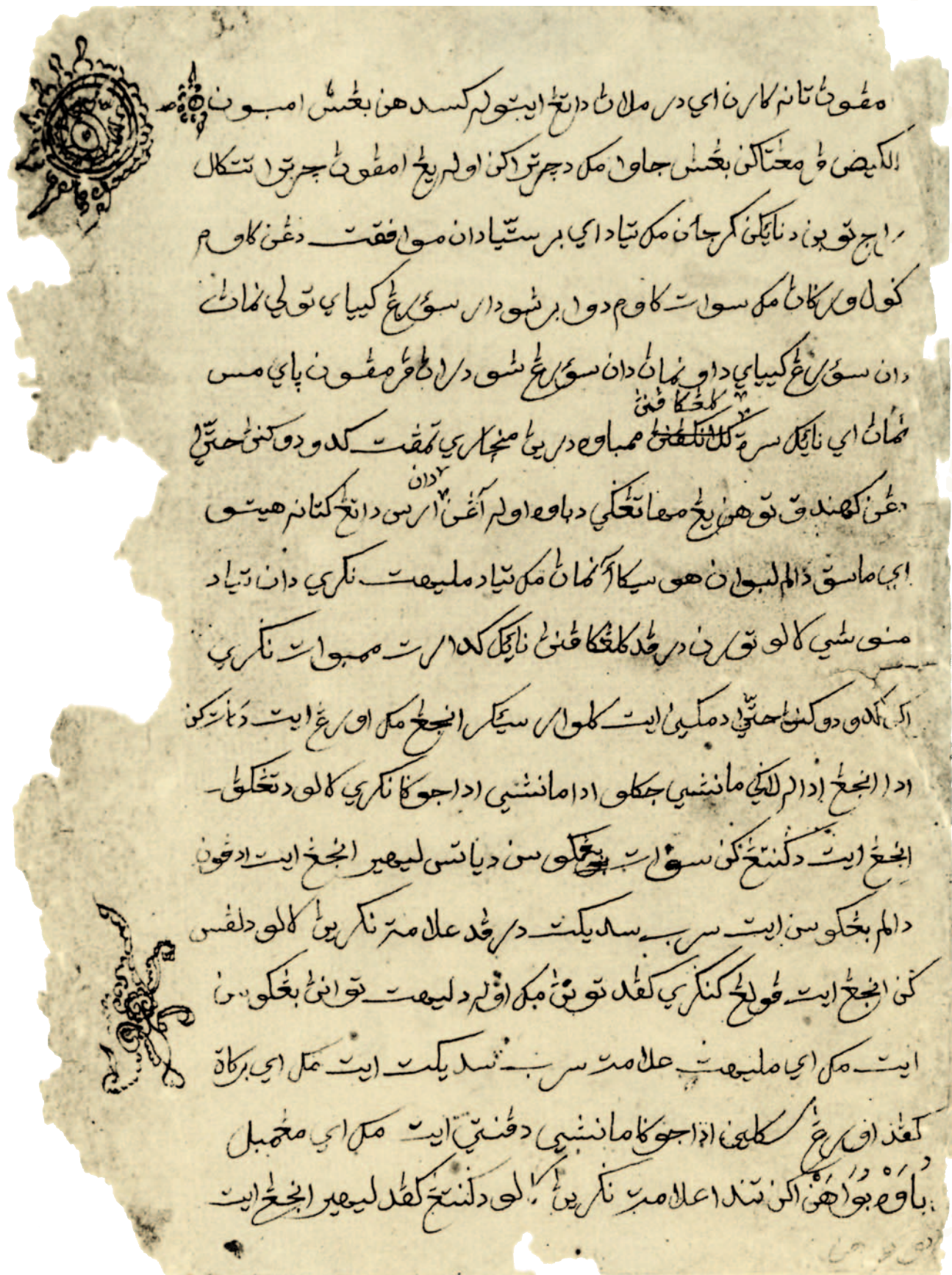
- 54 Carta de Bernardino Ferrari, Superior da Missão das Molucas, de 19 de Maio de 1583, de Amboíno, *ibidem*, p. 126.
- 55 Carta de Alonso Sánchez, S.J., de Novembro-Dezembro de 1587, de Madrid, *ibidem*, p. 222.
- 56 Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, *op. cit.*, pp. 69 e 83.
- 57 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 311.
- 58 Idem, *ibidem*, pp. 234-235.
- 59 Antonio García-Abásolo e Rosario Pérez Alcalá, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
- 60 Carta de Antonio de Morga a Filipe II, de 6 de Julho de 1596, em Manila, in Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 506.
- 61 Carta de Antonio de Morga a Filipe II, de 6 de Julho de 1596, em Manila, *loc. cit.*, p. 508.
- 62 Antonio de Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 311 e 315.
- 63 *Ibidem*, p. 315.
- 64 *Ibidem*, pp. 311-315.
- 65 *Ibidem*, p. 237.

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Hikayat Tanah Hitu A Rare Local Source of 16th and 17th Century Moluccan History

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SOURCES OF MOLUCCAN HISTORY

For those who are interested in the world of the Moluccas in the 16th and 17th century, there is luckily no scarcity of sources. These begin with Varthema's travelogue, Tomé Pires' *Suma Oriental* (1512), the diary Antonio Pigafetta kept while he accompanied Fernão Magalhães on the first circumnavigation of the globe (1519-21), and the information about the region that can be gathered from the reconstruction made of that voyage by Maximilianus Transsylvanus who interviewed those crewmembers of Magalhães' expedition who had made it back alive to Spain.

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Also using local oral traditions and showing more understanding for cultural differences, there are the treatises on the Moluccas by António Galvão, who served as Governor and Captain of the Portuguese fort in Ternate (1536-9) and by Gabriel Rebelo who later (1539-1570) also served in Ternate. The chronicler Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, who served in India for ten years, possibly visited the Moluccas, and using information from captains and officers wrote about this region in his history of the Portuguese discoveries and the conquest of India (1551).

The court historian João de Barros, who had access to the secret documents in the Lisbon archives – including descriptions of the first circumnavigation, Varthema's travels and Galvão's treatise – wrote about the Moluccas in *Da Asia* (first volume published 1526). This was also done by *Da Asia*'s continuators, first Diogo de Couto, who as keeper of the records at Goa (1594) had access to among others Rebelo's work, and then that of António Bocarro, who was subsequently also appointed as keeper of the records at Goa (1631) and wrote *Da Asia*'s last decade, covering 1612-17.

