European Images of India before the Rise of Orientalism in the Late Eighteenth Century

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Abstract

This thesis concerns Europeans' encounters with India and its inhabitants, and the historical process of the former categorising the latter as the 'Other'. The following questions are asked regarding this subject: what sort of cultural orders existed behind the encounters? How did both sides, Europeans and Indians, respond to each other, bound to their own cultures? How did the historical change in European cultural order bring about the categorisation of Indians and their practices and beliefs as 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'? What sort of historical and cultural interaction between Europeans and Indians led to the rise of Orientalism in the late eighteenth century? To answer these questions, this paper traces a history of the Europeans' encounters with India from the end of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese ships led by Vasco da Gama arrived in the sub-continent, to the middle of eighteenth century, the dawn of the rise of 'modern Orientalism'. The span of these two and half a centuries can be marked by three phases according to transformations of the European images of 'India': the early encounter between the Portuguese and Indians; the arrival of the Jesuits and the introduction of the Inquisition in India in the middle of the sixteenth century; and the rise of new European powers such as the English and the Dutch over the seventeenth century. Europeans gradually transformed the meaning of Indians from 'fellow Christians', whose formation was affected by the myth of the imagined Christian king in the East, to 'Hindus', who possess their own religious creed. By showing the process of Europeans' categorisation of India as the land of 'Hinduism' towards the rise of Orientalism, this paper suggests that we should take historical and cultural background into account in order to clarify a interwoven process of one culture's understanding of the other.

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Chapter One   Introduction: Understanding 'the Other', Orientalism and India

This thesis is an attempt to shed light on our way of dealing with 'the Other', and it tries to understand the issue from an anthropological point of view. Probably, as a starting point, we should consider 'the Other' as a social category. In our life we constantly face the need of differentiating ourselves, 'Us' from other people. Under certain labels such as 'British' and 'Japanese' we are able to categorise people and those who belong to the same group are considered as 'Us'. But in reality things are more complicated. Can people who hold British passports be just called the British? Does a person of British nationality who is of Indian origin describe him/herself as British? Even in Japan, which is said to be a more homogenised country, there are some people who cannot call themselves Japanese. Many of those whose origin is Korea were born in Japan and speak Japanese. Their background is almost the same as other Japanese. But they are not allowed to have full Japanese citizenship. The present author is Japanese and now in Britain, and therefore took these two examples. But in the modern world, in which people move widely and become a 'diaspora', we can find many cases of people who do not fit certain categories. Then do we stop differentiating ourselves from 'the Other'? No, we do not.

The important thing is that although categories are not absolute as we found in cases of nationalities, we always differentiate 'the Other' from ourselves by relying on those categories in order to define ourselves. In this sense, to make a distinction between ourselves and 'the Other' is related to being aware of who we are. It is an epistemological issue which is deeply bound to our way of conceiving the world. We know that subjects make distinctions between themselves and others. We do not confuse ourselves with others. Subjects have their own personality and body. But we are not delving into this matter. What we will think about in this short thesis are the historically constructed categories to which we are bound.

Beyond a basic cognitive level, when we place ourselves in society we define ourselves with categories, ranging from larger categories such as religion, language, which cross boundaries of societies, to smaller ones such as class within society. Some categories are stronger than others in the

sense that the more they circulate, the more they are taken for granted and seen as 'natural'. They are associated with certain attributes and give the labels to people who are classified into them. For example, in recent newspapers we can often find a connection between violent terrorism and Muslim fundamentalism. The more this kind of description appears, the stronger the idea 'Muslims' are 'violent' becomes in the image of readers. And as a result 'Muslims' = violent people comes to be taken for granted and we tend to see 'Muslims' from this tainted view, without taking the historical implications of the category into account. This is an extreme case of how a certain group of people become 'the Other', who are different from 'Us'. And this is one of the most negative cases. Not all 'the Other' are stigmatised. For instance, from the Japanese point of view, 'British people' can be classified as 'the Other'. Britain is one of the popular destinations for Japanese tourists. In travel brochures and guidebooks British people are often presented as good maintainers of 'traditions', such as a love for old buildings. At the same time, this traditional image of 'British people' are often linked to 'gentlemen' and 'ladies' in the Victorian era. These images are received by Japanese in a positive way and lead more people to visiting Britain. Therefore it can be said that a degree of 'naturalisation' of a category could vary. And in this sense distinction of 'the Other' is not very simple. A connection of a certain set of attributes with a certain group is caused by a cultural and political relation between the group in question, and a subject who understands the objective group as 'the Other'. In the above case of the 'violent Muslims' as 'the Other', one element is a historically hostile interaction between Christians and Muslims, which can be traced back to *reconquista* and the first attempt by crusaders to recover Jerusalem in the eleventh century. Constructing images of 'the Other' is deeply associated with history and distance between 'Us' and 'the Other' and students, who wish to shed light on the field of understanding 'the Other', are willy-nilly dragged to an examination of the historical relation of two groups, 'Us' and 'the Other'.

To look into the issue of how we understand 'the Other', this thesis takes the Europeans and Indians as two groups, between which 'Us'/'the Other' relation was constructed. 'Us' is allocated to Europeans and 'the Other' is to Indians. In short, the central issue of this thesis is how the Europeans imagined India and Indians in the period before the emergence of

'Orientalism' in the late eighteenth century. Europe and India have a long historical relationship, and examining European understanding of India over centuries shows us how much understanding of 'the Other' is affected by history, and cultural background.

1-1 Anthropological examination of Europeans' understanding of India

The insightful works of scholars such as Lach and Halbfass show us a picture of how Europeans historically developed images of India and its inhabitants. Lach, whose aim is to show the essential role of Asia in European history, discusses the Europeans' encounter with India by exploring a wide range of fields such as political and economic history of the age of discovery, the development of maps, literatures including travel writings and so on. Halbfass basically focuses on intellectual encounters between Europe and India. He starts with Greek philosophy in ancient times and examines how Indian religious ideas were interpreted by European philosophers such as Hegel and Schopenhauer (Lach 1965, Halbfass 1988). Making use of their achievement as a starting point, the present author attempts to approach the issue in an anthropological way. By bringing the focus of analysis closely onto historical records and writings left by protagonists who were involved in India, I shall cast a light on these questions. What sort of predispositions existed in European construction of images of India and how did they influence European understanding of the sub-continent and its inhabitants as 'the Other'?' In other words, what this thesis attempts is to write an ethnography of Europeans' encounters with India and its people between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Europeans, since Vasco da Gama's landing on the sub-continent in 1498, have employed several conceptual devices to comprehend Indian institution from politics to religion. At the beginning of the encounter, legends of a Christian king, Prester John, and hostile relations with Muslims had an influence on the first Portuguese who arrived in India and made them mistake Hindus for Christians. As time progressed in the sixteenth century, the Jesuit missionaries classified Hindus as heretical, based on the Christian versus heretics dichotomy of the Inquisition. Then in the

seventeenth century the English and Dutch travellers, both merchants and missionaries, started to look at Indians from more a practical viewpoint, which derived from commercial interest. Thus, by drawing attention to political, economic and cultural aspects of a series of encounters between Europeans and India, this thesis aims to clarify several conceptual devices for Europeans to understand India and its inhabitants. European conceptual devices clearly derived from a complex matrix made up from political, economic and cultural elements. But, it should be borne in mind that a certain group of people's way of thinking is influenced by history and therefore can change. In this respect, Sahlins's argument that an assemblage of meanings (he uses the word, 'structure') and historical events affect each other should be remembered (Sahlins 1985). Thus, there will also be an examination of the historical backgrounds lying behind the continuity and change in European attempts to understand India.

1-2 Orientalism and its criticism

When we consider issues of understanding of 'the Other', we cannot avoid re-examining Edward Said's seminal work *Orientalism*. He provided us with a perspective to see how 'the Other' is historically constructed. Then, is it applicable to the study of Indian cases? Before we move on to questioning its applicability, we should check again what his thesis calls into question and in what points his arguments should be modified.

Said's *Orientalism* was published in 1978 and soon had far-reaching influences on social sciences beyond his area, literary criticism. Said mainly criticised academic works of the coloniser for representing the colonised as the weak subject of the West and as a result subjugating the latter using collusion of knowledge and power. He detected this framework in the works of a wide range of people, French and British politicians, academics, novelists and so on in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the same in American scholars and politicians of recent times. He owes a great deal to Foucault's ideas that knowledge produces a power-relation between those who possess it and those who do not. Said's work thus revealed the political nature of academic works even those which had been recognised as non-

political such as literature and the arts.

Because of its polemical nature, Said's thesis has been under the scrutiny of many scholars. A short paper of James Clifford provides us with a clear picture of the problems in Said's argument. Clifford's discussion can be summarised into two points: (1) the inconsistency of Said's position between Foucauldianist and Humanist (2) the limitation of areas from which he employed materials. The first problem, according to Clifford, derives from the fragmented meanings of the Orient. On the one hand Said uses the word in order to mean a thing which 'exists merely as the construct of a questionable mental operation' (Clifford 1988:260), on the other hand, in other parts of the book he refers to the existence of 'real Orient'. The first sense of the Orient follows Foucault's thesis that a discourse is a signifier which refers to itself, while the second is based on a humanist belief that the Orient is a real entity with its culture and tradition. Clifford points out that this theoretical problem comes from Said's 'oppositional' position to colonial imperialism. Said has a Palestinian origin and himself sympathises with the Orient though he employs a Western academic way. The second problem is more practical. Said limits his analysis to the British and French Orientalism and ruled out Italian, Spanish, Russian and German Orientalisms. And moreover, his materials were predominantly taken from materials on the Middle East. By doing so, Said simplifies a diversity of Orientalism which can be found in other contexts.

Even with these problems, as Clifford says, by *Orientalism* Said raised an issue concerning 'the status of *all* forms of thought and representation for dealing with the alien' and posited a question 'Can one ultimately escape procedures of dichotomizing, restructuring, and textualizing in the making of interpretive statements about foreign cultures and tradition?' (Clifford 1988:261)

1-3 The application of Orientalism to the Indian case

By taking problems of Said's thesis of Orientalism into account, some scholars of Indian studies have attempted to transplant the argument to the Indian context. Inden's *Imagining India* (1990), Breckenridge and van

der Veer's *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (1993) and Trautmann's *Aryans and British India* (1997) are fine examples of its application.

Imagining India deals with 'the Indological branch of 'orientalist discourse" (Inden 1990:1) which was omitted in Said's book. Inden basically agrees with the argument of *Orientalism* that orientalists not only speak about 'the Orient' but also produce the discourse which presents 'the Orient' as the colonised inferior to 'the West'. Inden develops this basic critique of 'orientalist discourse' further in the soil of South Asian studies. He divides discourses on India in the works of Indologists into three types: 'commentative', 'explanatory or interpretive' and 'hegemonic' accounts. In the first type of account, commentators articulate the difference of Indians from their Western rationality by showing the peculiarity of Indian thought and institutions such as the disposition toward rituals. The second, 'explanatory or interpretive accounts' try to give Western readers explanations of where the distinctiveness of Indians comes from. The last, 'hegemonic accounts' are mixture of the former two. The essential point concerning the hegemonic texts is that they were published by a government or university press with authority and had a far-reaching influence in society. Inden used the word 'hegemonic', following Gramsci, meaning that it is ideologically accepted not only by leaders of the society but also by the more passive populace. By analysing texts written by acclaimed Indologists such as Sir William Jones and James Mill, and philosophers such as Hegel and Marx, Inden sheds light on how these writers attempted to encapsulate India by using the aforesaid three types of accounts (Inden 1990:38-48). Sometimes India was embodied by the 'caste society', 'kinship' and 'self-sufficient village system' on the basis of empiricist and materialist approaches, and on other occasions by 'Hinduism' which is taken as the representation of Indian mind in contrast with a Western one (Inden 1990:263). After a series of critiques, in the end of the book Inden shows us a reconstruction of an Indian kingdom, the Rashtrakutas, in order to find a Indian political institution which was different from what was represented by Indologists. Inden puts an emphasis on the 'imperial formation' of the kingdom of the Rashtrakutas, which implies a complex political entity with human agency ranging from the rulers to the subordinate beings involved in its formation. It is understandable that Inden focuses on human agency which tends to be

neglected in 'oriental discourse' as a result of essentialisation of 'the Orient' or in this case, 'India'. But by doing so, he makes the same mistake as Said did. Stressing another history of India based on agency traps him in the pitfall of a belief in the existence of the 'real India' somewhere else. The pursuit of 'real India' could result in the overlooking of more complicated aspects of orientalists' images of India. Although Indologists produced stereotypical pictures of 'India', which did not reflect Indians' ideas very much, their discourses cannot be totally denied as wrong. It should be borne in mind that 'oriental discourse' has an effect beyond scholarship and has been made use of by Indians themselves such as protagonists of Hindu reformers in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament takes another step from Inden's work and draws attention to the inscription of 'oriental discourse' in postcolonial contexts. Breckenridge and van der Veer mention in the introduction that they not only clarify relations between academic and political understanding of South Asia over both colonial and postcolonial periods, but also draw attention to what sort of reactions the colonised have had to 'oriental discourse'. In Said's picture of orientalism the colonised are more passive and rather a victim of imageries which the West as the coloniser impose on them (Breckenridge and van der Veer 1993:4-5). But in the volume, van der Veer's article gives us a clear picture that 'orientalist discourse' can be employed by the colonised for the purpose of seeking self-identity by presenting a case of religious nationalism after Independence.

While these two works basically follow in the track of Said and develop his argument further by either exploiting unanalysed areas or modifying some drawbacks in his thesis, Trautmann in his *Aryans and British India* poses a question about transplanting the framework intact to the Indian context. Can British Orientalism in India then be examined in the same way as Said did? According to Trautmann, 'orientalist discourse' was not so consistent as Said showed in the case of the Middle East, and we can find a rupture in the early nineteenth century. British Orientalism went through a transformation from 'Indomania' to 'Indophobia'. At the first stage of ruling India in the late eighteenth century the British showed great enthusiasm for doing research on Indian languages and literatures. But as time went by their scholarly interest gradually disappeared. Comparing the constant curiosity of Indian culture in the Continent, Trautmann calls it the

British indifference to India. It was a transition from 'Indomania' to 'Indophobia'. At the early stage, British Orientalism in India was in the hands of Sanskritists such as William Jones, Charles Wilkins (the first translator of *Bhagavad Gita* in English) and Henry T. Colebrooke. They compared Sanskrit with European languages and concluded that Sanskrit, which they regarded as the original language of India, could be classified as belonging to the same group as Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic and Old Persian. The linguistic group came to be called Indo-European languages. Jones took one more step and the linguistic evidence explained that Europeans and Indians ethnologically share the same origin. On the other hand, in the early nineteenth century, scholars who were in opposition to the Sanskritists of 'Indomania' took over the scene and started to claim that the Indians were a different people in every way and were morally corrupt (Trautmann 1997:103). The scholars of this 'Indophobia' were also called 'Anglicists' who advocated the introduction of education in English (Trautmann 1997:109-117). These two branches in British Orientalism were different in the sense that whereas the supporters of 'Indomania' such as William Jones conceived of the world based on universality and endeavoured to associate Indians, who held their own philosophical body of knowledge, with Europeans, the scholars of 'Indophobia' just dissociated Indians from themselves. Then what sort of background was behind the rise of Orientalism, which brought about ambivalent attitudes of the British toward India?

1-4 What led to the ambivalent attitude of British Orientalism towards India?

Most studies which follow in the footsteps of Said, whether they try to apply his thesis to other areas or modify his concept, have focused on the late eighteenth century onwards. It was the period when 'modern Orientalism' came to the fore, which was exemplified in the works of figures such as William Jones and Anquetil-Duperron (Said 1995(1978):22). What then enabled 'modern Orientalism' to appear in history? We can put this question in another way. Had the European view of 'the Orient' been

different before 'modern Orientalism' emerged? And in what sense were these two points of view consistent, the one, before 'modern Orientalism', and the other, after 'modern Orientalism'? Trautmann claims that there was a rupture between the late eighteenth century and before, since in the case of India, leading Orientalists such as Jones formed the Asiatic Society and established an institutional authority and eclipsed former authoritative writings, including those by Jesuit missionaries and travellers (Trautmann 1997:30). It can be said that 'modern Orientalism' in India somehow came into existence as a result of the political and academic achievements in India.

After the British won the battle of Plassey in 1757 they gained political control over Calcutta. As a result legal experts and linguists were summoned to India to make a contribution to developing a new administrative system. With intensive research on Indian customs and languages, the scholars of the Asiatic Society acquired much more knowledge than their precursors, the Jesuits and travellers, in terms of both quality and quantity. Considering that before the foundation of the Asiatic Society the producers of the body of knowledge about India were not professional scholars with academic authority but amateurs, we can say that there was a significant break in the late eighteenth century. However, it is probable that the rising expertise at the time partly inherited the framework and a body of knowledge produced by missionaries and travellers of the previous generation. It seems that we should make clear what sort of body of knowledge was available before the scholars of 'new Orientalism' started to work in earnest.

