Missionary Tropics
History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds

This interdisciplinary series promotes scholarship in studies on Iberian cultures and contacts from the premodern and early modern periods.

SERIES EDITOR
Sabine MacCormack, Theodore M. Hesburgh Professor of Arts and Letters, Departments of Classics and History, University of Notre Dame

SERIES BOARD
J. N. Hillgarth, emeritus, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
Peggy K. Liss, Independent Scholar
David Nirenberg, Johns Hopkins University
Adeline Rucquoi, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

TITLES IN THE SERIES
The Mirror of Spain, 1500–1700: The Formation of a Myth
J. N. Hillgarth

Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633
Rachel L. Stocking

Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels
Thomas B. F. Cummins

A Network of Converso Families in Early Modern Toledo: Assimilating a Minority
Linda Martz

Romans in a New World: Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America
David A. Lupher

The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.
Sabine Hyland

Upholding Justice: Society, State, and the Penal System of Quito (1650–1750)
Tamar Herzog

Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain
Lucy K. Pick

The Origins of Mexican Catholicism: Nahua Rituals and Christian Sacraments in Sixteenth-Century Mexico
Osvaldo F. Pardo

Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th–17th centuries)
Ines G. Županov
MISSIONARY TROPICS

The Catholic Frontier in India
(16th–17th Centuries)

Ines G. Županov
For Ante and Christophe
Acknowledgments

Most of the chapters in this book were written in Pondicherry, India. The manuscript turned into a book in Paris and Berlin. Many colleagues, friends, and readers offered comments and encouragement along the way in Florence, Oxford, Tirunelveli, Chennai (Madras), Rome and Princeton.

In Pondicherry, my thanks go to Charlotte Schmid, Loraine Kennedy, Nikola Rajić, Benedikt Perak, S. Arokinathan, James Walker (Tai), Zoé Headley, Tamilselvi, Augustin Brutus, Jean Deloche, Eliane Pinheiro, Ramanujan, Rita (Baby) Lourdoussamy, Marise, Velan, and Gawri.

In New Delhi, I am grateful to Muzaffar Alam, Neeladri Bhattacharya, Kunal Chakravarty, Himanshu Prabha Ray, and my wonderful students for their hospitality during my visiting professorship at Jawaharlal Nehru University.


I am grateful to Kenneth Mills and Anthony Grafton at Princeton for their invitation to present one of the chapters in this book. Two other chapters were first presented at the European University in Florence thanks to Diogo Ramada Curto and at the University of Amsterdam thanks to Ronnie Po-chia Hsia. In Lisbon, Jorge Flores listened attentively to my ideas, and I profited from Ângela Barreto Xavier’s always thoughtful suggestions. I also thank Ângela for her assistance in providing pictures for this book. Christophe Guilmato made the maps for which I am grateful.

At the Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin, my thanks go to Gil Anidjar, Stephen Greenblatt, Pascal Grosse, Rossitza Guentcheva, Ashis Nandy,
Pál Nyíri, Heike Paul, and Amnon Raz-Krakotzkin. I am also grateful to the most helpful staff of the Kolleg and to the copy editor, Mitch Cohen, for his crucial assistance in the manuscript’s preparation.

The efficiency and professionalism of institutions, archives, and libraries made this project easier to complete: Ecole française de Rome; Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu; Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome; Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome; Biblioteca Nacional (Reservados), Lisbon; and the library of the Department of Social Sciences at the French Institute in Pondicherry.

I am also grateful to Sabine MacCormack, the editor of the University of Michigan Press series History, Languages, and Cultures of the Spanish and Portuguese Worlds, and the two anonymous readers for their patience and trust. And without Sanjay Subrahmanyam’s intellectual, practical, and friendly encouragement, this book would not have been possible.

The book is dedicated to my faithful fellow travelers through the tropics, my husband and my son. My regret is that my father, Josip Županov, died just before the book saw light.


I am also grateful to the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome and the Museu de S. Roque/Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Lisbon for granting me permission to reproduce six of the paintings in their possession. All other pictures in this book are mine.
Contents

List of Illustrations xi
Abbreviations and Note on Transliteration and Spelling xiii
Map of southern India xiv
Map of Goa xv
Introduction: Cartography of Jesuit Early Modernity in India 1

Part 1. Tropical Saints and Relics

Chapter 1. The Sacred Body: Francis Xavier, the Apostle, the Pilgrim, the Relic 35
Chapter 2. A Reliquary Town—São Tomé de Meliapor: The Political and the Sacred in Portuguese India 87

Part 2. Tropical Virtues and Vices

Chapter 3. Fervors and Tropics: A Jesuit Missionary Career in India (António Gomes, 1548–54) 113
Chapter 4. The Art of Dying in the Tropics: Jesuit Martyrs in India 147
Chapter 5. Tropical Sins and Sins of Hinduism 172