There are also many Spanish sources, which are found in the reports and letters kept in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville and in the voluminous histories written in the course of the 16th century and into the beginning of the 17th century by successively Andres de Urdaneta, Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo, Francisco Lopez de Gomara, and Lorenzo Peres OFM, as well as the account of the Spanish conquest of the Moluccas by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola (1606).

Because the Portuguese on arrival in the Moluccas did not just try to gain mastery of the trade in cloves but – desiring to stem the rising tide of Islamisation – also made strong efforts to Christianize the local population, we also have a rich body of letters and reports from the Jesuit fathers, among which are the letters of Saint Francis Xavier, who worked in the Moluccas from July 1546 to June 1547.

Besides Portuguese and Spanish sources on the Moluccas, there are also many Dutch ones, beginning with what is told about the region in the 16th century in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario*, a book which he wrote on the basis of information he managed to collect while serving as secretary of the Bishop of Goa. For the 17th century – and also for the 18th – the Dutch

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sources mainly consist of the official records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) kept in the General State Archives in The Hague¹.

Finally, special mention must be made of Georg Rumphius, a German VOC official who from 1654 until his death in 1702 worked on Ambon and in beautiful Dutch wrote several carefully detailed and researched monographs on the geography, ethnology, botany and history of Ambon and the area surrounding it. François Valentijn, who worked on Ambon from 1686-95 and 1707-15 as a minister and inherited Rumphius' writings and library, used his materials and cribbed his writings for his description of the Moluccas in his *Old and New East Indies* (published between 1724-6)².

A RARE LOCAL SOURCE PUBLISHED

What the researcher sorely misses amidst this wealth of sources are contemporary local writings, which can provide non-European perspectives on the history of the region. A rare sample of just such a text is the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* or 'History of the Land of Hitu', of which a thoroughly researched edition in Dutch was recently published by Hans Stravers, Chris van Fraassen and Jan van der Putten.³

The Land of Hitu was a union of originally seven (*hitu*) recently converted Muslim villages which in the early years of the 16th century had formed a state which occupied the northern part of Ambon island. Hitu's founder, Jamilu, was the oldest of the heads of the four immigrant groups who had formed the state and together ruled the land in collegiality. The *hikayat* sets forth the history of Hitu from its founding until its enforced demise by the VOC, when the Dutch put an end to its independence as a clove growing and trading state.

According to its three editors the *hikayat* was written by Jamilu's great-grandson, the *imam* (religious leader) (Sifa)rijali (born ca. 1590). He wrote it while he was in exile in Macassar during the years 1647-53. Rijali had fled to Macassar to stay out of the hands of the Dutch and hoped that he might in that kingdom—the last in the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago which could still resist the mighty VOC—find support for Hitu's cause. He composed it at the instigation of his host there, Macassar's regent Karaeng Patinggaloang, who is known to have had a library with Western

scholarly books, maps and globes, and among many other languages also to have spoken Portuguese fluently.⁴

According to the reconstruction the three editors have made of the history of the *hikayat*'s various manuscripts Rumphius had owned a manuscript of it, which had been acquired as booty by the VOC and he had used it for his *Description of the Land of Ambon* and *History of Ambon*. Valentijn, too, had a copy of the *hikayat*, either a manuscript he had inherited from Rumphius, or a copy acquired in some other way. Unfortunately, however, it has been impossible ever since to trace with certainty the whereabouts of both these manuscripts.

In the 1920s a colonial official, H. J. Jansen, pieced together the text of a variant of the *hikayat* from manuscripts circulating on the north coast of Hitu, which had all been copied from an original in the possession of the Regent of Seit. That reconstituted text is now kept in Leiden University Library's Oriental Manuscript Department as Cod. Or. 8756. The text of the *hikayat* as reconstructed by Jansen was even made known by him to the public by his reading it out to large native audiences, and the text was also published serially in an Ambonese Malay-language newspaper.

In 1906 a manuscript of the *hikayat* originating from the north Ambonese village of Hila surfaced among the inheritance of the late G.K. Niemann, professor of the East-Indies Institute at Delft and was registered as manuscript Cod. Or. 5448 of the Leiden Oriental Manuscript Department. Not recognizing it as a manuscript of Ridjali's *hikayat* Van Ronkel in his 1921 supplement catalogue of the Malay and Minangkabau manuscripts in Leiden classified it as a fragmentary, not very well-written chronicle of the Moluccas.

The *hikayat* first became more accessible when Z.J. Manusama in his 1977 Leiden University Ph. D. dissertation on Hitu's history and social structure published in the Netherlands the entire Malay text of the Hila manuscript (Cod. Or. 5448) and provided a full translation of it into Dutch.⁵ Like Manusama's edition, the new one published by the three editors is based on the manuscript from Hila (Cod. Or. 5448). In this way they hope to come as close as possible to the original *hikayat* as it was once first put on paper in Macassar by Rijali.

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As they point out, the manuscript from Hila can be dated to the middle of the 17th century on the basis of a variety of criteria (watermarks, contra-marks, the owner's name, Nusatapi, i.e. an uncle of Rijali's). The manuscript from Seit must in their opinion, on the basis of genealogical information mentioned in it, date from the beginning of the 18th century. They consider it possible that Rumphius, who knew Nusatapi well and worked in Hila from 1660-70, brought the manuscript – probably a copy of an older original – to Ambon and that it was thus later passed on to Valentijn and Niemann.⁶

STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK AND SUMMARY OF ITS INTRODUCTORY PART

The new edition of Rijali's *History of Hitu* consists of two parts. Its main part is formed by an annotated edition of Rijali's Malay text, with a translation into Dutch. This text edition cum translation is preceded by an introductory part which provides the reader with the necessary philological, literary, linguistic and historical information for 'placing' and understanding the text of the *hikayat* and elucidates what perspective of events the author tries to express through his work; this introductory part closes with genealogical overviews and maps. At the end of the book follow a bibliography of sources/publications which have been consulted or are recommended for further reading and indexes of personal names and place names occurring in the *hikayat*.

In the introductory part the editors first establish the authorship of the *History of Hitu* and the history of and relation between its several manuscripts (see above), and argue why they have chosen to base their edition on the Hila manuscript. Subsequently they discuss the work's genre—that of the Malay *hikayat*—and the language it uses. They describe its language, in which they identify many Arabic and Portuguese loanwords, as a form of *hikayat*-Malay, but one which remarkably does not show features of the Moluccan forms of Malay that developed in the region.