Indeed, Europeans had had long-lasting contacts with the Indian sub-continent from ancient times. In the third century B.C., Alexander the Great's expedition reached India and we can find the scattered records of the same period left by an ambassador to the kingdom of Maurya. During the era of the Roman Empire, there was active trade between the West and the East. For example, silk was an essential article imported from China. But since the rise of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries, apart from a few explorers such as Marco Polo, it had been increasingly difficult for Europeans to reach the Indian sub-continent. And as a result, India became a land of imagination where Christians were living under the rule of the imagined king, Prester John. Then, it was not until the Portuguese

discovered the sea-route round the Cape of Good Hope and reached the Indian sub-continent at the end of fifteenth century that European knowledge about the East dramatically started to increase.

Before the emergence of 'modern Orientalism' we can identify three transformations in image-producing by Europeans concerning India.

The first radical change came when more Portuguese began arriving in India for the purpose of commerce. Before the party of Vasco da Gama set foot on the western coast of the sub-continent, they believed that Indians were their fellow Christians and the Portuguese longed for them to be the allies against the Muslims threatening Europe. The crews of Gama even mistook a Hindu temple for a Christian church. However, as the result of more observation and engagement with local inhabitants, the Portuguese started to realise that Indians were not their 'fellow Christians'. At that time in the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Spain, there were fanatical attempts to exclude non-Christian elements from Christian society. The target was Jewish people. Although a number of Jews converted to Christianity out of fear of suppression, many of them were convicted of infidelity to the Christian faith by the Spanish Inquisition which was set up in 1481. The Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, and then from Portugal in 1496. Not only the Jews, but the Muslims in the peninsula were oppressed. In India, in contrast, even after the Portuguese were aware of the difference of affiliation between themselves and Indians, for the time being, they retained relatively tolerant attitudes towards locals. Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510 and the city was made the headquarters of the *Estado da Índia* in 1530. *The Charter of Local Usages* made clear that local people in Goa could follow their own customs as long as they paid land revenues imposed by the Portuguese Municipal Council. There were no special policies to deal with religious matters at this early stage of the Portuguese rule of Goa.

The second phase of transformation was marked by the arrival of Catholic missionaries in India. It can be said that the movement towards the exclusion of, and assimilation of, non-Christians in the Iberian Peninsula finally reached the sub-continent[1]. Among those missionaries, especially the Jesuits were fervent enthusiasts for spreading Christianity. They regarded local Hindus (they called them either 'heathens' or 'Gentiles') as people without a proper faith and intoxicated by idolatry. They put pressure on the Portuguese administrators in order to introduce the Inquisition which had

already been established in Spain and Portugal. Eventually the Indian version of the Inquisition was introduced in 1560. By that time, Hindus in Goa were subject to conversion to Christianity and Hindu practices were prohibited in theory[2]. It is probable that in the course of founding the Inquisition in Goa, local Hindus came to be reduced to the status of heathens or pagans modelled on that of the Jews. From the middle of sixteenth century to the beginning of seventeenth century, the Jesuit missionaries, such as Francis Xavier, basically looked at 'Hindus' from the heathens or pagans versus Christians point of view.

The third transformation gradually came to be visible after England and the Netherlands started to emerge in India as new powers to threaten the Portuguese commercial dominance. At first the newcomers' knowledge of India and its inhabitants, not to mention their religion, was limited because Portugal kept information about India secret, including that of the sea-route to the sub-continent and commodities, in order to monopolise the profits of Indian trade. However as they penetrated into wider areas, the English and the Dutch began having a certain image of 'India' and 'Hindus'. These categories, which circumscribed their objects to some extent, enabled the Orientalists of the Asiatic Society to deepen their investigation and to make the categories clearer and stronger for the following generation. This leads us to a question, what sort of intellectual changes were behind the transformations of 'India' and 'Hindus'?

1-5   Towards the era of the Enlightenment and the emergence of Orientalism

After the Portuguese arrived in India, the European way of seeing 'India' underwent three stages in transition: from the land of 'fellow Christians' to that of 'Hindus' with a distinct set of beliefs and practices, via that of 'heathens' or 'pagans' who should be saved by the Christian faith. The first transformation was a process of admitting that the Indian sub-continent was not the land of myth, like the beliefs among Europeans in the previous age that the inhabitants of India were people with dogs' heads or three eyes, and that there was a Christian king called Prester John who had

a great power in the sub-continent. The Portuguese crews headed by Vasco da Gama, having the latter belief, were determined to discover Christian allies in India. It was partly because of rising pressures from the Muslims, the Ottoman Turks, who seized Constantinople in 1453, and the Mamelukes in Egypt. But the Portuguese found out that there was no mighty Christian king in India. After Gama's arrival, more and more Portuguese were sent and they came to realise that although Christian communities, who were said to have been converted by St. Thomas, existed, most Indians had beliefs and practices which were different from Christianity. The awareness was basically brought about by the Portuguese experiences in the course of setting up the headquarters for their *Estado da Índia*. The Portuguese who went to India encountered people who looked different with a tawny skin and loincloths and had different practices from Christianity. It was an empirical realisation of India and its inhabitants.

In contrast to the first change in the image of India – from the land of myth to the land with different people – the second and third changes emerged from the European soil.

In the second alternation, the image of India started to be converted into a picture of 'heathen Hindus'. In this stage 'Hinduism' as a religion had not arisen. As Harrison points out, it was in the seventeenth century when the concept of objective 'religions' in a plural form can be first found (Harrison 1990:1,11). In the sixteen century, Christianity was still a single religion in the world, which all people in the world should believe in. It was beyond an idea that religions other than Christianity had their own creeds, which could be compared with each other on the same level. In the Christian framework, people whose belief and practices were unfit for Christianity were referred to as 'heathens' or 'pagans'. Jews and Muslims thus had been principally categorised as such before Europeans encountered other 'heathens/pagans' in remote areas such as the Americas and the Indian sub-continent. In any case, there was a hypothesis that the Christian faith was at the heart of the world and everybody living on the earth should abide by the ultimate belief. As Fabian argues, it was the view of the world prevalent in the pre-modern era (Fabian 1983). Catholic missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, played an essential role in projecting the idea onto Indians. They advocated that Indians were believers of a wrong faith and should be saved by the lights of Christianity through conversion. It can be

said that Indians and their beliefs were reduced to a 'heretical faith' defined by the worship of animal-like gods, which derived from a sort of European cosmology of the Middle Ages, dependent on Christianity for understanding the world.

Considering 'modern orientalism', the most crucial moment in the European view of India came about in the third transformation which was led by two of the new powers in India, the English and the Dutch, who were starting to be active in the early seventeenth century. Their emergence and expansion in the sub-continent were in parallel with the new intellectual era of the Enlightenment, which brought a radical change of understanding the world, being based on more rational and scientific knowledge (Hamilton 1992). It can be said that during the late eighteenth century orientalists inherited and transformed the established body of knowledge of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus', which emerged in the seventeenth century. Then what sort of elements were related to this emergence of the objective and systematic body of knowledge on 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus'? Two interwoven aspects can be pointed out: the increase in the circulation of printed books and the rise of a concept of cultural diversity and 'religions'.

1-5-1 An increase in circulation of printed books

From the sixteenth century onwards, thanks to the invention of the printing press, more and more travel writings on unknown and remote lands such as the Americas and India came to be published. As a result, Europeans began having still vague, but integrated images of people outside Europe to a certain extent. In the case of India, what the Portuguese experienced there started to be published in the middle of sixteenth century. For instance, an Italian compiler, Ramusio put the writings of early Portuguese travellers in his volume and the Annual Letters sent by the Jesuits in India were also put together in a form which was easily available.

Towards the end of the century, books on India came to be published also in England and the Netherlands. Reflecting the rise of mercantile enthusiasm, the description of India in these books devoted a great part to explaining about commodities available in the sub-continent. In England, two compilers, Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas played an

important role in distributing knowledge on India by putting various travel writings in their volumes. Although their compendiums included materials on other regions such as the Americas and Africa, these printed books provided English people with pre-packaged information about India and contributed to them having a certain images of India. Between the late seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, books which contained more detailed description of Hindu myths and practices were published (Dutch missionary, Abraham Roger's *Open door to heathendom* was published in French in 1670. Another Dutch missionary, Phillipus Baldaeus's *A Description of the most celebrated East-India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel as also of the Isle of Ceylon* was first published in 1672 in Amsterdam and its English translation appeared in 1704.). It can be said that the gradual establishment of the content of 'Hinduism' by these books cultivated the ground for the arrival of British Orientalism to some extent.

1-5-2 The rise of a concept of the diversity of human beings and 'religions'

Since Columbus landed on one of Caribbean islands in 1492, Europeans came to recognise the diversity of human beings by encountering different kinds of people from themselves with different appearance and customs. This compelled Europeans to reconsider their framework of the world and human beings. In the medieval conception, all the people in the world were considered as descendants of Adam and Eve, following the history written in the Bible. However, people whom Europeans found in Africa and the Americas seemed to live a life without any social organisations and appeared to be 'savages'. It was questioned whether these people, who worship idols, could be acknowledged as the same brothers and sisters originated from the God.

To solve this problem, both religious and secular causes were considered by a number of scholars during the seventeenth century. In the course of this, peoples with certain religions and customs started to be recognised as sort of cultural groups and how to relate the group with Europeans, who were mainly Christians, was called into question. Depending still on the Mosaic history of the Bible, some scholars such as Sir Walter Raleigh employed a degeneration theory. This hypothesis claimed that

human beings have kept on losing their original attitudes since the Fall. Cultural and religious diversity found in the world was the result of this process of degradation. Idolatry was the fallen form of the true religion which was given by God in ancient times. Another biblical explanation, diffusion theory, basically employed this idea, claiming that among some parts of human beings the revelation of God had faded away. But the cause of the rise of heathenish worship was attributed to diffusion and admixture. Thus, it was assumed that 'savages' in the Americas descended from one of Noah's sons, Ham. On the other hand, there was an effort to look at the issue from a more secular point of view. Different climates were considered as having influence on human mind and attitudes, and causing different dispositions peculiar to certain group of people living in certain areas.

The important thing is that in the course of an attempt to clarify causes which led human beings to cultural diversity, various cultural groups came to be recognised as distinctive and different from others. This tendency increased especially after natural scientists launched their projects of classification of men. In a grouping of human beings by Linnaeus, for instance, besides 'Europeans' we can find names of groups such as 'American', 'Asiatic', 'African', 'Hottentots', 'Chinese' and so on. It can be considered that the increase in grouping of men resulted in a study of customs and religion of each group in order to make clear what sort of people they were. In this respect, the establishment of attributes of 'Indians' and 'Hinduism' was under way as well as that of other categories, as Europeans gradually came to be aware of cultural diversity and plural religions.

1-6 Orientalism and India

As mentioned above, the rise of Orientalism can be associated with an intellectual shift to the Enlightenment which sought to understand the world in association with more rational and scientific knowledge. According to Hamilton, the age of the Enlightenment started to be in a full swing with works of eighteenth-century thinkers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire and

Hume, whose intellectual roots can be traced back to Bacon, Hobbes and Locke in sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Hamilton 1992). In the case of India, it emerged with a more established conception of 'Hinduism' as a religion with its own systematic body of knowledge and ancient texts. This aspect of the Enlightenment was most related to the dilemma of orientalist scholars about the treatment of Indians and their religion. As Trautmann says, on the one hand, Hinduism was praised because of the great tenet written in ancient texts, as Jones claimed, and on the other hand, it was denounced for depravity, as James Mill argued. The problem derived from a central position given to Christianity, whose possession of the Bible, a sacred scripture, was considered as a yardstick to measure other religions. In the age of the Enlightenment, an increase in scientific discoveries brought about a tendency to understand the world by universally applicable rules. The rules should be scientific and objective. Following this logic, all religions in the world should be examined using criteria which were not coloured by any religious ideas. Similarly, Christianity should also be an object of an scientific examination as one of the religions in the world. However, criteria to measure religions were taken from Christianity after all. Christianity was seen as rational because of its possessing written sacred texts, so people whose belief was made up of mere rituals and orally inherited myths were simply regarded as irrational. However, in the case of India, the Europeans realised that they possessed scriptures as old as the Bible, or even older, and they began being confused and wondering how to treat the religion.

This predicament of orientalists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries leads us to reconsidering the framework of Orientalism which was suggested by Said. Before the rise of British Orientalism, the European image of India underwent some transformations in connection with social and historical contexts in Europe. Therefore, it can be said that although Orientalism in Said's sense encapsulates the European dominance over the Orient in general, how orientalism in each area appeared should be examined in order to develop arguments concerning how to understand 'the Other'. The present author hopes that this thesis is a small contribution to the further development of the study in this direction.

Chapter 2 will be a brief sketch of European images of India before

1498 and the historic encounter of Vasco da Gama's party with India. Basically this chapter concerns the Portuguese discovery of 'the Other', who were similar to Europeans in the sense that they were not monstrous but were human beings, on the one hand, but looked different when it came to skin colours and strange customs. In this process, the Portuguese expectation of finding the Christian allies in the form of Prester John was shattered and they had to start to understand 'the Other' from their actual experiences.

Chapter 3 will deal with the change which occurred in the Portuguese attitudes towards local Hindus, their 'Other' in India, in the course of building the sea-borne Empire, *Estado da Índia*. With the arrival of missionaries, particularly the Jesuits, the Portuguese gradually steered a course to the suppression of Hindu practices of idolatry. Jesuit missionaries advocated that Hindus as heretics should be saved in the light of the Christian faith. Behind this, there was an idea that Christianity existed at the heart of the world and all the people should abide by the true faith. In other words, the missionaries embodied the dichotomous view of the world and its inhabitants, Christians and heretics (pagans or heathens) which was inherited from the Middle Ages, and the biased perspective was projected onto Hindus in India. In order to clarify this tendency among the missionaries' attitudes towards Hindus and their beliefs, there will be an examination of three Jesuits, Francis Xavier, Jacobo Fenicio and Roberto de Nobili.

Chapter 4 shifts from the Portuguese to the newcomers to India, the English and the Dutch. In analysing the latter's travel writings, there will be an effort to find continuity and change in European ways of seeing the sub-continent and Indians. A main argument here is that although the English and the Dutch partly inherited the body of knowledge about India and Hindus from the Portuguese, which was based on Christianity-centred ideas, they increasingly reduced their understanding of the practices and beliefs of most of the Indian population to a categorised religion which later would be labelled 'Hinduism' as one of the world religions. This process coincided with two phenomena in Europe during seventeenth century: an increase in the circulation of printed books, and a series of endeavours to explain the diversity of human beings, followed by a gradual realisation of the existence of 'cultures' and 'religions'.

In conclusion, there will be a brief discussion of how European images of India influenced Indians' idea of themselves.

Notes

1 Protection of the Christian faith from heathens/pagans had two dimensions: exclusion and assimilation. There were endeavours to get rid of heathenish elements from devotees (for example, the execution of converts from Judaism who were accused of Jewish tendency of their practices), on the one hand, concerns with conversion always existed, on the other hand.

2 There are controversies over whether missionaries and the Portuguese administrative office converted Hindus by force or not. (See Robinson 1998: 47-48)

Chapter Two.   The Encounter of the Portuguese and 'Christians'

It is a famous anecdote that Christopher Columbus was believed to have reached islands off the coast of China when he landed on one of the Caribbean Islands. For Europeans lands in the east had been of the imagination, or a kind of dream for a long time before the age of discovery. Since the rise of Muslim powers reduced connections between the West and the East, reminiscences from the past had been mingled together with the imagination of medieval people, which produced oblique images of the East. Some people drew a picture of the land which was inhabited by monstrous people, and others dreamt of the paradise in the form of the Garden of Eden in the Bible.

It was the same with India, which we will discuss in this thesis. Before Vasco da Gama found the direct sea-route to India, the number of European travellers who got there was limited. Thus it was no wonder that Europeans could not consider the remote land as existing in the same way as they thought about theirs. It was after the sixteenth century started that Europeans came to grasp the information on India to a certain extent. After that they commenced its image-building based on experiences there. The Portuguese, who had aimed at finding Christians in India, eventually discovered Indians whose beliefs and customs were different from themselves. For them it was the first step of encountering 'the Other' which would be understood by the name of 'Hindus' later on.

The encounter between Europeans and their 'Others' have been depicted by scholars such as Marshall Sahlins and Jean and John Comaroff from the anthropological point of view (Sahlins 1985, Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). These studies focus on a cleavage between European and their others in terms of an assemblage of meanings – it can be called culture –, and processes of interaction between them in history. Sahlins shows us the structure of meanings which constitutes Hawaiian culture when the murder of Captain Cook happened. His analysis puts more emphasis on disentangling the Hawaiian point of view in a series of events. On the other hand, Comaroff and Comaroff, in their historical study of interaction between British missionaries and Southern African Tswana people, try to

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make a clear cultural backdrop – they use the word, ideology – of both sides. In my study of an interaction between Europeans and 'the Other' on the soil of India, the stress on the European part is relatively stronger because I mainly explore what brought about the rise of Orientalism in the case of India. But my basic standpoint is in the line with the above scholars. The emergence of Orientalism has to be considered in relation to the particular culture and history of Europe. And in order to understand this, we can learn a lot by looking at accounts of India and Indians from an anthropological point of view.