Part 3. Disciplining the Tropics

Chapter 6. A Medical Mission in Goa: Pedro Afonso and Giovanni Battista de Loffreda 195
Chapter 7. Twisting a Pagan Tongue: Portuguese and Tamil in Jesuit Translations 232

Epilogue: Tropical Textures 259

Notes 271

Bibliography 329

Index 359

Illustrations following page 248
Illustrations

Fig 1a. Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. Pulpit decorated with the wooden statues of Nagas or Naginis or Nagayakshis (seventeenth century). These imaginary creatures are traditionally associated with spirits dwelling in trees and water. They are worshiped by the Hindus for their power over fertility and are closely connected with Bhagavati, the fierce virgin goddess.

Fig. 1b. Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. A detail of the decorated pulpit. An androgynous Nagayakshi (seventeenth century)

Fig. 1c. Santa Monica, Old Goa. A detail of the decorated pulpit of the church in the interior of this first monastery for women in Asia. A female Nagayakshi (seventeenth century)

Fig. 1d. Naga worship in Tamil Nadu. A detail of a roadside temple between Satyamangalam and Salem

Fig. 2. Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa. Facade facing west and the Jesuit Casa Professa adjacent to it

Fig. 3a. Velankanni Arokkiya Mata (Our Lady of Health) Church in Tamil Nadu. Reputed as a healing place, it is crowded all year long and especially for its annual festival (September 9). Among various religious offerings by the devotees to the Velankanni Virgin are the head shave, as advertised on the picture, and young sprouted coconuts.

Fig. 3b. Sprouted coconut offerings stored within the Velankanni Arokkiya Mata Church enclosure

Fig. 4. The tomb of St. Francis Xavier in the Bom Jesus Jesuit Church (Basilica), Old Goa

Fig. 5. The feet of St. Xavier. A detail from a popular postcard sold in Goa

Fig. 6. The holy darshan (vision) of St. Xavier’s body. Picture taken during his last exposition in 1994 (locally sold postcard)

Fig. 7. Chennai (Madras). Big Mount. The Church of our Lady of
Expectation. The main altar with the Sassanid cross in the background and the garlanded “true image of Our Lady by St. Luke”

Fig. 8a. Chennai (Madras), Saidapet. Little Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Health

Fig. 8b. Chennai (Madras), Saidapet. Little Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Health. The inside of the church with the entrance to the cave where, according to the local lore collected by the Portuguese, St. Thomas used to spend hours in meditation. On the left side, a Syrian cross is engraved on the wall.

Fig. 9. Chennai (Madras). Big Mount. The Church of Our Lady of Expectation. By the right side of the main altar, the encased relic of St. Thomas

Fig. 10. Lisbon. Sacristy in São Roque Church. André Reinoso, St. Francis Xavier Supplicating the Badaga Army in Comorim (seventeenth century).

Fig. 11. Lisbon. Sacristy in São Roque Church. André Reinoso, St. Francis Xavier in a Shipwreck on a Journey to China.

Fig. 12. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. “Sacrificio de gintios que se matam per si mesmos diante do seu paguode. Igreja do paguode.” (Gentile sacrifices in which they kill themselves in front of their gods. The church of the god.)

Fig. 13. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. “Gintios malavares que chamam nayres.” (Malabar gentiles called Nayars)

Fig. 14. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. “Jogues gintios, Calândares gintios. Estes são os que qua chamam peregrinos.” (Gentile jogis, gentile colanders. They call them renouncers [pilgrims])

Fig. 15. Anonymous Portuguese codex from Goa, sixteenth century. “Cristãos malavares que fez ho bem avinturado Sam Tomé.” (Malabar Christians converted by the Blessed Saint Thomas)

Fig. 16. Old Goa, near the ruins of the College of St. Paul. The remains of the building that once housed the Hospital of the Poor Natives

Fig. 17. Margão (Goa). The Espirito Santo church
Abbreviations and Note on Transliteration and Spelling

AHSI Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu, Rome
AN/TT Instituto dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
ARSI Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Rome (Jesuit Archives)
BNL Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
DI Documenta Indica
EX Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta
MHSI Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu
MI Epp Monumenta Ignatiana, Scripta de S. Ignatio
MX Monumenta Xaveriana
SR Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado
Portugês do Oriente, India

For Latin, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish words, I have used both contemporary orthography and, when judged necessary, the orthography of the documentary sources.

In principle, Tamil words (names, places, and concepts) are transliterated according to the system used in the Madras University Tamil Lexicon. The exceptions to this rule are (1) commonly accepted forms in English usage and (2) transcription into Portuguese, Italian, and Latin found in the primary sources.
Map of southern India (sixteenth century)