They suggest that the genre *hikayat*, which also made use of oral traditions, was not tied to particular conventions and suggest that it may be interesting to compare the *History of Hitu* with histories such as the *Sulalatu's-Salatin* (better known as the *Sejarah Melayu* or the *Malay Annals*, MS. Raffles dated 1612) and

the *Hikayat Aceh* (*History of Aceh*, composed between 1607-1637).⁷

In their elucidation of the historical background of the *History of Hitu* five parts are roughly distinguished in its narrative, the first of which opens with telling from where and how the four immigrant groups came to establish themselves on Hitu and then describes the process of state-formation on Hitu (ca. 1500-1538), the rise of the cloves economy, the creation of a joint government by equals, and the Islamisation of the region.

The second part is mainly concerned with the Holy Wars Hitu fought with the Christian infidels (1538-1605) but opens with the story of the arrival (in 1512) on Hitu of the Portuguese – described as 'men with eyes like cats' – who were initially welcomed as trading partners and allowed to settle there. After a series of incidents and because of Portuguese meddling, relations turned sour and they were forced to relocate from the north coast of Hitu to a non-Muslim area on its south coast where, so the *hikayat* tells us, the offensive Portuguese custom of drinking liquor was no problem, 'because the settlements there had no religion', (i.e. presumably: because they were animists) and had lots of liquor.

Then follows a string of stories about how in the course of the 16th century a Holy War developed in the region, in which not only Hitu fought the Portuguese, but the Islamic kingdoms of the north coast of Java (especially Japara), Banda, and the rapidly rising kingdom of Ternate did so as well, involved in the fighting as Hitu's allies. As the editors explain, among the local communities on Ambon island the decision whether to fight or support the Portuguese and whether to embrace Islam or to convert to Christianity were also very much decided by the traditional oppositions between the Ulilima (Union of Five Villages, anti-Portuguese, pro-Islam) and the UliSiwa (Union of Nine Villages, pro-Portuguese, pro-Christianity), that were everywhere in the Moluccas decisive for the relations between the settlements.

Hitu fought its Holy War against the Portuguese to defend its autonomy as a clove growing and trading state, and it succeeded in doing so, in spite of suffering heavy losses when it was attacked by the fleets of Diogo Lopes de Azevedo (1538), Gonçalo Pereira Marramaque (1569) and Furtado de Mendonça (1602). As a result, in the last quarter of the 16th century in Hitu

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the Portuguese were only tolerated as visiting buyers of cloves but were not allowed to obtain a foothold and establish themselves.

The third part of the *hikayat*, which covers the years 1605-1643, according to the editors, is mainly concerned with telling how Hitu's relations with the new power in the region, the Dutch VOC, developed. It describes the visits by a succession of Dutch fleets (1599 Admiral Jacob Cornelisz Van Neck, Wijbrand van Warwijk; 1600 Steven van der Haghen, Cornelis van Heemskerck) to Hitu, where they were not only promised a monopoly in buying up cloves in return for help in driving off the Portuguese, but were even allowed to build a fort at Cape Hatunuku. These developments so much alarmed Goa that it sent a big war fleet, commanded by André Furtado de Mendonça, to try and intimidate the Hituese.

Repeatedly contacting the Dutch from the nearby island of Hoamoal, where they had fled, Hitu's leaders with some difficulty persuaded them to come to their help as they had promised. In 1605 Admiral Steven van der Haghen finally arrived with a fleet from Banten in West Java, and forced the commander of the Portuguese fort on the island of Ambon, Gaspar de Melo, to surrender it to him. In the name of the States General and the then Stadtholder of the Dutch Republic, Prince Maurits van Nassau, he concluded an alliance with Hitu, with Hitu swearing its allegiance to the States General and the Dutch receiving the sole right to buy up the cloves.

Once the Dutch had established themselves on Ambon, so the *hikayat* tells, their governors frequently meddled in Hituese affairs and more and more tried to strengthen their grip on the trade in cloves in the wider region, which also led to the infamous deportation of Banda's population and the execution of its leaders (*orangkayas*) in 1621 at the orders of Governor-General Jan Pietersz. Coen. Nevertheless, as the *hikayat* shows, until 1633, when Tepil, the *Kapitan Hitu* at that time and an uncle of Rijali's, died, a good measure of friendliness and goodwill remained dominant in the relations between Hitu and the VOC.

What changed the situation, so the editors indicate, was that at the initiative of Tepil's successor, Kakiali, part of Hitu's settlements opted for following

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a hard line of confrontation against the ever-increasing pressure from the Dutch. It was from that moment onward that Ridjali, as the *hikayat* also shows, developed into one of the most prominent leaders in the struggle against the VOC. The *hikayat* tells that he led a mission to Macassar (in 1639) to request the Sultan and the Regent for military aid, and also led several military expeditions, mainly aimed at enforcing loyalty and unity among the Hituese.

In the fourth part of the *hikayat*, which tells of the last phase of Hitu's struggle with the VOC (1643-1646) Rijali appears fighting in the front ranks and playing a leading role in the unsuccessful defense of the fort at Wawani which led to the demise of Hituese self-government and the heroic last stand which was made in vain at the fort of Kapahaha. The fifth part of the *hikayat*—its epilogue—covers the period from 1646 to 1667. In this part we are given Rijali's account of his vicissitudes after he had fled Hitu and of the painfulness of his exile, no matter how well he was received by his Macassarese host.

The introduction is closed off by a consideration of what the editors call the 'perspective of the author', by which they presumably mean the convictions of Rijali which colour his narrative and motivate the points he tries to make in its course. According to them the *hikayat* was written in Macassar for a public of relative outsiders, in the hope that it might bring about a revolt on Ternate and/or a restoration of Hitu's government, under the protection of Macassar. They identify four convictions which underlie the narrative of the *hikayat*. The first of these is that the Hituese must loyally defend the political principle of Hitu's joint government in collegiality by the heads of its four great families as part of Hitu's customs (*adat*).

Another conviction they mention is that of the necessity to remain loyal to Islam. The struggle against the Portuguese is seen as a Holy War, which is part of a confrontation going on on a much wider scale between infidels and true believers, and whoever dies in battle for the Faith is believed to immediately gain entrance to Paradise. Though deeply convinced that fighting for the Faith was a sacred duty, Rijali took a tolerant attitude towards other faiths and personally adhered to a not too dogmatic form of Islam pursuing mystical gnosis. Being the pragmatic man he was, he never fell for the seduction to simply condemn one and all policies of the VOC and their allies as an

attack on Islam and he was well aware that between the Muslims, too, there were conflicting interests and dissensions.