This chapter will be devoted to delineating the knowledge and image of India which had been held among Europeans before the sixteenth century and the first Portuguese encounter with Indians by the party of Vasco da Gama. Since then, Europeans had gradually transformed their vague and mystified image of India and its inhabitants more clearly into the land of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus' in the due course of their advancement to the colonial era. What sort of process then did this image-building go through? To clarify this process, first, there will be a brief sketch of the image of India among Europeans in ancient and medieval times. The Portuguese were not the first Europeans to go to the Indian Ocean. Before them, Muslim and Venetian traders dominated commercial activities between Europe and the sea. Moreover, there were some travellers who went on overland trade routes to the East. For example, Marco Polo got to China in the thirteenth century and wrote about his travels in detail. Judging from this, it can be assumed that the Portuguese might have had some information about the sub-continent and people living there which they inherited from the previous generation. Thus, this section will try to elucidate to what extent Europeans were familiar with 'India' by tracing back to Alexander the Great's expedition to Asia. This will be done by examining the accounts of historians, geographers and individual travellers. The delineation mainly owes a great part to Lach's painstaking work about the historical process of European understanding of the East, *Asia in the Making of Europe* (Lach 1965).

Secondly, there will be an attempt to shed light on a historical background behind the encounter of Vasco da Gama's party with 'fellow Christians'. When they arrived at Calicut in 1498, they wrongly confused a Hindu temple with a Christian church. Then, why did they mistake Indians as their 'fellow Christians'? The answer to the question will be explored by

looking at the itinerary of Gama's fleet to India. The search for 'Christians' is assumed to be caused by their hostility to Muslims who increasingly threatened Europe with the conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Thus on their way to India the party of Gama often had an aggressive reaction to Muslim rulers. It is probable that this attitude towards Muslims had an effect on creating the Portuguese image of 'Indians' at the time of their encounter with them in 1498.

The third part of this chapter will be about the Portuguese gradual realisation about India and its inhabitants. We will look at a travel writing by Duarte Barbosa, who was a Portuguese officer at that time, to clarify to what extent the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century had knowledge about India before they settled in Goa, the future headquarters of the *Estado da Índia*.

2-1 The ancient and medieval view of 'India'

The expedition to the east of Alexander the Great (ca.326-234 B.C.), was the first direct contact with Asia on a large scale and it was followed by several accounts concerning India. According to Lach, Alexander's achievement in India was recorded by several contemporaries such as Aristobulus, an architect, and Ptolemy, who was the founder of the famous Egyptian dynasty (Lach 1965:7). After the death of Alexander, his assumed successor, Seleucus Nikator, took over the mission of his predecessor who had made efforts to conquer India. To improve political relations with the Maurya, who were found too powerful to be beaten, Seleucus dispatched an ambassador, Megasthenes to the court of the ruler located in the Ganges Valley. During his stay in Pātaliputra (Patna), he collected accounts of geography and social customs. It is assumed that such writings elaborated the image of India among Greeks as a fertile land of gold and precious stones (Lach 1965:9-10).

During the era of the Roman Empire, Romans heavily depended for their luxurious life on silks from China and spices from eastern countries. It might be considered that the image of India underwent considerable changes. It is said that even the ideas of Buddhism had already reached Rome around ca. 300. But the accounts of India at that time as fertile lands

where the climate was amazingly hot, were not greatly different from those of the Greeks. As Lach argues, 'the Orient, whether India or China, was still too far removed physically and spiritually to make a deep impression upon the classical world. ...India, as distinguished from China, was the scene of marvels and the habitat of monstrous animals and peoples.' (Lach 1965:19)

As a result of the decline of the Roman Empire, and the rise of Muslim power in the seventh and eighth centuries, European horizons became increasingly narrowed. At that time Europe started to suffer from amnesia regarding the east, including India. The Bible came to be a major source from which the idea grew up that there was the terrestrial Paradise to the east. Other stories in the Bible, such as the Garden of Eden, horrible barbarians in the prophecy of Revelations and giants and their minions inhabiting Gog and Magog, were combined together and affected the representations of India in the medieval era. In particular, the image of the Garden of Eden, according to Grove, remained in the discovery era and became a basic idea for preserving natural resources in the Atlantic islands such as the Madeiras and the Canary Islands, and India. (Grove 1995)

Moreover, there was a tendency to mythologize India in association with three figures: Alexander the Great, St. Thomas and Prester John. The first was the Macedonian conquoror of the area surrounding the Indus River as mentioned above. The second was one of the apostles of Jesus Christ. He is said to have departed for the east on an evangelical mission just after the resurrection of Christ. Before the crusading era, it was a common belief in Europe that Christians could be found in India who were the descendants of the converts by Apostle Thomas. There is a legend that he arrived at a shore of the Malabar Coast in A.D.52, established several churches as a result of the endeavours of evangelisation and committed martyrdom. Marco Polo mentions a cult's legend that in Mylapore, which is now in a suburb of Madras, St. Thomas was killed accidentally by a huntsman who tried to shoot a peacock with his bow and arrow (Bayly 1989:263). The third is the name of the king who ruled a Christian nation which was believed to exist somewhere in Asia. There was a visit of an oriental patriarch named John to Rome in 1122, which made Europeans believe in the nation's existence[1] (Lach 1965:24-26). Europeans regarded the king as an ally against the rising power of Muslims. All these factors can be thought to contribute to medieval peoples' imagination of India. In particular the legend of Prester John did not

disappear, even in the age of discovery which started with the Portuguese expansion on the sea, though the location of the nation had moved from somewhere to the east in Asia to North Africa[2].

It can be argued that the Portuguese had inherited the mythological representations of India which had been woven during the medieval periods. There had been some travel accounts which described topography and social customs such as ones of Marco Polo and Jordan of Severac. The first made his way to China in 1275 and had been at a service of a Mongolian emperor for nearly twenty years, while the second was a French Dominican, who was sent to India to establish a Catholic mission on the Malabar Coast. The latter provided contemporaries with information of India in the form of *Book of Marvels* (Mirabilia, ca. 1340) (Lach 1965:34-41). However, it can be thought that the representations of India still remained in the realm of imagination. Great changes were brought about by the establishment of the commercial sea route between Portugal and the Indian coast.

2-2 The Portuguese body of knowledge about 'India' and 'Indians' before Vasco da Gama's arrival in India

2-2-1 Christians and Muslims: The voyage of Vasco da Gama traversing the Indian Ocean in 1497-98

At the end of the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese reached the Indian Ocean, Europe faced great pressures from Muslims. In 1453 the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople fell to the Turks. As a result, Christian countries came to suffer the encroachment of Muslims in the Mediterranean: to the east, there were the Ottoman Turks, and to the south-east, the Mamelukes in Egypt. Christians and Muslims had been long-standing rivals. Since 1031, the year in which Castile expanded its territory at the fall of the Muslim caliphate, Christian countries had gradually driven their opponents from the whole Iberian Peninsula except Granada. After 400 years of reverses, Muslims were increasingly regaining their power. The Turks blocked the traditional route through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, which had connected the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean. Until then it had been mainly the Florentines, the Genoese and the Venetians who

were engaged in the commerce of woollens, silks and bullion from Europe in return for cottons, indigo, spices and drugs from the Orient (Pearson 1987:25). They were exchanged through the Red Sea and came to the east part of the Mediterranean. Because Portugal was at the south-western extremity of Europe, there had been few chances to participate in this trade in the Mediterranean. However, the arrival of the Turks created an opportunity for the Portuguese. Undoubtedly the thrust for trade was one of main reasons why the Portuguese were driven to the sea.

Before we shift to the examination of Vasco da Gama's voyage, we should look at a brief outline of the history of Portugal at that time. After the foundation of the House of Aviz in 1385, Portugal started political and economic growth as a nation (Pearson 1987). In 1415 the Portuguese acquired Ceuta, a city at the top of North Africa. It was followed by the enthusiasm of Prince Henry the Navigator to send several ships off the African Coast to explore unknown fields[3]. Before Vasco da Gama set sail for India, Bartolomeu Dias rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1487. Though Columbus's 'discovery' of the New World in 1492 led to the rivalry between Portugal and Spain over expansion on the sea, it was settled by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. It stated that the non-Christian world was divided between them at the line of 370 leagues beyond the Cape Verde Islands, and '(a)ny land found by either country in the bounds of the other was to be surrendered.' (Diffie and Winius 1977:174) Towards the sixteenth century, along with the expansion of maritime activities, the Portuguese economic power increased. According to Subrahmanyam, Lisbon was one of the larger European cities of the sixteenth century. It had a population of around 65,000 and it went up to 100,000 in the early seventeenth century. Though it was not a city of commerce such as Antwerp or Bruges, Lisbon was 'a hybrid town, part-administrative and court-centred, part-mercantile – with a metropolitan character deriving from its numerous and diverse resident communities – and also partly a port-town, with mariners and fishermen jostling for a place on the waterfront.' (Subrahmanyam 1993:39)

However, along with the political and economic basis, the continual Portuguese expeditions towards the south were motivated, at the same time, by religious zeal: they made efforts to find Christian kings in the African Continent as allies against Muslims whose power had become threatening to Christian countries. Azurara (Gomes Eanes de Zurara), a chronicler and

contemporary of Prince Henry, points out the antipathy to the Moors (Muslims) as one of reasons for Prince Henry's enthusiasm for expeditions off the African coast (Diffie & Winius 1977:74).

Thus, when the ships of Vasco da Gama arrived at the shore of Calicut, there was a conversation between a convict-exile (*degredado*), whom Gama sent shore as a scout, and local inhabitants as follows:

And he was taken to a place where there were two Moors from Tunis, who knew how to speak Castilian and Genoese. And the first greeting that they gave him was the following:
– The Devil take you! What brought you here?
And they said to him:
– We came to seek Christians and spices. (Subrahmanyam 1997:129)

As has been discussed, at that time there was a prevailing legend of Prester John, who was said to be a Christian king and to rule a great part of the interior region of North Africa that is now Ethiopia. The Portuguese were also under the effect of this legend and saw a possible ally against Muslims. Before Gama, several attempts had been made to contact the African king. For instance, João II ordered two emissaries, Afonso de Paiva and Pedro de Covilhã, to go eastward via the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. The first had a mission to find the land of Prester John to hand in a letter from the Portuguese king, and the latter was to collect information in the Indian Ocean. It is said that Paiva fell ill while passing through Cairo, but Covilhã reached India by sea, spent a year at the ports of Cannanore, Calicut and Goa, and eventually managed to return to Cairo. There he was handed a letter ordering him to continue the mission to the kingdom of Prester John. He is said to have entered the African Continent from Zeilah, a little port around what is now called the Republic of Somalia. He got to the land near the Lake of Dambea (Lake Tana), which was ruled by a Christian emperor. He was welcomed, but was told that he was not allowed to leave the land again. He was given a wife, had sons, but never departed for Portugal (Bell 1974:148-164).

In the age of Gama, the enthusiasm for the alliance with Prester John culminated due to the pressure of the Muslim threats. Subrahmanyam argues that in addition to mercantilism, messianism was characteristic of the rule of King Manuel (Subrahmanyam 1993:49). The king's aim was to recapture Jerusalem from the hand of Muslims. Thus, under the instruction

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of the king, Gama attempted to find Christians when he reached India.

Vasco da Gama and his fleet left the estuary of the Tejo on 8 July 1497. The fleet included three main vessels and one supply vessel. Gama himself commanded the *São Gabriel*, his brother Paulo da Gama captained the *São Rafael*, and Nicolau Coelho was on the *Bérrio*. They passed the Canaries on 15 July, and reached a point of the west African coast south of Cape Bojador. After the rendezvous of four vessels in the Cape Verde islands at the end of July, which was caused by the dispersal of the fleet, their exact sailing route was not clear until they took a sight of the Cape of Good Hope on 18/19 November. Historians assume that during this period Gama's fleet went close to Brazil and made a detour before they turned south-easterly again. After rounding the Cape, they sailed up the African East coast by passing Mozambique in March, Mombasa in April and Malindi, where Gama acquired a Muslim pilot called Ibn Majid. The vessels sailed across the Indian Ocean and eventually anchored just north of Calicut on 20 May 1498.

This is a rough sketch of Vasco da Gama's single voyage from Lisbon to India. During the course of the journey, he was constantly compelled to deal with Muslims who had already dominated the trade across the Indian Ocean. As mentioned above, the Ottoman Turks ruled Asia Minor; Mamluk rule extended from Egypt to the coast of the Red Sea. The Portuguese avoided the route by land and steered vessels eastwards on the sea. But after they rounded the Cape of Good Hope they entered the Indian Ocean on which numerous Muslim merchants were engaged in trading. Some of them received protection from local Muslim kings. For example, a group named the Karimis sailed from the Red Sea to western Indian ports such as Calicut and Quilon (Risso 1995:37-38). Moreover, Muslim migrants settled on the East Africa, where lands were so fertile that they could acquire commodities such as gold, ivory, mangrove poles and even slaves. According to Risso, there were between thirty and forty independent coastal towns founded by immigrant Muslims (Risso 1995).

There is a more cautious argument by Subrahmanyam in terms of Muslim 'monopoly' of the Indian Ocean at that time and the sameness of Islam. He points out that other non-Islamic groups also had a share in mercantile activities on the sea, such as the Gujarati vaniyas, the Tamil and Telugu Chettis, Syrian Christians and the Jews. Therefore, the word
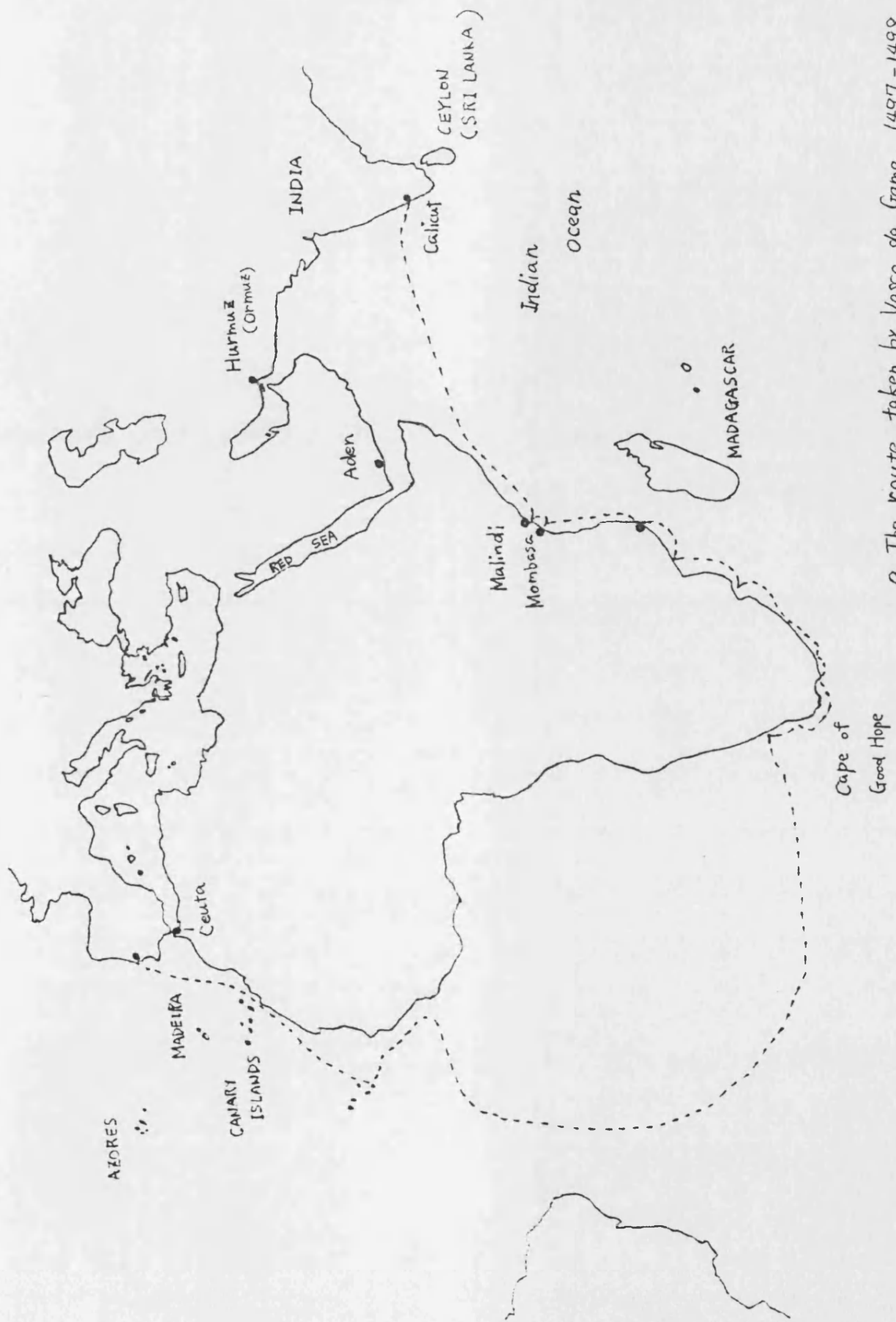
a. The route taken by Vasco da Gama, 1497 - 1498

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'monopoly' by Muslim merchants is hardly applicable to this case. Moreover, according to Subrahmanyam, there was a conception of differentiation between orthodox and heterodox among Muslims who were spread out across the countries surrounding the Indian Ocean. All Muslims were not the same (Subrahmanyam 1997:96). But where the political control over the area is concerned, it can be said that Muslim merchants took advantage of other groups. In addition, from the perspective of the Portuguese, the sea route to the Indian sub-continent might have been controlled by Muslims.

It is very intriguing that Gama's fleet attempted to find Christian allies whenever they made a call at each port along the western African coast. However, he could not find the Christian king whom he had been told about in the legend of Prester John. Most of the time Gama resorted to violence to solve problems which might have been caused by fear of and antagonism with Muslims on their journey from south to north.

When his vessels arrived at Mozambique Island, they were welcomed by a Sultan and an exchange of gifts was conducted at first. The Portuguese required him to give them pilots to sail across the Indian Ocean and he willingly did so. However the Portuguese demeanour was strange enough to cause suspicion in the mind of the local ruler. The fleet dropped anchor off a small island at some distance from the settlement. It is said that they did so to celebrate Mass on Sunday and to confess. The Portuguese did not want Muslims to discover their real character. When the ruler of Mozambique learned that the visitors were Christians, the Portuguese were frightened of the danger of captivity and massacre. They decided to flee from the port without a single greeting. But due to weather they were forced to come back to Mozambique.

A series of skirmishes followed the incident. When Gama's fleet returned to the port, a 'white Moor' was sent by the Sultan to the Portuguese vessels and he offered to show the way to the place where they could find fresh water. But the Portuguese found men with armed spears and became aware that it was treason to attack them. After that Gama ordered a bombardment on the ground in front of the main settlement. On April 29, they departed from Mozambique and continued their voyage northwards.

The confrontations between Gama's fleet and Muslim rulers were repeated in Mombasa, where they stopped after Mozambique. Again the Portuguese believed that there was a Christian population in the city. At first

it seemed that things went well. Though Gama himself cautiously remained in the ship, he sent two Portuguese to the palace and they were taken to the town and the houses of two 'Christian merchants'. However, the situation soon became worse. The same night, two boats approached the Portuguese ships and assaulted them. Though the trick was foiled, the fleet left as soon as possible with the belief that 'prisoners and subject people must be Christians there.' (Subrahmanyam 1997:118)

At the next port, Malindi, Gama cultivated a relatively friendly relationship with a ruler even though he was Muslim. A pilot called Ibn Majid was given to him, and due to this seasoned navigator, Gama's fleet managed to catch a monsoon to traverse the Indian Ocean to the west coast of India.

The above discussion shows how contentiously Gama responded to Muslims in the course of his journey after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. As Subrahmanyam stresses, this gives us clues to understanding Gama's attitude towards the local ruler, the Hindu Zamorin, when he arrived at Calicut. Gama's party, at their meeting with the king, did not clearly differentiate between 'Hindus' and 'Muslims'. It can be said that their continual suspicion and anxiety were mainly caused by the reflection of the concept of 'Muslims' as a hostile enemy onto Indians. The next section will review how the Portuguese tried to see many of the Hindus as people closer to themselves, in contrast to the hostile relationship with Muslims.

2-2-2 Encounter with Indian 'Christians'?

The itinerary of Gama's voyage discussed in the last section is given by the book written by an anonymous author, *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499*. This book provides us with evidence that the Portuguese had a rather fanatical belief that they would meet Christians in India in the end, although they found out that the areas surrounding the Indian Ocean were dominated by Muslims.

The city of Calecut is inhabited by Christians. They are of a tawny complexion. Some of them have big beards and long hair, whilst others clip their hair short or shave the head, merely allowing a tuft to remain on the crown as a sign that they are Christians. They also wear moustaches. They pierce the ear and wear much gold in them.

They go naked down to the waist, covering their lower extremities with very fine cotton stuffs. But it is only the most respectable who do this, for the others manage as best they are able.

The women of this country, as a rule, are ugly and of small stature. They wear many jewels of gold round the neck, numerous bracelets on their arms, and rings set with precious stones on their toes. All these people are well-disposed and apparently of mild temper. At first sight they seem covetous and ignorant. (Anonymous:50-51)

The anonymous author attempts to discover evidence to prove that people 'of a tawny complexion' are Christians as well as themselves. His endeavour seems odd to readers today. The characteristics of people which he describes do not seem to be those of Christians. Pierced ears with gold, and fine cotton clothes for men and women wearing numerous jewels and bracelets on their arms, would be accepted as the attributes of Hindus today. The anonymous author might have recognised that local 'Christians', who looked different from themselves, were not Christians because he could raise only one piece of evidence, their hairstyle, which confirms that they are fellow Christians. But in the following part, he makes another attempt to cling to the idea of Christians living in India.

The author next narrates a story of when, on their way to Calicut, the party saw a 'church and its worshippers.' In reality, as the annotation added by the English translator tells us, it was a Hindu temple and the worshippers were Hindus. However, the Portuguese, including the anonymous author, believed that it was a Christian church when they found inside the 'church' Our Lady nursing Jesus Christ in her arms[4]. They subsequently interpreted other elements in the 'church' from their own point of view that the worshippers were Christians whom the crews had fervently looked for as their allies all the way from Africa. Though they were not allowed to enter the 'church', holy water and white ash were given to them, which the local worshippers smeared on parts of their bodies such as the forehead, around the neck and upper arms. The Portuguese belief was strengthened by the fact that local people also used 'holy water' as well as themselves. They got caught in the frame of Christian ideas even when doubt came into the anonymous author's mind when taking a look at paintings of saints, some of whom had very big teeth sticking out of their mouths and most had four or five arms (Anonymous:52-54). He concludes that Christians in India might be heretical to some extent because they were far

away from Europe.

It seems that the idea did not occur to them that the 'church' was not Christian. It would prove how strongly Gama's crew believed that they could encounter Christians in India and exulted in an eventual encounter with very people they had been longing for. It is, however, strange that the Portuguese confused a Hindu temple with a Christian church when it is considered that they could have collected information about Hindus from Indian informants. Calicut in those days played a big role as the greatest spice market for merchants travelling in the Indian Ocean between Malacca and Venice. Every year powerful and rich Muslim traders visited the city with great fleets of ships and they had a friendly relationship with the Zamorin (Chaudhuri 1985:67). Therefore the Portuguese could have heard about the condition of the city on their voyage along the African Coast, either from the king of Malindi, who cultivated a good relationship with them, or from the Muslim pilot, Ibn Majid.

Diffie and Winius also call this mystery into question by pointing out that in the report of the Monte-mór O Novo conference, which was written by Damião de Góis, there seemed to be a pre-knowledge of the actual political and economic situation in Asia. Moreover, Petro de Covilhã, an emissary of João II to India must have provided the Portuguese with useful information included in his intelligence reports (Diffie and Winius 1977:197-198).

Subrahmanyam makes two assumptions concerning a misunderstanding at the linguistic level and the Portuguese obsession with their search for Eastern Christians. The first assumption was that, according to him, since the Portuguese could not speak the local language, Malayalam, they and their counterparts must have communicated through Arabic. But they might have been using different Arabic dialects, so the Portuguese might not have understood what their interlocutors meant by the Arabic words, *qasîs* and *kâfir*, whose meaning is 'unbelievers'. These words were used to refer to Hindus in this case. The second assumption, as Subrahmanyam points out, concerns the enthusiasm of the Portuguese to discover Christians inhabiting the Kingdom of Prester John (Subrahmanyam 1997:133).

The Portuguese aim was partly attained because in reality Syrian Christians had lived for a long time in the areas along the Malabar coast, called Kerala now. It is said that they were originally Brahmans who had

been converted by one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, St. Thomas. Bayly concludes that their tradition was brought by the west Asian merchants and navigators who had been engaged in spice trading since Roman times from two overlapping legends of St. Thomas and Thomas of Cana who is described as a pious west Asian merchant. He is said to have migrated with a group of people to the Malabar coast in A.D.345 (Bayly 1989: 241-247). Judging from the fact that Syrian Christians had been active merchants along with Muslim counterparts at that time, Gama might have heard about them on his way to India. It can be assumed that the Portuguese misunderstanding was caused by the combination of the strong obsession with Prester John and the existence of Syrian Christians, though in 1502 on the second voyage to India, Gama encountered them for the first time in Cochin (Neill 1992:191).

Thus, when Gama met the king of Calicut, he was still confident of the idea that the ruler was also Christian. This can be found in the commentary of the anonymous writer who said that, at the entrance of the palace, Gama's company was greeted by a short, old man 'who is like a Bishop, and the king refers to him in church matters.' (Subrahmanyam 1997:134)

However, after the first meeting with the king, in which Gama explained that he had been dispatched to India by the Portuguese king to discover Eastern Christians, he became suspicious because he was asked by the king whether he preferred to spend the night with Moors or Christians. Though it was a custom of port cities that new foreign merchants should be put in one of the existing ethnic categories (Subrahmanyam 1997:136). Muslims serving the king as his *factor* made Gama more anxious. They insulted him because they said that the gifts the Portuguese brought were so poor that they could not present them to the king. They also did not allow Gama to meet the Zamorin. Even though the next day Gama was called to the palace and displayed a letter from King Manuel to the ruler of Calicut, the relationship between them started to deteriorate. At the departure for home, the Portuguese had a series of conflicts with the Zamorin over an envoy, Diogo Dias. He was sent to the palace with some more presents to the king, only to find himself poorly treated and prevented from contacting Gama. The Portuguese concluded that it was a conspiracy made by Muslims around the king and seized men who approached the ships on a boat.

Although this incident was solved by a message from Dias and the following release of the hostage he had captured, Gama's ships were attacked by a fleet of seventy small boats and the Portuguese was forced to bombard the Indian fleet which was followed by a skirmish on the ships.

Subrahmanyam points out that Gama's way of handling the local ruler exemplifies European 'hostile trade' in Asia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which was caused by 'confusion over etiquette and the form of gifts, deep-rooted suspicions on the part of Europeans concerning the machinations at the Asian court, nervousness about the comportment of the part of the Asians' (Subrahmanyam 1997:139).

From the description of Vasco da Gama's encounter with Indians, it can be found out that the Portuguese who reached the Malabar coast did not have a word to mean 'Hindus'. They identified the local worshippers of a goddess with Christians who adored the Virgin Mary. It seems that they observed the inhabitants of Calicut through the eyes affected by the idea of 'Muslims' which had been historically constructed over yeas of European confrontation with the Ottoman Turks and Egyptian Mamlukes, and the antagonistic relations with African Moors whom the Portuguese fleet had to contend with on their way to India. It would be too simple to claim that the Portuguese had only two categories of 'Christianity' and 'Muslim' where they are concerned with religious affiliation. In fact, there had been numerous Jews inhabiting Portugal before the Inquisition was introduced under pressure from Spain. When an Indian version of the Inquisition began in Goa, the definition of what the Jews were became essential for the Portuguese in order to understand the question of who the Hindus were.

Portuguese 'hostile trade' with the ruler of Calicut continued when Gama's successors continuously reached the western coastal areas. In September 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral commanding an armada of thirteen ships arrived in India. So did Afonso de Albuquerque with three squadrons of three ships in 1503, and Francisco Almeida with twenty-two ships, being appointed to the Viceroy or Governor of *Estado da Índia* in 1505. Gama himself was chosen again and was dispatched to Calicut in 1502. When Cabral got to Calicut, the Zamorin seemed to become less aggressive, unlike his attitude towards Gama, and to be ready to add the Portuguese to the list of his merchants. But the atmosphere got worse at the instigation of Arab traders, who were in fear of being usurped of their spice share by the

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newcomers. Cabral was forced to ally with the ruler of Cochin who had a politically hostile relation with the ruler of Calicut (Diffie and Winius 1977:220). The antagonism between the Portuguese and the Zamorin led to incessant fights after Cabral's departure for Lisbon. In 1506, there was a battle off Cannanore between a Portuguese squadron commanded by Lorenço Almeida, Viceroy Almeida's son and the Zamorin's fleet. The next year, the successor of the king of Cannanore, who had developed a friendly relationship with the Portuguese, attacked their fortress with the support of the Zamorin (Diffie and Winius 1977:232-233). In the meantime, the Zamorin hatched a conspiracy with Egyptian Mamelukes to strike a blow against the Portuguese. As a result, in 1508, Laurenço Almeida was killed in the battle with the combined fleet of Egyptians and their allies led by Malik Ayaz, who was a naval chief and master of Diu and had contact with Calicut. Viceroy Almeida avenged his son by destroying the Gujarati and Egyptian joint force the next year, after which Albuquerque took over the position of Viceroy and this ended a series of disputes with Almeida over the succession (Diffie and Winius 1977:234-242).

The Portuguese engagement with the kings such as the Zamorin of Calicut and the king of Cochin was characterised by their ignorance of the other party's political state and customs accompanying commercial negotiations. Western coastal cities of the sub-continent had been a part of a large trading network traversing the Indian Ocean (Chaudhuri 1985, Chaudhury and Morineau 1999). The Portuguese arrival and their endeavours to step in the regional trade system were militarily oriented. Their reliance on bombardments implies their anxiety about coping with 'the Other' whom they were not familiar with. The Portuguese knew the Muslims who had been a long-lasting enemy to Europeans. They projected their image of 'Muslims' on the Indian political context they met. This projection did not really help the Portuguese have a friendly relationship based on peace. Most encounters which they had with Indian rulers resulted in violent incidents. This reminds us of Captain Cook's brutal death in Hawaii in the late eighteenth century. As Sahlins shows us, Cook failed to see the encounter with Hawaiians from 'their' point of view which identified the Captain as their God and a stranger-king, Lono. This ignorance and British ship's untimely return to the island led to Hawaiians killing Cook in the end (Sahlins 1985).

From this series of conflicts it is by no means clear how the Portuguese came to distinguish Hindus from Muslims. It can be assumed that during this period of antagonism before establishing their foothold in Goa, the Portuguese devoted themselves to military activities on the sea and could hardly afford to observe inhabitants along the Malabar coast. The Portuguese imagery of 'Hindus' must have been gradually constructed through the efforts to build up a secure administrative system in Goa. This and the transformation of 'Hindus' as heretics will be discussed in the next chapter. But before that we will look at the Portuguese recognition of 'Indians' as people with different beliefs and customs in the books of Duarte Barbosa, who was a Portuguese officer and stayed in India while the Portuguese struggled to build their footholds there.

2-3 The Portuguese understanding of Indians in the writing of Duarte Barbosa

As mentioned above, the Portuguese continued their military activities to gain footholds in the port cities along the Malabar Coast after the arrival of Vasco da Gama. Most ships sent to the sub-continent, led by Cabral, Almeida and Albuquerque had hostile relations with Indian rulers. Through their experience of face-to-face encounters with Indian people, the Portuguese started to differentiate 'Hindus' from 'Muslims'(Moors). It can be traced in *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* which was completed about 1518.

Duarte Barbosa is assumed to have arrived in India with the fleet of Cabral and his uncle, Gonçalo Gil Barbosa, who served as *feitor* or agent first in Cochin and then was transferred to Cannanore. He acquired Malayalam and became *escrivão* or writer at Cannanore, and was famous for his command of language and deep knowledge of local customs. His book describes cities which he called at in the course of his first voyage from Lisbon to India around the Cape of Good Hope. His careful observation is drawn to various aspects ranging from people inhabiting the cities, trading, customs to religion.

In his writing, we can trace an inchoate categorisation of 'Hindus' who can be differentiated from 'Muslims'. For example, in the section where he delineates the kingdom of Gujarat (Guzerate), he gives the word 'Heathen'

to people who are not 'Moors'. The distinction was not really made on the basis of their differences of beliefs, but on rather superficial characteristics, such as their clothes. Barbosa takes notice of Heathen women's way of dressing.

The women of these Heathen are beautiful and slender with well-shaped figures; they are both fair and dark. Their dress is as long as that of their husbands, they wear silken bodices with tight sleeves, cut low at the back, and other long garments called *chandes* which they throw over themselves like cloaks when they go out. On their heads they wear nought but their own hair well-dressed on the top of it. They always go barefoot, and on their legs they wear very thick anklets of gold and silver with great plenty of rings on their fingers and toes, and they have holes bored in their ears wide enough for an egg to pass through, in which they wear thick gold and silver earrings. These women are kept much at home and shut up. They seldom leave their houses, and when they go forth they are wrapt up in long garments covering their heads, "much as the women with us cover themselves with their mantles." (Barbosa 1989:113-114)

Another interesting point about the early categorisation of 'Hindus' is that Barbosa mentions groups of people who were encompassed by the word, 'Heathen'. These groups are *Bramenes, Rasbutos* and *Baneanes. Bramenes* are Brahmans. According to Barbosa, they are priests among Heathens and maintain the houses of prayer and idol-worship. *Rasbuto* is Rajputs who are 'a certain race of Heathen' and rulers of the kingdom of Guzerate (Gujarat) before the Moors' take-over. They are described as living in mountain villages and not obeying the king of Gujarat. They 'kill and eat sheep and fish and all other kinds of food'. They are 'very fine horsemen, and good archers, and have besides divers other weapons to defend themselves withal against the Moors' (Barbosa 1989:110). *Baneanes* are equivalent to devotees of Jainism of today. They are great merchants and traders. They observe the principle of separating themselves from anything related to death. Thus they eat neither meat nor fish, nor do they kill anything. Barbosa points out that Moors sometimes pretend to kill live insects or small birds in front of the *Baneanes* to let them pay money to help the small lives (Barbosa 1989:111).