As a third conviction colouring Rijali's narrative they identify the necessity for Hitu to remain loyal to its allies, a necessity very much dictated by pragmatism, because Hitu could in the long run only maintain its autonomy by maneuvering very cautiously between the VOC, the sultanate of Ternate and the Macassarese. In his personal opinion, when Kakiali took over as Kapitan Hitu, the Hituese should not have impulsively decided to wage a Holy War on the Dutch, but should have looked ahead and considered matters very carefully from the point of view of strategy.

Finally, when facing the reality that in spite of all these ideals Hitu proved unable to stand united and lost its autonomy, subjected by the Dutch, Rijali could only explain this to himself—and thus also to his public—by taking recourse to another conviction: that God's Will, which could not be gainsaid, had visited this incomprehensible affliction on him to put his faith to the test, so that all he should do, as a pious Muslim, was to bear his fate, in the firm belief that God knows best.

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE BOOK

There need be no doubt that the new edition of the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* is based on solid philology and that the editors' choice for publishing Ms. Cod Or. 5448 as closest to the time when the *hikayat* was composed is a well-founded one. Its manner of presentation of the Malay text is scholarly and its translation of the *hikayat* into Dutch is reliable. In the elucidations in its introductory part and in its copious annotations the book also demonstrates a firm grasp of the very complex history of the Moluccas and an intimate knowledge of the region's languages and cultures. What further enhances its quality is that it has been provided with detailed registers, maps and genealogies, which efficiently and reliably provide the necessary help to readers in finding their way. In short, a strength of the book is that it makes much work of reconstructing the referential (historical, anthropological, geographical, etc.) background for understanding the *hikayat*.

The book is much less strong where it has to deal with understanding the *hikayat* as literature, because it does not put in as much effort to reconstruct

FORGOTTEN CHRONICLERS OF THE FAR EAST (16TH–18TH CENTURIES)Amboino Island, 17th century.

its rhetorical background. By dealing with a text as literature I do not mean the identification of a text's strengths and deficiencies as an aesthetic artifact but the study of the way in which its signs are made to interact amongst each other in the process of reading and, by the structures and forms they thus create, contribute to the production of its meaning. It is true that the editors go some way towards establishing how the *hikayat* tries to inculcate certain lessons and make certain points by the way in which it describes events and persons. They do so when they discuss the "perspective of the author" but one may wonder whether, if more systematically approached, the text could not have yielded far more insights into what Rijali wanted to convey to his readers.

Western literary theory teaches that all reading and interpretation are guided by rules and conventions, such as those of genre. The editors of the *hikayat* posit that, "historians [writing in this genre, G.L.K.] were not tied to strict rules or conventions; they adapted the form and contents to their needs."⁸ That may be partly⁹ true, but it does not mean that a more systematic effort should not be made to identify those Malay or Moluccan literary conventions which were relied upon by Rijali in his composition of *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*. The problem for the editors has of course been – as they themselves indicate – that the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, does not really seem to follow Malay conventions of historiographical narrative and is also quite different from the Moluccan oral sources, on the basis of which it was partly written.

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As a result, the *hikayat* may, from a literary point of view, very much seem to be a monolith without context, and therefore quite difficult to deal with as literature. Nevertheless one wonders whether, if more carefully scrutinized, it may perhaps prove not completely impossible to place it within a context of Malay conventions of historiography.

One convention of Malay historiography—which it shares with most other genres of Malay narrative—is the construction of its stories by the repetitious yet ever-varied use of traditionally hallowed formulaic language (e.g. the king said with a sweet voice) and familiar type-scenes (in the Malay heroic epic: council of the noblemen with the ruler, preparation for battle, departure for battle in a glorious blaze, the melee and din of the battle, etc. etc.) For some of us, attending to these features in works of historiography—Malay or otherwise—may perhaps seem a mere useless formalist exercise because it does not seem to teach us much about its meaning. In fact, however, the study of these formulae and type-scenes provides us, among others, with an insight into the value system and the models of reality which underlie its narrative, and is therefore not only quite useful, but very important.

It is true that one needs to have a fund of other similar texts – a background of intertextuality – in order to be able with certainty to identify such formulae and type-scenes as manifestations of a communally sanctioned traditional apparatus of story-telling, and not of an individual style. That background is unfortunately very difficult to obtain so that we seem to have only the *hikayat's* intratextual dimension to go on. Even within that limited scope, however, we may find indications that Rijali might, to a greater or lesser extent, have relied on formulae and type-scenes for constructing his narrative.

An example of a formula—used not only by the Hituese, but at least on one occasion also by the Dutch—is the following one which is time and again employed to clinch a deliberation on what choice to make or action to take and is quite typical of a merchant community with its particular ideology and values: “So long as it brings benefit (*faedah*, *manfaat*) why should we not do it?”¹⁰ An example of a type-scene we find littered throughout the *hikayat* in more or less elaborated samples, is the description in the manner of heroic epic of the victorious return from battle. Thus we are told how Jamilu, having by the Will of God succeeded in killing the commander of a settlement of unbelievers, returned home victoriously, to eat, to drink

and to celebrate.¹¹ And elsewhere we hear that the champion, Tahalele, who like a tiger threw himself in the midst of the unbelievers and killed many, returned in triumph to celebrate in his own settlement, to eat and to drink. He was given costly gifts, and was granted the title of ‘the hero Tubanbesi’ and his sword that of Lukululi, meaning the Bone-Smasher¹²

Another flaw of the book is the overall

way in which it visually and compositionally presents its materials. It seems to have its roots in an inability of the editors to make up their minds whether to write for an academic readership or to address a public of laymen. Although their stated aim is to write for the general public – and apparently especially for those South Moluccans in the Netherlands who wish to learn about their historical and cultural roots – they nevertheless prove unable to avoid giving in too much to their first love, namely that of scholarship. As a result the book’s introduction tries to maneuver somewhat uneasily between serving these two different readerships.

Whereas the book’s Malay text and translation, the latter of which the editors explicitly say they have



Dutch trading post on the Maluco Islands, 17th century.

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devised to attract the interest of the general public, are presented in an inviting, pleasantly readable font, its introductory part, though produced with partly similar intent, has been printed in a much smaller type size. And an even smaller font has been used for the boxes of text which are here and there inserted into the introduction's pages, to provide excursions into topics of special interest. Then there is the outsize format of the book's pages, which would be more suitable for a presentation of large photographs or pictures.