Although *Bramenes* had already been acknowledged as priests who were in charge of temples, they were neither mentioned to monopolise the lore of the belief of 'Heathen' nor were they accused of deceiving ordinary 'Heathens' by claiming the authority of idols, as Jesuit missionaries did later on. The word 'Heathen' at this stage implied a vague assemblage of people

who seemed to share the worship of idols. Although Barbosa's acute observation enabled him to notice *Bramenes*' practices of marriage such as their monogamy and great wedding celebrations, a comprehensive set of beliefs which were possessed among all Heathens was not yet clear. Moreover, as we can see in Barbosa's writing, the 'Heathens' were always compared with 'Moors' and the word often implies no more than people who were differentiated from Moors.

As mentioned above, the idea of 'fellow Christians' in the east had a great influence on the Portuguese understanding of Indians at the first encounter with them. It seems that they continued to associate Indians with Christians even after it turned out that they were not Christians. In the explanation of *Bramenes*' belief of God, Barbosa finds resemblance between the Christian creed and the 'Heathen' counterpart.

These *Bramenes* and Heathen have in their creed many resemblances to the Holy Trinity, and hold in great honour the relation of the Triune Three, and always make their prayers to God, whom they confess and adore as the true God, Creator and makers of all things, who is three persons and one God, and they say that there are many other gods who are rulers under him, in whom also they believe. These *Bramenes* and Heathen wheresoever they find our churches enter them and make prayers and adorations to our Images, always asking for Santa Maria, like men who have some knowledge and understanding of these matters; and they honour the Church as is our manner, saying that between them and us there is little difference (Barbosa: 105-106).

By the time Barbosa had completed the book in 1517-1518, the category which is labelled as 'Hindus' seems to have already been made as 'Heathen' even though it appears to cover a bit wider sense. Whenever Barbosa mentions the inhabitants of a city, he distinguishes Moors from Heathen which subsumes 'Hindus' and 'Jains' in present terms. In these terms, 'Heathen' is used differently from Christians. However, in the above quotation, Barbosa still makes an attempt to relate them with Christians as his precursors did. It can be said that the category-making of 'Heathen' was still under way around when Barbosa wrote his book.

2-4 Concluding remarks

This chapter attempted to show how the Portuguese understood 'Indians' when the fleet of Vasco da Gama reached a shore near Calicut in 1498. In so doing, the European tradition of the imagery of 'India' and political and economic conditions of Europe have been examined. The Portuguese expeditions to search for a route to India along the African coast was started by Prince Henry the Navigator and culminated in Gama's voyage. Before him, though there had been incessant encounters with India, Europeans possessed a limited body of knowledge or legends concerning India and three figures were main sources: Alexander the Great, Prester John and St. Thomas.

It seems that the Portuguese did not have the concept of 'Hindus' when Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut. As discussed above, he and his crews confused Hindus with Christians. One hypothesis can be made about why they could not identify Hindus. There was a prevailing antagonism with Muslims among Christians at that time, which was caused by a long-standing rivalry. Thus, the Portuguese categorised Hindus as 'Christians' when they saw Hindu worshippers adoring a Goddess Devaki nursing Krishna by judging that they were the Virgin Mary and Jesus. For the Portuguese, people whose affiliation was not Islam were all 'Christians'. However, this categorisation changed in the course of the Portuguese conquest of Goa. When Albuquerque arrived at Goa, they were met by Hindus who did not confront them because of a inspired yogi's prophecy. It can be said that the Portuguese started to be aware that Hindus were certainly not 'Christians' whose customs seemed rather close to Infidels. It can be also traced in Duarte Barbosa's travel writing on India. In the next chapter, I will discuss how the categorisation of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' was carried out by the Portuguese administrators and Catholic missionaries such as the Jesuits, by examining how the Portuguese built up their administrative system in Goa and the implementation of the Inquisition.

Notes

[1] There is an argument that the rumour can be traced back to the 1140's. (Subrahmanyam 1997:45)

[2] For more arguments, see Beckingham (Beckingham 1983)

[3] Though Prince Henry himself never captained vessels, he was responsible for a series of explorations which made the discoveries beyond the Azores and Madeira Islands. The first step was to reach Cape Bojador and discover what lies beyond it. A common belief among seamen at that time was that the sea would start to boil at the extremity or was full of monsters (Ure 1977:66-67). After several failed expeditions caused by fear of such beliefs, in 1434, Gil Eannes reached Cape Bojador and in the following years Afonso Gonçalves Baldaia sailed further south. (Ure 1977: 67-73)

[4] Ravenstein wrote that it might have been Devaki nursing Krisna.

Chapter Three. The Portuguese Building of *Estado da Índia*, the Catholic Missionaries' Attempts at Conversion and Their Image of 'Hindus'

In the south-eastern part of Madras called Mylapore, near Marina Beach where people hang around to enjoy the cool gentle breezes coming from the Bay of Bengal during summer, there stands the beautiful Cathedral of St. Thomas. As its name shows it was erected in honour of St. Thomas, who was one of the apostles of Jesus Christ, who, in numerous legends, arrived at a shore of India to spread Christianity, and who in the end became a martyr. Behind the cathedral there is a small museum storing some pieces from the archaeological excavation of the crypt under the cathedral. On a wall inside the museum you can see a picture placed in a wooden frame, which somehow represents the Catholic idea of their relationship with local heathens. There stands a saint holding a crucifix with a small figure of Jesus Christ driving away enemies who have dark skin and wear only loose cloth around their waist. The saint is St. Francis Xavier. He stands in the picture as if he was using the sacred power of Jesus Christ to sweep away evil spirits which prevailed across the land he arrived in to purify. The Catholic missionaries, especially the Jesuits, did endeavour to sweep away the local religion by imposing the Inquisition on Goan people as St. Francis Xavier in the picture implies.

In this chapter, there will be a discussion of how, among the Portuguese and Catholic missionaries, the image of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' came to emerge and was transformed into the concepts of heretics and a heretical religion in the course of building an administrative system and compulsory conversion by means of the Inquisition in Goa. These ideas of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' imagined under Portuguese rule were more flexible than the more concrete ideas which circulate today. Hinduism today is clearly accepted as one of the world religions with its own set of sacred texts besides Christianity, Islam and Buddhism. Furthermore, the most concrete form of the idea of Hinduism based on sacred scriptures can be found in the claim of fundamentalists, such as members of RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) and VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad), that they should return to a pristine state of purity written in the Vedas[1] (Madan 1997:204). Under the

Portuguese rule, after they gradually came to understand the fact that Indians believed in a religion which was neither Christianity, nor Islam, the inhabitants of the sub-continent were labelled under some vague names such as 'heathens', as Duarte Barbosa puts it, and 'gentiles'. The content of the names was exposed to constant changes and they were deeply associated with Portugal's position in Europe and its relationship with Catholicism. As discussed in the previous chapter, the first Portuguese who reached India wrongly identified Hindus with 'fellow Christians'. But this mistake was soon corrected and when Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510 they had already realised that Hindus were not Christians and possessed their own practices. However, even after the Portuguese admitted that the local Indians were 'gentiles' who believed in strange gods and whose customs differed a great deal from themselves, the Portuguese officers, who were sent to Goa for the construction of the headquarters for eastward expansion, seem never to have taken the issue of religion seriously. What then marked the transformation of 'heathens' or 'gentiles' into 'heretics'? It was the arrival of Catholic missionaries in India. In 1530 Goa became officially the capital of *Estado da Índia* and in the meantime religious orders started to establish themselves on the shores of India. First the Franciscans arrived in 1518, then the Jesuits marked the beginning of its history in the subcontinent with the arrival of Francis Xavier in 1542 followed by the Dominicans in 1548. Among them especially the Jesuits became leading missionaries in terms of both their enthusiasm for evangelism and the areas they covered. In Europe at that time, the Reformation caused a pervading sense of menace among Catholics. Thus the missionaries disseminated the Catholic faith outside Europe to defend their faith against Protestantism. Many of the Jesuits set sail for India for evangelisation with a strong devotion to Catholicism. When they encountered the strange religion believed among Indians, the missionaries saw it from the orthodox versus heretical dichotomy, which they inherited from the Middle Ages. As time went by, more Jesuits took part in making the ideas about the heretical religion of local Indians more concrete by meeting more Indians and writing down their impression in Annual Letters to Europe and books they produced. In other words, it was the Jesuits who elevated the belief of 'heathens' or 'gentiles' to a religion whose devotees should be converted to Christianity.

From the anthropological standpoint, this examination of the

emergence of 'Hinduism' as a religion in contrast to Christianity is a question of imagining 'the Other'. Since Edward Said disclosed the collusion between Orientalism and colonialism, the subjugation of the Orient by the West, which has spread in the aesthetic, academic, economic, sociological, historical, philological disciplines, many scholars have probed into this matter of relationship with 'the Other' (Said 1995(1978)). According to Said, a radical change in representations of 'the Orient' happened in 1760-1770, and it was led by an epistemological transformation of the West based on scientific knowledge. As a result, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Orientalism came to recognise 'the Orient' as an inferior entity which was irrational and thus should be subject to the rational West. The process of the subjugation of 'the Orient' was done by adding discourses about the Orient to its existing body of knowledge. The inferior image of 'the Orient' was reproduced from a stock of images of 'the Orient', which can be defined by adjectives such as 'inferior', 'irrational' and 'feminine'. And the images circulated in Europe contributed to making the descriptive vocabulary stronger. In this sense, the process was reflexive and in due course the body of knowledge got refined and more scientific.

How then can we define the knowledge of 'the Other' before the scientific basis of the West emerged in the late eighteenth century? Can we say that the Portuguese in India in the sixteenth century recognised Indians as 'the Other' in the same way as Europeans in the late eighteenth century? The answer is no. From the end of the fifteenth century to the beginning of the sixteenth century, when Europeans encountered Indians, they possessed only a vague body of knowledge about inhabitants of the sub-continent. They could not have access to the ready-made package of the attributes of Indians based on scientific analysis by Indologists as well as Orientalists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Thus, they had to do a kind of *bricolage* to construct their understanding 'the Other', the Indians. In other words, the Portuguese, as the first Europeans who landed on India, could utilise loosely categorised ideas of three groups of people: Christians, Moors (Muslims) and Jews. The otherness of Hindus had not been 'heretical' at this stage. It was after the arrival of the Jesuits and the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa that a heretical religion, 'Hinduism', started to emerge. The Inquisition was originally invented as the device for accusing converts from Judaism of retaining Jewish practices. The introduction of this system

1. Picture of St. Francis Xavier in the museum of Cathedral of St. Thomas, Mylapore.

in India helped the Portuguese and missionaries produce the image of 'Hindus' as 'the Other' in reference to Jews, their 'Other' in Europe.

The following section will first sketch historical incidents in Goa after the conquest of Albuquerque and will then outline the Portuguese administrative systems and policies to shed light on what kind of ideas they held about Indians and their customs at that time. Secondly, the focus will shift to the religious part of the Portuguese management of Goa. The Inquisition imposed on local Hindus will be the main focus of the discussion, which will elucidate how the ideas of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' as 'heretics' and a 'heretical religion' started to emerge. To make clear to what extent the ideas of 'Jews' were made use of in the course of understanding Hindus by the Portuguese and missionaries the question of how 'Jews' were recognised by Europeans at that time should be explored. For this purpose, the history of the European Inquisition, especially in Spain, which had influences on Portugal, will be briefly mentioned. Then we will move to the examination of the Inquisition introduced in Goa. Thirdly, we will look at the way missionaries formed the idea of 'Hindus' basically in the same way as the Inquisition classified them as 'heretics'. Catholic missionaries, especially the Jesuits, started to make the attributes of 'Hindus' concrete by putting them into writing. In order to trace the course of the concept 'Hinduism' as a gradually emerging heretical religion, we will see what sort of attitudes three Jesuits took from the middle of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century: Francisco Xavier, Jacobo Fenicio and Roberto de Nobili.

3-1 The image of Indians from the perspective of administration

By the time Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1510, it seems that the belief that the inhabitants of India were 'fellow Christians' had already disappeared and it was replaced by a purely administrative interest in how to establish the city of Goa as the centre of the Portuguese trade in the East. During the viceroyship of Albuquerque who conquered Goa, three main policies were employed: the establishment of a tax system, the preparation of the Municipal Council and the repopulation of the city. None of them concerned religion among local Hindus.

To strengthen the base of Goa, securing financial sources was the most urgent issue. The Portuguese did not make the effort to build it from scratch. With some modifications, they took over the system which already existed on their arrival. Under the rule of Çabaio Kahn, the father of Adil Khan from whom Albuquerque snatched the city, the amount of tax was doubled (Danvers 1966(1894):191). Moreover, there were other additional taxes, for example, the *Godevrat*, whose purpose was to support the Muslim cavalry. The Portuguese reduced the taxes and got them back to when the Hindu Vijayanagar Empire ruled the city. Basically the tax was levied on the land revenues. Collection of the revenue was delegated to *gauncers*, who were a ruling group of the villages. Besides establishing the tax system, Albuquerque ordered the minting of gold, silver and copper coins, on the backs of which there was the device of King Manuel (Danvers 1966(1894):191). These policies were very important for establishing the basis for the Portuguese trade within a wide area which was later on called the *Estado da Índia*.

The introduction of the Municipal Council (*Senado da Camera*) in Goa was also essential in the course of transforming the city into the headquarters of the Portuguese sea-borne empire. Boxer assumes that the date of the establishment of the council must have been shortly after his conquest of the city on St. Catherine's Day (25 November) (Boxer 1965b:12). It was modelled on the example of the *Camera* in Lisbon and consisted of one *vereador fidalgo* (councillor or alderman), two *vereadores nobres*, plus two *juizes ordinarios* (justices of the peace, or magistrates), a *procurador da cidade* (municipal attorney), and four *procuradores dos mestered* (municipal attorney of the representatives of the working-class guilds). They all had the right to vote in meetings to make decisions about matters concerning the city of Goa.

In addition to the above innovations, during Albuquerque's rule a policy aimed at the re-population of the city of Goa was arranged. The decline in its population had been caused by a series of battles between the Portuguese and the troops of Adil Khan. Portuguese settlers were encouraged to marry local noble women, who were Muslim and who had lost their husbands in the battles. The marriage policy seems to have had a purpose to subjugate Muslim elements to the Portuguese rule. The local women were converted to Christianity and married to 'men of proved

characters and good service.' The number of men amounted to no less than 450. They were given land and cattle to start a settled life (Danvers 1966(1894):217).

In 1515, having established the base for the future development of the colony, Albuquerque died. His contribution to the city included not only the foundation of the taxation system, the setting-up of the municipal council and the encouragement of marriage between the Portuguese settlers and Goan women, as mentioned above, but also the fortification of the city by setting many castles and by stationing galleys around the island, and strengthening trade with Ormuz, which the Portuguese conquered in Albuquerque's expedition (Danvers 1966(1894):216, 331). Albuquerque's method of establishing Goa as the prospective centre of the *Estado da Índia* seems to form a parallel with what other colonial powers, such as the British, French and Dutch did later on to some extent. They attempted to bring standard administrative systems from their home countries to their new territories and then made efforts to graft them onto the remaining institution, which was left by the previous rulers. And it was in the course of putting both systems together that the coloniser gradually gained knowledge about their colonised and came to realise the differences between themselves and 'the Other'. In this sense, for the Portuguese the setting up of the administrative base in Goa could be said to be the overture for their understanding of Indians. In the following part, there will be an attempt to clarify how the Portuguese saw local Goans while they were coping with the grafting of the Portuguese way onto Goa in the course of administrative tasks. For this purpose, two examples will be mentioned: the Charter of Local Usages and the policy of marrying Portuguese men to Hindu women.

3-1-1 The Charter of Local Usages

The *Foral de Usos e Costumes dos Guancares* (The Charter of Local Usages and Customs) was issued on September 16, 1526 and became a standard set of texts to execute smoothly the Portuguese administrative actions, especially tax collection. It was codified by the Portuguese chief revenue superintendent, Afonso Mexia. He gathered information on customary laws prevailing among Goan people and made them into texts (de

Souza 1979:60). The Charter states at the beginning:

The facts, i.e. the amount of revenue, "the rights, 'usos', and customs," are declared to have been recorded after inquiry, and by ascertaining what the people "paid to the kings and lords of the soil before it was ours."

As can be seen, the Portuguese attempted to retain the administrative system left by their former ruler and tried to make use of it (Baden-Powell 1900:263). The Charter is intriguing because it is, as Baden-Powell stresses, 'the earliest known account of a local group of Indian villages written by an European observer (Baden-Powell 1900:261).' The examination of local customs by Mexia sheds light on one aspect of the Portuguese way of understanding the local inhabitants of India.

Mostly the Charter focused on issues concerning the administration and inheritance at the village level. The first thing the Charter states was the existence of people called 'gauncars (Gancars)' considered superiors in a village[2]. The gauncars were the governor, administrator, and benefactor of the village. They had claims over collective ownership of all the village lands (Robinson 1998:36). Their status was said to have derived from a tradition that they were descendants of four men who established new cultivation in an island[3]. Among them, especially the chief gauncar was given several privileges. For instance, he enjoyed the first betel which was distributed at a festival; his lands should be seeded and harvested earlier than any others; and the roof of his house had to be thatched before other houses. Basically the status and rights were hereditary. But in the case of a gauncar absconding to avoid the payment of revenue, either his properties were confiscated or his heir was asked to take over his debts (Baden-Powell 1900:264-5).

Secondly, the Charter states the obligation of villages to pay certain taxes which were decided by the Portuguese government. The job was assigned to the headman of a village, who is supposed to be one of the gauncars. He allotted a certain amount to each villager who cultivated and owned lands. The procedure was said to be done with a village clerk's help. Unless the loss was caused by wars, the amount of the taxes was not reduced (Baden-Powell 1900:267). If the village became incapable of paying the taxes, the gauncars were obliged to provide the chief 'thanadar' with

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sufficient reasons. The *thanadar*'s function was as a bridge between the villages and the Portuguese office. After the reasons were accepted and the above officers judged that the village was not capable of the payment of taxes anymore, an assembly consisting of the headmen from eight main villages, was called to decide the treatment of the village in question. The eight villages held authority over other villages and were obliged to fill the deficit caused by other villages. Thus they auctioned the defaulting village and it was supposed to go to the highest bidder (Baden-Powell 1900:279).

Thirdly, the principle regarding inheritance can be found in the Charter. Property was considered to pass from father to son and grandson. When a man had more than two sons, the division was equal among them. If a man did not have any sons, his property was escheated to the Portuguese Crown. Women did not have the right of inheritance (Baden-Powell 1900:271).

In sum, the Charter characterised the village as the locus of the traditional administration and described the picture of the village where the *gauncars* dominated other villagers. The village was the unit of the collection of taxes which was based on the cultivation of land. As can be seen, these features of 'the village' are politico-economically oriented. Axelrod and Fuerch claim that in the clauses of the Charter, people seem to be reduced to rather abstract numbers as the sources of the tax and they call Mexia 'the first Portuguese Orientalist' (Axelrod and Fuerch 1998). They discuss Mexia's method of reducing villagers to tax-payers as contradictory to the picture of villagers as a 'human agency' whose activities were closely related to the village temple and a Hindu deity. As they stress, it might be said that this Portuguese Orientalist's approach towards the village parallels British counterparts' characterisation of the Indian society consisting of 'a village as a self-contained entity' to some extent. And their argument is right in the respect that the Portuguese compiled local Goans' customs into texts and fixed certain concepts about Indians. However, is this entirely true? As Inden says, the British such as James Mill had created the image of a village as the smallest unit of the Indian state since early nineteenth century. A village was considered as a locus where 'jajmāni system' was conducted. It was a system in which castes get involved in subsistence exchange (Inden 1990:129-130). In this picture, the nature of India was represented and explained by a village, which was regarded as opposite to the West. The reduction of the

meaning of an Indian village by the British and Mexia's focus on a village community of Goa look similar in the respect that they both recognised a village as a unit of society.

However, there are some reasons why we cannot identify Mexia with British orientalists. First of all, the size of the enterprise cannot be comparable. In the British case, more people engaged in producing discourses about Indian villages, including officers of the English East Company. And the areas they covered were much wider than the Portuguese, who gained a control over only a few places such as Goa and Diu. Moreover, the British orientalism treated Indian customs institutionally as the objects of scholarly curiosity. Therefore, we should bear in mind that at the time of Portuguese rule the ideas of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' had not yet been clarified as an object of scholarly investigations mainly because of the lack of information. Compared to British orientalism, the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century had not had enough experiences to lead them to a concrete image of Indians. Thus, when Mexia codified the Charter of Local Usages, the Portuguese understanding of India was completely different in character from British orientalists. The Portuguese started to have a more particular image of Indians in terms of religion a bit later when Catholic missionaries began their activities.

3-1-2 Inter-racial marriage between the Portuguese and local women

After the conquest of Goa, Afonso de Albuquerque encouraged Portuguese men to marry local women, who were converted to Christianity. From that time, inter-racial marriage between the Portuguese and local women continually occurred in Goa. Partly it was caused by the scarcity of women from Portugal. According to Boxer, in a ship with six or eight hundred men on board, women would seldom be more than a dozen (Boxer 1963:58). This policy gave birth to people of mixed blood called the 'Mestiço'[4]. Even though many Portuguese had affairs with local women and the number of the Mestiço increased, the people of this new category were discriminated against by the European-born Portuguese (the Reinols). But on the other hand, Mestiços distinguished themselves from local Indians. They called the latter 'Canarins' regardless of caste and despised them. The issues

concerning the inter-racial marriage and the *Mestiço* can be said to have occurred within the 'contact zones,' as Mary Louise Pratt defined them, which are 'social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other.' (Pratt 1992:4) Thus, it can be considered that these issues would reflect the Portuguese relationship with local people and would also allow us to look into their image of Indians.

The Portuguese did not regard all Indian people as the same. Boxer mentions that the Portuguese found caste distinctions remaining among the Indian converts despite the attempt to abolish the ranking. Considering the fact that the word 'caste' itself derived from the Portuguese '*casta*', it is not certain that Indians really had caste distinctions. But the Portuguese at least found ranks among local Indians. The ranks were similar distinctions to four *varnas*, to each of which it is said that all Indian people belong, namely, *Brahmins*, *Kshatriyas*, *Vaisyas* and *Sudras*. They were the Brahmin converts, who became Christian priests, the *Chardos*, who claimed Kshatriya though were sometimes considered as *Vaisyas*, and the *Corumbins* and the *Farazes*, who were landless workers and menials like *Sudras* (Boxer 1963:75). The Portuguese preferred to marry women from higher castes, *Brahmins* and *Chardos*, and interestingly they put priority on women with fairer skin. But the *Brahmins* and *Chardos* who converted to Christianity did not want to marry their daughters to Europeans or the *Mestiço* because of the pride of caste and race. Thus the Portuguese government sporadically attempted to marry Christian Brahmin widows to the Portuguese soldiers (Boxer 1963:76-77).

Here we can see the intricate distinctions of various people from both the Portuguese and Indian points of view, existing at the same time. From the Portuguese standpoint they were superior to local people and therefore they should have connections with women from higher castes when they could not have access to Portuguese women. They had to compensate their desire to obtain proper women by making a compromise on the condition that they could have local (i.e. inferior to the Portuguese) women with a complexion as fair as themselves and high status. On the other hand, local Indians did not share the same point of view with the Portuguese. They might have considered, as we can infer from Boxer's remark about their hesitation to marry their daughters to Europeans, that the Portuguese were inferior to themselves because they were not *Brahmins* or *Chardos*. This idea

could be said to parallel the Indian notion that for Indians foreign groups are regarded as outside of hierarchy and thus they should be placed at its bottom like the Untouchables (Dumont 1980(1966):193)[5]

Thus, the *Mestiços*, who could not be regarded as either Portuguese or *Brahmins* or *Chardos*, were led to develop complicated ideas about their position and relationship to the others. In other words, though they were considered by the European-born Portuguese (the *Reinols*) as close to local Indians, they somehow identified themselves with the Portuguese and discriminated against local Indians. For instance, most *Mestiço* parents wished their daughters to marry the European-born Portuguese. But the *Mestiço* had to go through the unfair treatment which was embodied in the Crown's prohibition of their enrolment in the royal service, though this measure was not enforced for long because of the lack of the Portuguese officers (Boxer 1963:78).

In addition to the *Mestiços*, there were other people who were marginalised in Portuguese Goa. The first group was Hindu girls who were involved in affairs outside the marital relationships with the Portuguese. These girls were usually *Baladeiras* or Nautch-girls. Many *fidalgos* (noblemen) and soldiers had connections with them (Boxer 1963:77). The second group was unmarried girls who became nuns because their *fidalgo* fathers could not afford a dowry for daughters. For the purpose of accommodating nuns with such a background, the Convent of Santa Monica was established in 1627. Not only were there nuns, whose number was originally limited to 100, but numerous slaves as well (Boxer 1965:35-37).

In the Portuguese attitudes towards inter-racial marriage with local Indians, we can see to what extent the former recognised the social distinctions among the latter. The Portuguese preferred to marry women from higher castes. This means that they had already learned the existence of hierarchical ranks in Goa. Furthermore, it can be assumed that by going through marriage ceremonies, Portuguese grooms must have coped with Indian customs. Although the number of the *Mestiços* increased as the result of inter-racial marriage, the Portuguese and Indians remained socially distinct and the *Mestiços* were considered by both the Portuguese and Indians as a different group. Somehow it can be said that the existence of this group strengthened the borders between the Portuguese and Indians.

3-2 Against Heretical Gods: From the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition to the Goa Inquisition

As seen in the *Charter of Local Usage*, in the early days of their rule, the Portuguese saw customs of local Goans from the politico-economic point of view and their rule seems to have been more pragmatic. As we have seen above they adopted intact the local village structure, which was dominated by higher castes called *gauncars*, making use of it to collect taxes. At the same time the Portuguese began regarding some Goan customs as distinctive and thus different from Christianity before they established the administration in Goa. For instance, Afonso de Albuquerque prohibited *sati* (widow burning) after the conquest of the city[6] (Priolkar 1991(1961):52).

As time progressed, the nature of Portuguese rule changed and they came to employ harsher policies towards local Hindus. It was related to the transformation in their understanding of local beliefs and customs. Some Hindu customs were blamed for being 'traitors' to Catholic conscience and being connected to Hindu worship, such as soothsaying and self-immolation at festivals, where men crushed themselves under chariot wheels (D'Costa 1965:35-37). Some Portuguese and Catholic missionaries had a belief that strange Indian customs derived from the worship of a Hindu deity, and thus, not only should these customs be abolished, but also the Hindu temples and images should be demolished. These fanatical thoughts led them to introduce the Inquisition in Goa in 1560, which was mainly being imposed on 'New Christians' (Jews who converted to Catholicism) in Spain and Portugal to expel heretical elements of Judaism and Islam and to protect the 'purity' of Catholicism. The foundation of the Inquisition was the watershed of the image-construction of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'. After this, the gentiles' belief in gods and their customs came to be regarded as 'heretical' like Islam and Judaism.

3-2-1 The Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition

Before turning our eyes to the Goa Inquisition, we are going to look at the foundation of the Spanish Inquisition, as well as how the Portuguese

followed their predecessors in carrying to India the religious storm which was sweeping over their kingdom in Europe at that time. The aim was to eradicate heresy in Europe and to protect Christianity from its contaminating effects. In the process of developing the tribunal and methods of punishment, the attributes of 'the Jews' were becoming clearer through a series of enactments concerning who should be judged as heretics in the name of God. It is very important to understand this process when addressing the question of how the inchoate ideas of 'Hindus' were formed, because the laws which judged Hindus were based on ones for 'New Christians' who had been affiliated to Judaism before conversion. In other words, the Portuguese applied the historically accumulated body of knowledge regarding 'the Jews' to Indian 'heretics' on the basis of the idea that both were different from, and thus could threaten, Christianity. It is behind this conception that we can find the nascent form of understanding others: when people meet something unfamiliar, they attempt to understand it by making use of the knowledge in hand. Thus, it can be said that an examination of the transformation of the conception of 'the Jews' to 'the heretics' would contribute to the analysis of how the Indians, who were mistaken for fellow 'Christians' by the early Portuguese travellers, became 'the heretics,' who were the object of conversion.

There are two men who put on tall caps and long, loose tunics, which were called *sambenitos* in front of the platform where another two naked men, bound to poles, are being burnt. Next to one of the men, for whom the harsh fate of being burnt is also waiting, is a priest talking to him. Above them, St. Dominic, who presides over an *auto de fe* (acts of faith), seems to pass judgement on another accused, who also wears a *sambenito*. The man's face is frozen, maybe out of astonishment. He might hear the sentence of death from a friar who is telling him something.

This is the description of a picture of an *auto da fe* painted by Pedro Berruguete in 1490. It can be considered that the picture represents one aspect of the Inquisition conducted in fifteenth-century Spain. Because canon law stated that the Church could not shed blood, the condemned were handed over to the secular power and burnt to death. After the judgement, both those sentenced to death and the others were forcibly led in procession, usually barefoot, through the streets. Because the *auto da fe* was a big

spectacle, a lot of people gathered, jeering at the condemned. After the procession, their 'crimes' were publicly read, long sermons were preached, and finally the fires were lit to burn them. Even just before death, the heretics were given the chance to repent and if they did so they were given the special 'grace' of garrotting and were strangled to death (Roth 1995:221-222).

The origin of the Inquisition can be traced back to the thirteenth century. Pope Gregory IX ordered it to be established to get rid of heretics such as Cathars[7]. In the course of prosecution, heretics were identified by professional investigators with a theological training. Thus it can be said that by referring to 'heretical' behaviours, the Inquisition became a sort of device to draw clear boundaries between 'Christians' and 'heretics'. In the case of the Spanish Inquisition, Jews and *conversos*, who were converts from Judaism, came to be the focal point concerning arguments about the question of what sort of people were heretical. It was *conversos* and not Jews, who were arraigned before the inquisitors. It was the Jewish practices remaining among them which were severely denounced.

Although Jews had been considered as heretics for a long time in the sense that 'they "knew" the truth of Christ and yet deliberately rejected him' (Roth 1995:18), they were not labelled as 'heretics' so clearly before the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition as after it. Jews were acknowledged as possessing the Hebrew Bible from which the Old Testament derived. In this sense, in medieval Spain, Jews were differentiated from the Muslims who were acknowledged as enemies of Christianity. In fact, before the harshness of the Spanish Inquisition accelerated in the latter half of fifteenth century, relations between Jews and Christians were extremely cordial. This cordiality included Muslims and a symbiotic relationship of the religious groups were known as *convivencia*. As Kamen points out, Jews and Muslims each fulfilled an occupational function and so avoided conflicts with others. For example, in fifteenth-century Murcia, the Muslims were essential as labourers in both town and country. On the other hand, Jews were active as artisans and small producers in leather, jewellery and textiles (Kamen 1997:4). Moreover, before the introduction of the Inquisition, many of the *conversos* 'never having been "good Jews," had no real desire to become

"good Christians" either. Their conversions were neither forced nor sincere, but rather motivated simply by a desire to improve their social standing and avoid the increasing difficulties associated with being Jewish', according to Roth (1995:73). However, the Inquisition did not allow people who were not "good Christians" to be Christians and accused them of being heretics.

When the Spanish Inquisition started in 1481[8], it was not Jews but the *conversos* who became the target of prosecution. The typical accusations against *conversos* concerned the use of Hebrew, either in speech, prayer, or the owning of and reading books in Hebrew. For instance, in Talavera in 1486, a *converso* curate of the Church of San Martín was accused of receiving a Hebrew book from a Jew and providing money for oil for lamps in the synagogue (Roth 1995:247). Other pieces of evidence were not really associated with 'religious' kind. Some *conversos* in the fifteenth century secretly practised Jewish marriage customs, summoning Jewish witnesses and reciting betrothal blessing before them (Roth 1995:70). Relations with a Jewish wife after converting to Christianity was also taken being Jewish (Roth 1995:248). Moreover, a special Jewish custom about food, avoidance of pork, was considered as clear evidence of Jewishness. As we can see from the above examples, it is Jewish elements which proved that *conversos* were insincere Christians. Roth argues that behind the Inquisition, followed by the expulsion of Jews in 1492, there was the emergence of 'hatred of Jewish "racial" and personal characteristics and of the people and not the religion.' (Roth 1995: 314) He furthermore attributes the rise of attacks against and hatred towards Jewish practices and Jews themselves, to the idea of 'racial purity,' *limpieza de sangre*. It functioned to transform the Christian envy at the economic and social position of *conversos* into hatred of a minority group, namely, Jews. It is not certain whether anti-Semitism was the only cause which led to the accusation of *conversos* and the expulsion of Jews. But it can at least be pointed out that through the Inquisition, cultural elements differentiated 'pure' Christianity from the 'tainted' heretical religion, Judaism. And it is important that cultural practice in dress and food was also regarded as part a religion. This has a parallel with the Goa Inquisition, in which dress and food, in addition to specifically religious practices, were used as evidence to accuse Hindu converts to Christianity of heresy.