The impression one gets here is that the editors, under the spell of their scholarly urges, have been reluctant to give up more detailed knowledge, and have tried to cram in as much information as possible without producing an inordinately thick, perhaps too academic-looking or intractable volume. The manner in which the introduction presents Hitu's history and its wider context to its intended amateur public is indeed quite dense, and may therefore make quite heavy going, and not only for the non-academic reader. Part of the difficulty in following it also lies in the at times paratactic, rather than synthetic or synoptic, way in which the complex tapestry, woven by the many factors and powers shaping Hitu's history, such as the Javanese kingdoms of the *pasisir*, the Banda archipelago, Ternate, and Makassar, is discussed.

Where the academic reader really feels uneasy is when the introduction abandons its genre of the purposive monograph, namely in the inset boxes, which, so the editors say, serve to provide the modern reader with explanations for passages in the *History of Hitu*. In the boxes we get information about such a hotchpotch of topics as: 17th century seals on letters from the Moluccas: a copy of the Koran from the island of Manipa near Hitu; Banda's destruction by the VOC in 1621; lists of the governors-general at Batavia, the Portuguese commanders of the fort at Ambon, the sultans and governors of Ternate, and the regents of Makassar; the treatment by a mid-19th century Dutch novelist of a person who also appears in the *History of Hitu*; and the shifts that occurred in the historical development of the production of cloves.

The effect of all these boxes with their excursions is that the introductory part of the book from a purposive monograph turns into something of an 18th-century style Dutch 'Rariteyten Cabinet' (an Exhibition

of a Collection of Curiosities). One wonders whether all the information in these boxes is really all that indispensable in the place where it is given or, indeed, whether it should be provided at all. Would the reader not have been better served if the editors had taken up, for instance, the topics of the seals and the Koran in the annotations to the *hikayat*'s text and translation and had placed the many lists at the end of the book, with its indexes, rather than dispersing all this information in boxes through the book's introductory part, as little tidbits for diversion and amusement?

Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of the book—at least, if we may look at it from the perspective of the genre of the academic monograph and not limit ourselves to seeing it as a publication for the general reader—is the minimal amount of references which are provided to the sources which have been used for writing its introductory part. On the basis of the mere 49 footnotes that are given¹³, it is impossible to decide whether a sufficiently full, direct and balanced use has been made of the rich store-house of Moluccan history's European sources, in which attention is not slanted in favor of the Dutch sources or too much focused on the period of the dominance of the VOC in the region. From the bibliography/selected reading list provided at the end of the book one might get the latter impression.

One of the tasks of the writer of a review article is to try to be as critical as possible. Having performed that task, I would like to conclude by emphasizing that, whatever its shortcomings may be, the new book has many excellences, not the least of which is that it provides us with valuable new insights into how issues and events were seen locally. It offers a counterpoint to Dutch and other Western historiography concerning the Moluccas, and provides rare, sometimes even unique, information from the other side of the divide: about the formation of the Hituese state, the development of its relations with the Portuguese into a Holy War, the internal relations that prevailed on Hitu and the complex networks Hitu maintained with its allies such as Banda, Ternate and Macassar. As such it is a major contribution to the history of the Moluccas, which deserves to get the full attention of those historians who do not want to limit themselves to looking at the region's past just from the perspective of the decks of the European ships. **RC**

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NOTES

- 1 Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku. Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period*, pp. 9-20.
- 2 About Rumphius and Valentijn, see E. M. Beekman, *Troubled Pleasures. Dutch Colonial Literature from the East Indies, 1600–1950*, pp. 80-116 and pp. 119-144. For those interested in Rumphius who read Dutch I also refer to the fine edition of his *History of Ambon under the VOC*, which was published by Chris van Fraassen and Hans Stavers as G. E. Rumphius, *De Ambonse Eilanden onder de VOC, Zoals Opgetekend in de Ambonse Landbeschrijving*.
- 3 Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu. Een Ambonse geschiedenis uit de zeventiende eeuw*. Bezorgd en ingeleid door Hans Stravers, Chris van Fraassen en Jan van der Putten.
- 4 Rijali, *Historie*, pp. 13-15. About Keraeng Patinggaloang, see Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka. A history of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the seventeenth century*, p. 39.
- 5 Z. J. Manusama, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu. Historie en sociale structuur van de Ambonsche eilanden in het algemeen en van Uli Hitu in het bijzonder tot het midden der zeventiende eeuw*. Dissertatie Leiden 1977.
- 6 Rijali, *Historie*, pp. 15-19.
- 7 For editions of these histories, see: Cheah Boon Kheng (ed.), *Sejarah Melayu. The Malay Annals*. Ms. Raffles No. 18; C. C. Brown (transl.), *Sejarah Melayu or 'Malay Annals'* [repr.]; Teuku Iskandar (ed.), *De Hikayat Atjeh*. For useful introductions, see V. I Braginsky, *The Heritage of Traditional Malay Literature: A Historical Survey of Genres, Writings and Literary Views* pp. 183-198.
- 8 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 25.
- 9 For my qualification of this opinion as only partly true, see G. L. Koster, *Roaming Through Seductive Gardens: Readings in Malay Narrative*, especially the chapters on the *Syair Perang Mengkasar* (Poem on the Macassar War, pp. 97-125) and the *Syair Perang Siak* (Poem on the Siak War, pp. 127-159; also see A. Teeuw, *Indonesia as a field of literary study. A case study: Genealogical narrative texts as an Indonesian literary genre*, in P. E. de Josselin de Jong (ed.), *Unity in diversity: Indonesia as a field of anthropological study*, pp. 38-59.
- 10 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, pp. 95, 99, 107, 137
- 11 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 109.
- 12 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 115. For some other examples, see pp. 113, 173-174, 197.
- 13 Rijali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 79

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RESUMOS

Fr. Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M., Cronista Macaense

Este estudo em torno de um dos mais importantes cronistas nascidos em Macau, Fr. Paulo da Trindade (c. 1570-1651), franciscano, pretende acima de tudo recordar e dar a conhecer um dos autores menos abordados da historiografia portuguesa e, em particular, do espaço ultramarino luso. Autor de uma das mais importantes publicações relacionadas com a actividade missionária portuguesa, franciscana no caso, no mundo oriental, Conquista Espiritual do Oriente, este filho de Macau distinguiu-se pelo seu zelo missionário a par de uma busca constante de referências e informações relacionadas com a presença dos franciscanos na Ásia portuguesa, para a qual é a mais avisada fonte. O cronista, mas também o missionário, o polemista, o frade, eis algumas das linhas orientadoras deste estudo de matriz histórico-biográfica de um preclaro e distinto “filho da terra” da Cidade do Santo Nome de Deus de Macau.

[Autor: Vítor Gomes Teixeira, pp. 6-15]

Macau in Samuel Purchas' *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625)

Em 1625, o geógrafo inglês Samuel Purchas (c. 1577-1626), discípulo de Richard Hakluyt, publica a antologia de relatos de viagem *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, estudando o presente artigo a representação de Macau, da presença portuguesa, holandesa e inglesa na China meridional e no Japão nesse material europeu, bem como a rivalidade entre ingleses, portugueses e holandeses nessas mesmas paragens até à segunda década do século XVII.

[Autor: Rogério Miguel Puga, pp. 16-41]

A China de Domingo Fernández de Navarrete

A importância do intercâmbio cultural que representou a presença dos missionários jesuítas na China entre os séculos XVI e XVIII não deve fazer com

que esqueçamos os contributos dos missionários de outras ordens religiosas. Dominicanos e Franciscanos descreveram e compilaram conhecimentos sobre a China, traduziram clássicos chineses, redigiram gramáticas e dicionários da língua chinesa, assim como produziram obras evangélicas em chinês. Entre as contribuições da segunda metade do século XVII avulta a obra do dominicano Domingo Fernández de Navarrete. Depois de doze anos na China, escreveu diversos livros de que se destaca *Tratados historicos, politicos, ethicos y religiosos de la monarchia de China* (1676), uma obra muito ambiciosa, que oferece uma visão panorâmica dos conhecimentos do seu tempo sobre a China, ao mesmo tempo que produz uma síntese crítica das reacções iniciais ao confucionismo na Europa, com a chegada das primeiras notícias sobre o “neoconfucionismo”. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete coloca todo o seu empenho de compilação, observação e argumentação crítica ao serviço das posições contrárias à estratégia de acomodação aos ritos chineses propugnada pela Companhia de Jesus.

[Autor: Manel Ollé, pp. 42-54]

A Descrição da China de Fr. Jacinto de Deus

A obra de Frei Jacinto de Deus, *Descrição do Império da China, Precedido de algumas notícias sobre os Conventos de S. Francisco e de Sta. Clara em Macau, Excerto do Vergel de Plantas e Flores da Província da Madre de Deus dos Capuchos reformados da Índia Oriental*, foi publicada em Hong Kong no século XIX (1878). Para além de muitas informações referentes a Macau e à história da Ordem dos Franciscanos, bem como à missionação no século XVII e ainda descrições da China e costumes chineses, bem como referências ao Japão, Malaca e Cochinchina, além da missionação franciscana, em especial. Está dividida em duas partes, uma, sobre a acção da Ordem dos Capuchos (Franciscanos), a outra, com uma descrição detalhada do Império da China e do seu governo.

[Autor: Leonor Diaz de Seabra, pp. 55-69]

François Caron e a sua *Descrição do Japão*

A vida de François Caron (1600-1673) é uma das mais notáveis da sua época. Iniciou a sua carreira como ajudante de cozinha a bordo de um navio da Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais (VOC) e rapidamente conseguiu chegar ao topo. Tornou-se num dos homens mais poderosos da Ásia, devido à sua dedicação, atitude diplomática e vasta experiência no Japão. Aqui protegeu os holandeses da expulsão durante os turbulentos anos em que a dinastia Tokugawa não somente reorganizou o sistema administrativo, como também perseguiu os cristãos japoneses e os católicos europeus, culminando no *sakoku*, o isolamento completo do Japão face ao resto do mundo e o controlo total do país. Várias irregularidades financeiras fizeram com que Caron abandonasse o seu alto posto administrativo em Batavia, o centro da VOC no sudeste asiático. Ofereceu então os seus serviços aos franceses, que tentavam ganhar o seu quinhão do ainda bastante rentável comércio asiático. Acabou por vir a liderar a Companhia Francesa das Índias Orientais, mas morreu quando o navio que o levava para a Europa naufragou durante uma tempestade. Caron deixou um livro, *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijk Japan* (Descrição do Poderoso Reino do Japão), que surgiu em 1645. Constituiu a melhor descrição de um país asiático, e especialmente do Japão, antes da *História do Japão*, de Engelbert Kaempfer (1725-1727). Este pequeno livro não se baseia em considerações teóricas, mas em observações concretas do próprio Caron. Embora Caron não fosse um intelectual com formação académica, o seu livro descreve em grande pormenor as condições da vida quotidiana, bem como a estrutura estatal e os comportamentos morais e éticos dos japoneses. As suas informações eram absolutamente fiáveis em virtude da sua longa experiência pessoal e foi devido às suas excepcionais qualidades

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que a *Beschrijvinghe* foi traduzida para várias línguas europeias, mantendo a sua relevância até ao século XVIII.

[Autor: Detlef Haberland, pp. 70-85]

Andreas Everardus Van Braam Houckgeest, ou as Aventuras de um Holandês na China

O holandês Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801) passou a vida a tentar construir fortuna como empreendedor e observador crítico das 'coisas chinesas' enquanto trabalhava pontualmente na Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais, em Cantão, nos finais do século XVIII. Apesar de ter vivido com muitos altos e baixos (morreu com 62 anos, pobre, pouco deixando para a sua jovem mulher e para o seu filho ainda bebé), não se pode negar que teve uma vida interessante numa época muito interessante.

O seu espólio está guardado em diversos locais. Nos Arquivos Nacionais em Haia, podemos encontrar os seus escritos pessoais, bem como os do seu irmão, o vice-admirante Jacob Pieter Van Braam; na propriedade do presidente George Washington, em Mount Vernon, está o serviço da China que ofereceu a Martha Washington; e, recentemente, o Rijksmuseum em Amsterdão adquiriu aos seus descendentes americanos alguma mobília chinesa da mansão que construiu para viver nas margens do rio Delaware, após seu regresso à América em 1796, e já destruída. Finalmente, a bela narrativa da missão que empreendeu à corte do imperador Qianlong em 1794-1795 em nome da Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais, e que foi publicada em francês em Filadélfia e republicada mais tarde na Europa. Recentemente, o seu bisneto Edward Barnsley escreveu a história familiar de van Braam e dos seus descendentes na América e na Holanda. Este artigo consiste numa *collage* dos documentos existentes nos arquivos holandeses, dos seus próprios escritos e dos diversos materiais que o bisneto conseguiu encontrar em arquivos nos Estados Unidos.