The Portuguese Inquisition was introduced following the footstep of

the Spanish, though in the Portuguese case, the expulsion of Jews came first, and the foundation of the Inquisition followed it. The Portuguese crown turned itself towards the policies of treating Jews and 'New Christians' (equivalent to the *conversos* in Spain) harshly, as a result of King Manuel's diplomatic tactics to secure his political authority by marrying the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabel of Spain (Priolkar 1991(1961):18). In return for giving permission for the marriage, the Spanish Crown forced the Portuguese king to expel Jews from the country and to introduce the Inquisition.

Portugal had had rather tolerant policies towards Jews and during the reign of João II, when the Jews were banished from Spain on March 31, 1492, the king allowed them to stay in the country on the condition that they leave the country within eight months and pay capitation tax (Priolkar 1991(1961):11). João II was not enthusiastic about establishing the Inquisition in Portugal, although he broke the promise out of fear that the Jews might have been 'contaminated' by the epidemic prevailing in Spain at that time, and he enforced their expulsion before the term of the amnesty in the agreement ended.

In 1496 King Manuel issued two harsh decrees: one was that all Jews should leave Portugal within ten months unless they converted to Christianity; the other was that Jewish children who were under fourteen should be taken away from parents who decided to leave the country. As a result, when the expiry date of the stay finally came, all the Jews, whose number is said to have reached more than 20,000, were assembled in Lisbon and their children were taken away from them for baptism (Priolkar 1991(1961):15).

In 1497, 'New Christians', who converted from Judaism to Catholicism in order to remain in Portugal, were given a period of twenty years which was later extended to 1526 to adjust themselves to the new faith. But they were still afraid of being accused by other Catholics of being 'heretics,' pretending to be good Catholics in public while maintaining Jewish customs privately. Matters became worse when King João III succeeded to the throne on the death of King Manuel in 1521. He started to accuse the Jews of misconduct and in 1531 sent an ambassador to Rome to ask the Pope for the bull for the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal. Finally in 1541 the Inquisition was founded and the first *Auto da Fé* was held the following year.

How then were 'New Christians' regarded as heretics in Portugal and how were Jews referred to? Some clues can be found in the Edict of Faith, which was appended to *Regimento do Santo Officio da Inquisiçam dos Reynos de Portugal* (Manual of Rules and Regulations of the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the kingdoms of Portugal). This manual was originally compiled by Bishop D. Pedro de Castilho, the Inquisitor General in 1613 and later published by Bishop D. Francisco de Castro, the Inquisitor General in 1640 (Priolkar 1991(1961):87). It clearly states that 'New Christians' who performed Jewish rites and ceremonies are accused of being heretical: not working on Saturdays and dressing in certain feast-day cloth; commencing observance on Friday evening; celebrating their Passover and so on. Moreover, abstaining from pork and saying Jewish prayers were also acknowledged as Jewish practices (Priolkar 1991(1961):92-96). The manual mentions converts from Islam as well, but the main focus seems to be on former Jews. Judging from the fact that the Portuguese Inquisition was modelled on its Spanish counterpart, it can be said that the conception of heresy was more or less similar to the Spanish case. Thus, it can be assumed that when the Inquisition was brought to India, the concept of heresy based on the questions, 'Who are Jews?' and 'What are Jewish practices?', was also inherited. By looking at the operation of the Goa Inquisition, we can expect to establish that the Portuguese had the same approach towards local Indians as they did towards Jews, when constructing Indians as heretics. It was also the process of transforming Indians from 'fellow Christians' to 'heretical Hindus.'

3-2-2 The beginning of the Goa Inquisition

When the Inquisition was transplanted to India, it appears at first to have been aimed at convicting Jews and Muslims in Goa in the same way as it attacked Jewish converts in Portugal. At that time many Jewish merchants were engaged in trade in the Indian Ocean and after the crown order banishing the Jews from Portugal, the number increased because of the influx of people who sought a haven there. Francis Xavier suggested the introduction of the Inquisition in Goa in his letter dated May 16, 1545.

The second necessity for the Christians is that your majesty establish the Holy Inquisition, because there are many who live according to the Jewish law, and according to the Mahomedan sect, without any fear of God or shame of the world. And since there are many who are spread all over the fortresses, there is the need of the Holy Inquisition and of many preachers. Your majesty should provide such necessary things for your loyal and faithful subjects in India (Silva Rego, Documentaçao para a Historia das Missões do Padroado Portugues do Oriente, vol. III, Lisboa 1950, p.351. quoted in Priolkar 1991(1961):23-24).

On the other hand, the hatred for Hindus had already started to escalate among missionaries in Goa. In the course of the period towards the establishment of the Inquisition, it can be said that the main objects of persecution were changed from the Jews to Hindus, and the latter came to be defined as 'the heretics' who were a threat to the Christian faith. The missionaries steadily took steps to achieve their goals, the Christianisation of Goa. In 1540, following Bishop Duarte's suggestion, all the Hindu temples were demolished. In the following year, the Confraternity of Holy Faith and the College of St. Paul's were established for the purpose of helping poor Christians, maintaining churches and educating boys from all over the East for the priesthood (D'Costa 1965:30-32). These policies were called 'Rigour of Mercy (*Rigor de Misericordia*).' The harsh treatment of Hindus during this period of 1540-45 was marked by the issue of the enactments regarding the prohibition of the worship of Hindu deities. It stated the following provisions:

*It is a serious offence to keep Hindu religious objects.
*Hindu houses are liable to be searched if they are suspected of possessing Hindu religious objects.
*All public celebration of Hindu feasts are forbidden.
*Hindu priests are not to be called to any houses from outside the Islands.
*No Sinai Brahmin is to be employed by a Portuguese official.
*Hindu painters are not allowed to work on Christian themes[9].

In a letter to the king from Martin Afonso de Melo, a nobleman of the Royal family, we can find that many Goans had already embraced Christianity, and that there were some conflicts between the Portuguese and missionaries, and Hindus. It can be seen that the pressures of conversion were accelerating[10].

In these islands of Goa many souls of Hindus and Muslims are converted to Christianity and many more would have been converted had it not been for some persons who support these Hindus, like Krishna, Luqu and Anu Sinai and some of their relatives who hold that all the Hindus should not be converted. ... (J. Wicki, Documenta Indica, vol. I, Rome 1948, pp.792-3, quoted by Priolkar 1991(1961):71)

Krishna, Luqu and Anu Sinai were the name of leading Hindus in Goa, who had made a contribution to the Portuguese administration. For instance, Krishna was working as a *thanadar*, whose function was to be a bridge between local villages and the Portuguese office and to sort out various problems concerning tax collection. In fact, where religious policies towards Hindus were concerned, there was a lack of uniformity to some extent between the administration and the Religious Orders such as the Jesuits. However, Viceroys failed to minimise these problems partly because their terms, being only three years, were too short to accomplish certain policies. Thus, sometimes there were inconsistencies of policy. For example, Francisco Barreto revoked the prohibition against *sati*, widow burning, under pressure from Hindus in 1555, though he retracted his order two years later (D'Costa 1965: 59).'

Despite the vacillation, the Inquisition arrived in Goa. In 1558 Goa became an archdiocese with Cochin and Malacca as suffragans. Furthermore, Viceroy Barreto issued the enactments against Hindus, which were the revised version of those in 1540-45. A provision about the Hindu orphans was added to them, which stated that when they did not have any grandparents or appropriate relatives to take care of them on the death of their parents, they were to taken into the custody of the Jesuits to be brought up as Christians. And the Inquisition was finally set up in 1560, on the arrival of the first Archbishop, Gaspar de Leao Pereira and the first Inquisitor, Aleixo Dias Falcao.

As mentioned above, the Goa Inquisition was modelled on the Portuguese precursor. From the Draft Diploma which is a sort of guideline for establishing the Inquisition in India, we can see that its procedure was basically the same as the one in Portugal: the person suspected of being heretical was arrested, imprisoned before the sentence, and if the person was found guilty, all his property, whether movable or immovable, was confiscated. The accused could be pardoned if they admitted their

misconduct. In this case, after the confession they should be instructed in matters of Christian faith in the part of the prison designated for the purpose[11].

In the Draft Diploma we can find only the abstract definition of heretical 'Hindus.' What sort of Hindu practices were regarded as heretical were enumerated in the Edict of the Goa Inquisition published in Goa in 1736.

Most of the Edict focuses on Hindu rituals and practices which punctuate the course of an individual's life, namely, marriage, birth of children and funeral. Interesting is the point that many practices in the Edict seem not directly associated with the worship of a Hindu deity. For example, concerning marriage, Hindu musical instruments were prohibited from being used for the celebration; singing customary songs was considered offensive; the payment of dowry or the exchange of flowers, betel leaves, and areca-nuts were not allowed; and it was also forbidden to anoint the bride and bridegroom with a mixture of ground saffron, milk, coconut oil, rice powder and crushed leaves of 'abolim.' (Priolkar 1991(1961):97-100) Moreover, the Edict banned every single practice in the marriage ceremony which could not be considered as Christian and thus regarded as heretical. For example, on the day of the wedding, when the bride and the bridegroom came back from the church to the house of bride, and on the following day, when they went from the bride's house to the bridegroom's, they should not be received by their relatives nor should they be seated under the canopy for the purpose. It could be thought that the Portuguese had an intention to abolish all customs which had been regarded as Hindu. For the Edict declared that these practices were all related to the heretical religion and they should be replaced by Christian counterparts.

The way in which Hindus were defined as 'heretics' in relation to various symbols in festivals and marriage ceremonies reminds us of the case of *conversos* in Spain, who were accused of retaining Jewish elements in their life. The latter's possession of Hebrew books, providing money for oil for lamps in the synagogues and abstinence from pork, were all interpreted as symbols implying Judaism. In the same way, these symbols of Indians in Goa were regarded as an indication of 'heresy'. The symbols included not only statues of Hindu gods, which were more directly associated with 'heretical' idolatry, but also customs which were not closely related to idol

worship, such as singing songs and exchanging flowers and betel leaves in wedding. In this respect, the Portuguese and Catholic missionaries in India employed the same tactic of reducing the meaning of 'Hindus' to 'heretics' as in the case of 'Jews'.

The Edict was published in 1736. It can be assumed that the idea of 'Hinduism' as a heretical religion, which is composed of Hindu traditional customs, gradually appeared after the establishment of the Goa Inquisition[12]. To trace these stages, in the next section, there will be an examination of the way missionaries saw local Hindus and how they dealt with the latter during the time of the Inquisition.

3-3 The Attitudes of the Jesuits towards Hindus

The start of the Inquisition was the great turning point of the Portuguese ideas of 'Indians', 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'. Under the Inquisition, Hinduism was given the label of 'heretical religion' as well as Judaism and Islam which had come to be regarded as threats to the Christian faith. As we saw in the previous chapter, the Portuguese had believed that there were Christian allies in India before the fleet of Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut in 1498 and Gama and his crews identified a Hindu temple as a Christian church. By the time Afonso de Albuquerque conquered Goa in 1515, the Portuguese had already differentiated Hindus from themselves, but they considered Hindus as allies against Muslims. In the course of half a century, the idea of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' changed from mistaken 'Christianity' to 'a heretical religion'. Many people and incidents were associated with the process of the change and it gradually moved forward. For example, before the inception of the Inquisition, Hindu temples in Goa were ordered to be demolished, although the Portuguese administration had employed rather tolerant policies when Afonso Mexia, the Portuguese chief revenue superintendent, compiled *Foral de Usos e Costumes dos Guancares* in 1526. Then what happened during the following fifty years and who made contributions to the change? To clarify these questions, it is necessary to examine the attitudes of the Jesuits toward Hindus and what sort of impressions the latter gave to the missionaries. The examination will shed light on the process whereby the missionaries came to

regard Hinduism as a heretical religion which was a threat to Christianity.

In the middle of the sixteenth century, between the tolerant period and the introduction of the Goa Inquisition, something can be considered to have happened that accelerated the transformation of the category of Hindus from 'rather similar people to Christians' to 'total heretics.' The activities of the Jesuits made a great contribution to the change. Such figures as Francis Xavier played a significant role in the creation of the atmosphere in which the Inquisition was introduced by producing a model of what sort of people Hindus were. Spending five months in Goa after his arrival from Portugal, Xavier enthusiastically travelled along the Fishery Coast for evangelising. He sent letters to the Jesuits' headquarters which described Hinduism as a religion tainted by corruption and accused Brahmans of cheating other Hindus. These letters were sent back to Europe and were widely read not only by the members of the Jesuits but also the laity. Moreover since the inception of evangelism, the Jesuits had a close relationship with the Portuguese viceroys and thus their attitudes towards Hindus influenced the Portuguese ideas about, and policies to handle, local religious issues. This hatred for heretical people who adored pagan gods dominated the processes of constructing the concept of 'Hinduism' as a religion which could be a threat to Christianity. But it would be naïve to argue that anti-Hinduism was the only dominating idea at that time. Even among the Jesuits, there was a spectrum in the extent of acceptance of Hindu ideas, one of whose poles was the antipathy we can see in the letters written by Francis Xavier, and the other was the approach of Roberto de Nobili, who had a deep understanding of Hindu thought and was identified as a Brahman by Hindus.

In this section, first we will see briefly the history of the Jesuits and their embarkation on evangelisation in India. This is for purpose of understanding the background of the order which was founded in the atmosphere of turmoil when Catholicism was shaken by the storm of the emerging Reformation. The brief sketch concerning the historical environment which surrounded the establishment of the Jesuits would help us understand why early Jesuits who were active in India required the Portuguese government to take swift action against heretics. And next we will look at the Jesuit's description of geography, people, customs and religion of India to understand their attitudes towards Indians and their religion, which caused the concepts 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' to be

strengthened. This will be divided into three processes: one-way communication based on the antipathy for Hinduism; the negative understanding of Hindus; and the positive understanding of Hindu ideas. Each is represented in turn by Francis Xavier, Jacobo Fenicio and Roberto de Nobili.

3-3-1 The establishment of the Jesuits and the embarkation on missionary endeavours to the East

The Jesuits came into being at the time when the stormy movement of the Protestant Reformation was spreading across Europe. In 1517 Martin Luther started the movement as a fervent criticism of the Catholic Church. Ignatius Loyola was the central figure to form the new order which dispatched many missionaries to the East and played the significant role in widening the horizon of Catholic faith beyond Europe. It is said that the new order started when Loyola studied theology at the College of Ste Babe in Paris, where he met religious comrades such as Francis Xavier and Peter Faber, with whom he established the Order of Jesuits.

Loyola was born as the youngest of thirteen children in a noble house in Azpeitia in the Basque country. Though he was brought up to become a cavalier in the footsteps of his ancestors, his life was changed by a severe injury on the right leg in the battle at Pampeluna in 1521. He was about twenty-six years old. While convalescing from the wound, he reached the decision to devote himself to Christianity through reading the books, 'The Life of Christ' and 'The Flowers of the Saints.' After he recovered his health, he made a pilgrimage to the sanctuary of Montserrat and then moved to the little town called Manresa, where he wrote 'Spiritual Exercises.' This was a sort of guidebook for those who sought piety and devotion to Christ and it became a manual for the Jesuits. It proposes that in the novitiate, a person should practice the 'Exercises' for thirty consecutive days. In short, the 'Exercises' were a scrutiny of the conscience, which helps a person to discover 'tendencies, inclinations, likes, dislikes, affections, passions' existing deep in his nature (Campbell 1921:14). The novice would repeat the same 'Exercises' for the same period after becoming a priest. Furthermore, it was an obligation for all Jesuits to go through the 'Exercises' for eight days

every year (Campbell 1921:16).

On August 15, 1534, in a little church on the hill of Montmartre, seven fervent men led by Loyola declared their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, which marked the beginning of the Order of Jesuits. The seven were Loyola, Xavier, Faber, Laínez, Salmerón, Borbadilla and Rodriguez. They had a plan of going to the land of the Turks to convert them to Christianity. For this purpose, they decided to head for Venice from which they could sail for the 'Holy Land' to evangelise among Muslims (Campbell 1921:24-25). After reaching Venice in 1537, they proceeded to Rome to acquire a licence from the Pope to carry out their enterprise. On September 3, 1539, they submitted a draught of the Constitution, and almost one year later, on September 27, 1540, the Pope issued the Bull, *Regimini militantis Ecclesiæ*, which approved the Order of Jesuits (Campbell 1921:31) and Ignatius Loyola became the General of the Order in the following year. After this approval from the Pope, early members of the Jesuits started to disperse not only in Europe but to the East where the Portuguese were in the course of establishing the 'sea-borne Empire.' Answering the call from the Portuguese king, João III, for missionaries who could be involved in the evangelism in India, Francis Xavier and Rodriguez were appointed to the job. They left Lisbon on a Portuguese fleet on April 7, 1541. In the course of their journey, they stopped at ports on the West African coast and finally arrived at Goa on May 6, 1542.

3-3-2 The Jesuits' attitudes towards Hindus and Hinduism

Thanks to the rich records they left, compared to the Franciscans, it is easier to trace what the Jesuits did in India and how the missionaries saw Indians. The first of these materials were the Jesuits' letters which were sent to their headquarters in Rome. Jesuits who were active across the world were required by Ignatius Loyola, the General of the Order, to maintain correspondence[13]. These letters are intriguing in the sense that they provide us with rich geographical and cultural information of India in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Furthermore, from their description, we can also know what sort of attitude Jesuits had towards local people. The second group is the manuscripts Jesuits wrote about local people and customs. For

example, Jacobo Fenicio, who will be mentioned later, completed the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* and others wrote similar works.