[Autor: Leonard Blussé, pp. 86-95]

O Guarda-Livros e o Sultão. A Primeira Visita Holandesa a Pontianak, 1778

Em 1779, um guarda-livros da Companhia Holandesa das Índias Orientais fez uma visita ao sultão de Pontianak, uma cidade que fora fundada no Bornéu Ocidental apenas alguns anos antes. O guarda-livros, Nicolaas Kloeck, que tinha aspirações literárias, escreveu um extenso relatório sobre a tempestuosa relação que se criou entre si e o sultão. Devido à forma meticulosa como este homem anotou as suas aventuras, é possível realizar uma análise das relações entre um sultanato malaio e o mundo exterior, isto é, os principados vizinhos e os holandeses em Batavia/Jacarta.

[Autor: Jurrien van Goor, pp. 96-112]

O Lugar das Filipinas na Memória da Gesta Castelhana na Ásia nos Inícios do Século XVII. Os Casos de Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola e de Antonio de Morga

Em 1609, o surgimento, em meios societários distintos, de duas propostas de fixação da memória histórica da presença castelhana em ambiente asiático proporciona-nos uma rara oportunidade para apreciar duas soluções próprias de se equacionar a experiência na Ásia. Na qualidade de base de operações e centro logístico das movimentações castelhanas na Ásia, as ilhas Filipinas assumem uma expressão narrativa incontornável, ainda que a níveis diferenciados, nos discursos de Antonio de Morga e Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola. O nosso texto visa, justamente, compreender as práticas de inscrição das Filipinas, enquanto experiência historicamente construída, no discurso. Pretendemos, por esta via, determinar soluções divergentes e convergentes de percepcionar o arquipélago enquanto realidade geográfica e política, por um lado, e compreender a operacionalidade destas imagens no contexto da memória da expansão castelhana na Ásia, por outro. Contudo, a função narrativa das Filipinas compreende todo um debate que considera o devir da presença,

não apenas castelhana, mas ibérica na Ásia Oriental e do Sueste. Neste sentido, a escrita do passado incorpora e projecta uma variedade de expectativas e perspectivas de expansão, cuja expressão diferenciada nas duas obras de 1609 permite obter níveis mais complexos de entendimento acerca dos projectos literários que lhes que lhes estão subjacentes.

[Autor: Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, pp. 113-131]

Hikayat Tanah Hitu: Uma Rara Fonte Local da História dos Séculos XVI e XVII das Molucas

Este artigo analisa e apresenta uma edição de um texto holandês com tradução e introdução de uma rara fonte local da história dos séculos XVI e XVII das ilhas Molucas, nomeadamente a *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (História de Hitu), escrita pelo líder religioso Rijali em meados do século XVII. Começa com uma breve descrição da riqueza das fontes europeias sobre a história das Molucas naquele período, para destacar que, ao contrário da história, por exemplo, do mundo malaio no período da expansão europeia, verifica-se uma ausência completa de fontes locais, que ofereçam perspectivas não europeias. Posteriormente, apresenta um resumo da introdução do livro, na qual a *Hikayat* é colocada filológica, literária e historicamente no seu contexto. Embora o artigo se depare com muitos elementos dignos de elogio no livro enquanto contributos para uma compreensão menos eurocêntrica da história das Molucas, assinala também algumas deficiências. Estas podem ter sido causadas, por um lado, pela dificuldade com que os editores se depararam em decidir se escreviam para académicos ou para leigos e, por outro, pelo problema que enfrentaram no que se refere à forma de lidar literariamente com um texto que, daquele ponto de vista, ainda permanece largamente um monólito sem contexto.

[Autor: G. L. Koster, pp. 132-142]

ABSTRACTS

Fr. Paulo da Trindade, OFM, Chronicler of Macao

Despite the fact that he is given scant consideration in Portuguese historiography, particularly that of Portugal's colonies, Franciscan priest Paulo da Trindade (c. 1570-1651) left some of the most important accounts of Macao. His *Spiritual Conquest of the Orient* is one of the most significant works on Portuguese Franciscan missionary activities in the East. Born in Macao, his missionary zeal and endless search for information on the Franciscans in Portuguese Asia make his writings a n invaluable source for historians. As a chronicler, missionary, polemicist, priest, he was a true "son of the earth" from the City of the Holy Name of God. [Author: Vítor Gomes Teixeira, pp. 6-15]

Macao in Samuel Purchas' Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes (1625)

In 1625 the English geographer Samuel Purchas (c. 1577-1626), who inherited Richard Hakluyt's mantle, published an anthology of travel accounts of *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*. This article reveals how he portrayed Macao, the Portuguese, Dutch and English presence in South China and in Japan, as well as the rivalry between English, Portuguese and Dutch in these regions up until the 1720s. [Author: Rogério Miguel Puga, pp. 16-41]

A China Seen by Domingo Fernández de Navarrete

In spite of the Jesuits' tremendous contribution to 16th and 17th century cultural exchange in China, missionaries from other orders were also involved: Dominicans and Franciscans described and compiled accounts of China, translated Chinese classics, edited grammar books and dictionaries of the Chinese language, and produced religious tracts in Chinese. Writing in the second half of the 17th century, the Spanish Dominican Domingo Fernández de Navarrete produced several books, including the *Historical, Political, Ethical and Religious Treatise on the Monarchy of China* published

in 1676. This ambitious work offers an overview of the knowledge about China during that period, while also providing a synthesized critique of the initial reactions to Confucianism as the first impressions of "neo-Confucianism" emerged. Domingo Fernández de Navarrete's efforts at compiling, observing and critiquing what he saw served to refute the strategy of accommodation adopted by the Jesuits. [Author: Manel Ollé, pp. 42-54]

The Description of China by Friar Jacinto de Deus

The work of Friar Jacinto de Deus, *Description of the Chinese Empire, preceded by some news on the Convents of São Francisco and Santa Clara in Macao, Excerpt from the Orchard of Plants and Flowers of the Province of Madre de Deus by the retired Monks of Eastern India*, was published in Hong Kong in 1878. In addition to its focus on Franciscan missionary work, it contains extensive information about Macao and the history of the Franciscans, 17th century missionary work, descriptions of China and Chinese customs and references to Japan, Malacca and Cochin China. The work is split into two major sections: one focusing on the activities of the Franciscans; the other giving a detailed description of the Chinese Empire and its government. [Author: Leonor Diaz de Seabra, pp. 55-69]

François Caron and his Description of Japan

The life of François Caron (1600-1673) is among the most remarkable of his time. He started his career as a kitchen boy on board a ship of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and rapidly managed to make his way to the top. He became one of the mightiest men in Asia, due to his diligence, diplomatic manners and wide experience in Japan. Here he protected the Dutch from expulsion in the turbulent years when the Tokugawa emperor not only reorganized the administrative system but also persecuted Japanese Christians and European Catholics, ending in *sakoku*,

the complete seclusion of Japan from the rest of the world and the total control of the country. Various financial irregularities caused Caron to leave his high administrative post in Batavia, the VOC's central command in Southeast Asia. He offered his services to the French who were trying to get their share of the still extremely profitable Asian trade. He eventually became the head of the French East-Asia Trade Company but died when the ship that took him to Europe was wrecked in a storm. Caron left one book, the *Beschrijvinghe van het machtigh Coninckrijk Iapan* (Description of the Mighty Kingdom of Japan), which appeared in 1645. It was the most successful description of an Asian country and especially of Japan before Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan* (1725-1727). This small book is not based on theoretical considerations but on concrete observations by Caron himself. Although he was not an academically trained scholar, his book describes in great detail the conditions of daily life as well as the structure of the state and moral and ethical behaviour of the Japanese. His information was absolutely reliable due to Caron's long personal experience and for its exceptional qualities the *Beschrijvinghe* was translated into several European languages, maintaining its significance until the 18th century. [Author: Detlef Haberland, pp. 70-85]

Andreas Everardus Van Braam Houckgeest, or the Optimistic Adventures of a Dutchman in China

Dutchman Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest (1739-1801) spent his life seeking to build a fortune as an entrepreneur and as a critical observer of 'things Chinese' while serving off and on as a Dutch East India Company servant at Canton in the latter part of the 18th century. Although he died destitute at the age of sixty two after a life of many ups and downs and leaving behind scarce means for his young wife and baby boy, it cannot be denied that

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he lived an interesting life in very interesting times. Van Braam memorabilia are treasured today at various locations. In the Dutch National Archives at The Hague we may find his personal writings and those of his brother the vice-admiral Jacob Pieter Van Braam, at Mount Vernon, George Washington's estate, there is the china service which he presented to Martha Washington, and recently the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam acquired from his American descendants some Chinese furniture of the now demolished mansion that he built for himself by the banks of the Delaware River after his return to America in 1796. Finally, there is the fine narrative of the tribute mission he undertook to the court of the Qianlong emperor in 1794-95 at the behest of the Dutch East India Company, first published in French at Philadelphia and later republished in Europe. More recently, Edward Barnsley, a great-great grandson via his eldest daughter, has written a collected family history of his ancestor and his offspring in America and Holland. The present article is a collage of the archival documents in Holland, his own writings and the various materials that his great great grandson was able to tease out of the local archives in the United States.
[Author: Leonard Blussé, pp. 86-95]

The Bookkeeper and the Sultan. The First Dutch Visit to Pontianak, 1778

In 1779 a bookkeeper of the Dutch East India Company paid a visit to the first sultan of Pontianak, a city that had been founded in Western Borneo only a few years earlier. The bookkeeper, Nicolaas Kloek, who had literary aspirations wrote an extensive report on the tempestuous relationship that developed between him and the sultan. Because of the meticulous way in which this man noted down his adventures an analysis can be worked out of the relations between a Malay sultanate and the outside world, i.e. the neighbouring princedoms and the Dutch in Batavia/Jakarta.
[Author: Jurrien van Goor, pp. 96-112]

The Role of the Philippines in Recounting Castilian Feats in Early 17th Century Asia: the Cases of Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola and Antonio de Morga

In 1609, the appearance in distinct milieus of two proposals recounting Spanish feats in Asia provides a rare opportunity to appraise different approaches to the experience in Asia. As an operations base and logistics centre for Castilian movements in Asia, the Philippines play a crucially important role in the narratives of Antonio de Morga and Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola, albeit at different levels. This text seeks to understand the positioning of the Philippines as a historically constructed experience in the discourse. It analyses divergent and converging perceptions of the archipelago as a geographical and political reality, on the one hand, while understanding the operability of these images in the context of the memory of the Castilian expansion in Asia, on the other. However, the narrative function of the Philippines encompasses a bigger debate that includes the emergence of not only a Castilian but also an Iberian presence in East and Southeast Asia. Past writings incorporate and project a range of expectations and views of expansion; how these were expressed in the two 1699 works opens the window to a deeper understanding of the literary projects that underpinned them.
[Author: Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, pp. 113-131]

***Hikayat Tanah Hitu*: A Rare Local Source of 16th and 17th Century Moluccan History**

This article discusses a Dutch translation of and introduction to a rare local source of 16th and 17th century Moluccan history, namely the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (History of Hitu), written by the religious leader Rijali in the mid-17th century. It starts with a brief overview of the wealth of European sources on Moluccan history for the period and points out that, in contrast to the history of the Malay world during European expansion, there is a total lack of local sources providing

non-European perspectives. Subsequently it gives a resume of the book's introduction, in which the *Hikayat* is philologically, literarily and historically placed in its context. Although the review finds much to praise in the book as a contribution to a less Eurocentric understanding of Moluccan history it also indicates some shortcomings. These may partly have been caused by the difficulty the editors had in making up their mind whether to write for the scholar or for the layman, and partly by the problem they faced of how to deal as literature with a text which, from that point of view, still remains very much a monolith without context.
[Author: G. L. Koster, pp. 132-142]



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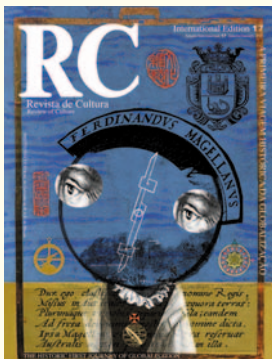
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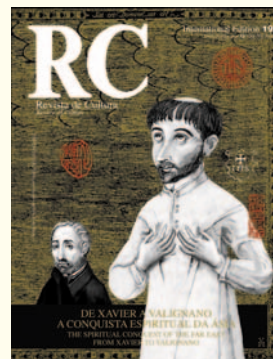
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