The more the missionaries knew about Indians and the more they described what sort of people Indians (mainly Hindus, the followers of Hinduism) were, the more the Catholic missionaries realised how different Hindu customs were from theirs. It can be said that by acknowledging the differences, the missionaries were creating a distance between their religion, Christianity, and what was not their religion, Hinduism. This is what happened in the transformation of Hindus from 'fellow Christians' to 'heretics'. It can be assumed that the Catholic missionaries, especially early Jesuits, led the Portuguese to the transformation. Under the influence of the Jesuits, the Portuguese finally introduced the Inquisition and started to accuse Hindus of being heretical.

3-3-2-a Francis Xavier: Total antipathy for Hinduism

Francis Xavier was the very person who inaugurated the far-reaching evangelism in Southern India. As mentioned above, he was the first Jesuit to set foot on the shore of India in 1542. Before his arrival, Franciscans had already begun their work. They built a monastery and were engaged in evangelism, but their activities were limited in Goa and they did not have such a big influence as the Jesuits.

Xavier first started to work in the city of Goa. In his correspondence dated September 20, 1542, it can be found that Xavier stayed in a hospital and heard confessions of the sick and gave them Communion. He visited a jail and heard confessions of prisoners as well. On Sundays after the noon meal he preached to Christians in the city in the chapel of our Lady. He also went out of the city to say Mass for the lepers (Schurhammer 1977:271-272). In October of the same year, when the sea became calm enough to sail, he departed Goa to spread the Christian faith among local Hindus on the Pearl Fishery Coast. He spent one year travelling from one village to another and devoted himself to spreading the faith of Christianity. He went back to Goa temporarily in September of 1543, but he left for the Fishery Coast again in December.

In the course of his evangelism, he had the opportunity of meeting some Brahmans. He wrote about the encounters with the priests of the local religions in a letter to his fellow Jesuits in Rome, dated January 15, 1544 from Cochin. In the letter Xavier made no secret of his hatred for the Brahmans and their ideas about Hindu deities in a very direct way. He concluded that the Brahmans never told followers the truth and were always devising stratagems to exploit the poor. According to Xavier, the Brahmans demanded devotees to make offerings to Hindu deities and let them believe that the gods ate the food they had presented. But the truth was that the Brahmans took it for themselves and their families. When they were running out of necessities, they told the people that deities were aggrieved about their treatment and required more offerings. The poor Hindus believed that if they did not give more to gods, the infuriated gods would send devils to them and they would be killed or would fall ill (Xavier 1994:188).

In this letter, we can find his principal attitudes towards Hinduism. He uttered his antipathy for Hindu practices and associated them with devils. In the same letter, he refers to an episode when he argued with some Brahmans. The disputes concerned what Hindus were told by gods to do to attain eternal life. According to Xavier, one Brahman, who looked more than eighty years old, asked him to tell what Christians were to observe and that was a feint. Since Xavier insisted that he should be given an answer first, the old Brahman presented two obligations to be done: not to kill cows and to give alms to Brahmans (Schurhammer 1977:356). Xavier believed that it proved the ignorance of the Brahman and delivered the sermon in Tamil as well as the Creed and the Commandments. The Brahmans, Xavier wrote in the end of the episode, admitted that 'the God of Christians was the true God since His Commandments were in such conformity with natural reason.' (Schurhammer 1977:356)

From the above description of Hindus, especially Brahmans and Hindu practices, we can only find the one-way hatred for the Hindu customs, such as the worship of cows. In other words, Xavier, from the beginning, made a certain assumption about Hindus that they suffered from a wrong belief, idolatry. He did not try to learn the local languages of India and totally depended on interpreters who were novices trained in Goa. Neither did he intend to get acquainted with the Hindu tenets as some Jesuits of a later generation did. He assumed that the Hindus who were not

Brahmans were cheated by the priests. Thus the Christian God should show the lost sheep the lights which would lead them in the right direction. In the aforesaid episode of the discussion about God with the Brahmans, Xavier declared his triumph over the Brahmans when they admitted that the Christian God was the true God. He referred to it as if the consensus had been reached among them: the Christian God was the only true God and the Hindu deities were fakes. However, if we carefully read Xavier's claim, it will turn out that it was Xavier himself who affirmed that the Brahmans came to understand the truth of the Christian God. In Xavier's writing we can find no attempts to communicate with the Brahmans. Xavier carried on telling himself and readers of the letter about the mistake of idolatry and the misconduct of the Brahmans. The understanding seems to be shared among the 'Us' of Xavier's, namely Christians, who acknowledge God as almighty and the only truth. There was no intention to know 'the Other'. In Todorov's seminal work about the Spanish conquest of the Americas and their encounter with Indios, we can find a person who was not interested in the understanding of 'the Other' as well as Xavier (1984). It is Christopher Columbus. He left a diary in which he wrote about incidents and the things catching his attentions in the course of his travels and 'discovering' the Americas. Columbus, Todorov argues, was a pious man and he interpreted all symptoms according to the idea of the Almighty God. He was by no means interested in the communication with the Indios. In this sense, there seems to be a similarity between Columbus and Xavier's attitudes towards 'the Other'. The difference would be that in the period when Xavier lived, there were threats from newly-emerging Protestants as well as from Muslims and Jews. As one of the ardent Jesuits, he was destined to protect the Christian faith. In Xavier's mind, besides these heretics, Hindus were also put into the category of the followers of a heretical religion.

Judging from the fact that Xavier suggested the establishment of the Inquisition in India, the Portuguese administration was influenced by his attitudes towards Hindus, the negation of the communication with 'the Other'. Influenced by the idea that non-Christians were heretical and thus a potential threat to the Christian faith, the Portuguese came to create a distance between themselves and Hindus. After this distancing, the successors of Xavier, other Jesuits who became engaged in evangelism in India, attempted to know more about Hindus and the concept of 'Hindus' as

'the Other' gradually appeared more concrete. These Jesuits included Jacobo Fenicio and Roberto de Nobili, who unlike Xavier actively devoted themselves to the understanding of Hindus.

3-3-2-b   Jacobo Fenicio: the writer of the manuals for missionaries in India about Hindu customs, the fervent observer

Half a century had passed since Xavier travelled along the coasts of Southern India and the turn of century was approaching. In the course of time the Portuguese had to keep on struggling with many troubles both in India and in the Iberian Peninsula. In India Muslims successfully drove the Hindu Vijayanagar kingdom out of its capital in 1565 and there were atrocities which affected the Portuguese territories. In 1570 the coalition of Muslim kingdoms, Adil Shah, Nizam Shah, and the Hindu Zamorin attacked Goa, Chaul, Bassein and Daman simultaneously. Even though the Portuguese managed to defend their territories against the ally, and the threat of the Mughal to the Muslim kingdoms provided them with some security, the attack and its effects marked the beginning of the decline of the Portuguese in India (Diffie and Winius 1977:297-300). At the same time the Portuguese had to face other European powers, the Dutch and British, which increasingly became interested in snatching profits in India from the hands of the Portuguese. On the other hand in the Iberian Peninsula Portugal was seized by Spain in 1580.

At that time, the Portuguese administration in India continued to develop the religious policies towards Hindus. After the whole region of so-called 'Old Goa' fell into the hands of the Portuguese in 1543, the conversion policy which had already been implemented in Goa Island was introduced. In 1560 the Inquisition was established in Goa and besides Jews, who were engaged in commercial activities, Hindus came to be accused of being heretical. Influenced by the early Jesuits' idea of heretics, the Portuguese made the religious policies towards local people even harsher. What then happened in the Jesuits' concepts of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' during the half century after Xavier's evangelism? Were they still the same as what Xavier had in his mind? To answer the question we can examine the activities of one Jesuit in Cochin around 1600. His name is Jacobo Fenicio.

Fenicio's profile is not so clear as that of other Jesuits. He was a Neapolitan and was born at Capua about 1558. He arrived in India in 1584 and was stationed at Cochin. It was said that in the years 1605-6 and 1608-9 he stayed in Calicut and visited the Zamorin's court there very often and gained his special favours. He died at Cochin in 1632. He must have started to write his insightful work about Hindu legends and practices, the *Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais* around 1603[14]. According to Jarl Charpentier, who added an introduction and detailed notes to the published *Livro*, Fenicio compiled the work to make it a proof to refute the Hindu tenets and a manual for other Jesuits who had to cope with Hindus at that time.

In the *Livro* we can find the fruits of Fenicio's study of the Hindu ideas and customs such as the origin of the world, their deities such as Siva, Visnu and Ganesa, legends of Rama, and Hindu ceremonies (Charpentier 1921-23:738-739). It can be said that he understood the Hindu thought very well. Moreover he was said to be fluent in Malayalam and to be able to discuss matters with local Brahmans. In these respects Fenicio was different from Xavier who never attempted to learn local languages and relied on interpreters. But Fenicio's attitudes towards Hindus, especially Brahmans, seem to be very similar to Xavier's. There is an anecdote about his disputation regarding the origin of the world which appears in the Jesuit Annual Letter dated in 1602. It shows us how strongly he was opposed to Hindu ideas which he considered as wrong.

Many a time the Father (Fenicio) went out in the square, where numbers of Hindus met and surrounded him with great curiosity. The Father, discoursing on the Faith, refuted their doctrines, proving to them the unity of God and the truth of the Gospels; they answered to the arguments of the Father whatever they knew, but he soon convinced them in such a way that they admitted that this was the truth and that they would willingly accept this Faith were it not that they feared that the king (the Zamorin) might fall out with the Portuguese, and they themselves fare badly, as the Fathers would them leave. However, there was one fellow who pretended to know better, and contended that his faith was a good one, and that he possessed the books on the creation of the world; the Father made him fetch them, for then, by discussing and giving reasons, the truth would be found out. The ignorant wiseacre fetched the books and began to recite in a singing voice; the book dealt with the origin of the cosmos, how originally when nothing existed God turned himself into an egg, which burst, and one half became the earth and sea, with rivers, mountains, and living beings, while the upper half became the heavens; and how God placed this universe on the horn of an ox, and as the ox moved and the

universe was on the verge of falling down, he put a huge rock in the way of it. The Father easily refuted these nonsensical stories of his, asking him whence God got hold of the rock with which he supported the universe and on what the ox as well as the rock could lean themselves? (quoted in Charpentier 1921-23: 743)

Here we can hear the tunes resonating similarly to Xavier's half a century before, which condemned the Hindu ideas as being wrong, illogical and inferior to the Christian thought. It seems that even though Fenicio became much more acquainted with Hinduism than his precursor, the view, from which he observed the religion and its devotees, was basically the same. It can also be found in Fenicio's criticism of Hindu idolatry in the Annual Letter dated in 1603.

> This winter I have occupied myself with studying the religion of the Malabars with a Hindu who has every day visited my house; and I have already written some two books of paper about the creation of the world, about their gods, and their children, three boys and a girl. Truly, they are very fine fellows; one has the head and face and feet of and elephant, another has six faces and twelve hands, the third is an ape, and the lady is as black as coal and has eight faces and sixteen hands. I have written how many times one of their gods came down to earth, sometimes in the shape of a fish, sometimes in that of a tortoise, or a bird, a boar, a man-lion, a woman, etc.; and (I have written) of the idols, the devils, the transmigration of the souls, the heavens, the earth, the oceans, the hells, the paradise, their ceremonies, omens, fasts, etc. And *I am very pleased to know it, because it will serve me very well in refuting these Hindus.* (quoted in Charpentier 1921-23: 744-745, Italics are mine.)

As he mentions, Fenicio seemed to have the help of a Hindu to complete his study of Hinduism. It can be assumed that his collaborator might have been a Brahman because Fenicio appears to have had knowledge of Hindu deities and practices in detail and it must be only Brahmans who could have given him such encompassing knowledge. The father could have sympathised with Hindus and their religion as he devoted himself to their study. When he listened to the explanation of the Hindu collaborator about Hindu myths and customs, he might have asked his partner many questions. And the Hindu might have answered with more explanations. We could call such an exchange the process of understanding 'the Other' who has a different cultural background. In Pratt's words, it happens in the realm of the 'contact zones' (Pratt 1992). Edward Said (1995(1978)) assumes

that the origin of Orientalism, which represents 'the Other' either artistically in novels or in pictures, or academically in various disciplines, would be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century. But we can find a nascent form of Orientalism in Fenicio's attitudes towards Hindus and Hinduism. Fenicio and Orientalists would be the same in the sense that neither acknowledges the possibility of 'the Other' representing itself, which does not fit in the framework of religion they propose. For Fenicio the Christian faith is the only belief which should exist in the world. And thus other religions, whose ideas of God and the world do not fit what Christianity teaches, should be eliminated. The followers of the different religions should abandon their belief and kneel at the feet of the Christian faith. The ultimate rule of the world is Christianity. It seems that the idea that different religions and different tenets from Christianity could exist at the same time, never occurred in Fenicio's mind. Of course in practice there were people who worshipped other gods than the Christian god, such as Muslims and Hindus (in this respect Jews are different because their God is the same as Christians'). These people were reduced to 'heretics'. And as Fenicio did, Hinduism was seen as a heretical religion from the Christian point of view. Hindus themselves never represent themselves. In this sense, he inherited Xavier's ideas about Hindus. They are not included in *Us* but *Them* as long as they are heretical.

Next we will move to the examination of another Jesuit's attitude towards Hindus to shed light on the process of how the concept of Hinduism, and the practices its followers, have come to emerge. The priest's name is Roberto de Nobili. He was different from Xavier and Fenicio in the sense that he immersed himself in Hindu society and became specialised in its theology. He mastered Tamil and Sanskrit and could talk with local Hindus without interpreters. He was even called guru by Hindus. It can be assumed that the transformation of 'Hinduism' started, from the mere hostility towards 'heretics' into a religion which possesses its own theology and texts. And Nobili's idea and knowledge of Hindus would be inherited by posterity.

3-3-2-c Roberto de Nobili: the transformation of the concept of 'Hinduism' from a mere heretical religion to a religion with theology[15]

Roberto Nobili was born to a noble house of Rome in 1577, which claimed to be descended from the Emperor Otho III and had a military tradition. Even though he was the eldest son, he came to find his vocation in the service of God, and decided to become a member of the Jesuits when he was seventeen. Facing his family and relatives' disapproval, Nobili had to leave Rome for the kingdom of Naples. After two years he was allowed to join the Jesuits. In April, 1604, he sailed from Lisbon to India as one of fifteen young Jesuits on a fleet consisting of five carracks. The nineteenth Viceroy, Dom Martim Afonso de Castro was also on board. Their voyage did not go smoothly. After the loss of most of the fleet, Nobili was obliged to stay in Mozambique for a while. On 20th May 1605, he entered Goa with the Viceroy de Castro on a galley which was sent to Mozambique to collect them. Nobili first started his theological studies at the College of St. Paul. Later he moved to Cochin and began learning Tamil, which was needed for evangelism on the Fishery Coast. After a seven month experience with pearl fishers, in November 1606 Nobili was chosen as a new missionary for the Madurai mission, which had not succeeded in converting a single Hindu to Catholicism.

In the interior city of Madurai which was ruled by the Nayak under the suzerainty of the great Hindu Vijayanagar kingdom, Nobili started to devote himself to evangelist works. When he arrived in the city there was no Christian convert from the Hindus although priests had been stationed there for the past eleven years. As he became associated with the Hindu ideas by learning Tamil from a Hindu teacher, he came to believe that the effort of evangelism had been unsuccessful so far because of the failure to acknowledge how the missionaries themselves were seen by Indians. The Portuguese imposed their way on converts at that time. Fr A.Vico, who later joined Nobili in spreading the Christian faith, describes this as follows:

The Portuguese try to turn all their converts not only into true Christians but also into genuine Portuguese. They compelled them [in Goa] to wear Portuguese clothes, and attempted to introduce the eating of meat, though the Indian stomach, used to a lighter diet, rebelled against this. It was regarded as a great concession, when the Indians were

allowed to retain their own garb, provided that this was made of cotton only. (Neill 1984:484 originally from Fr P.Dahmen, *Robert de Nobili: Apologie* (Paris, 1931))

However, as Nobili thought, this made Hindus, especially high-ranking Brahmans, turn their back on Christianity. Hindus called the Portuguese 'Parangis', which implied a contempt for beef-eaters who were polluted as well as of lower ranked people in society. Nobili believed that he should adapt Hindu ideas and customs to avoid these problems.

Based on this belief, he started a series of radical experiments. Firstly he gave up the black cassock usually worn by missionaries who were active India at that time, and changed into the long ochre robe of the sannyasi. The word 'sannyasi' meant 'one who resigns or abandons all' in Sanskrit. And it was the last of four stages of life which Brahmans were expected to go through: in the first stage when he was young, he studied; in the second he married and had a family; in the third he entered forests; and finally he became an ascetic renouncer, a 'sannyasi' (Cronin 1959:47). As a sannyasi, Nobili had to comply with only one meal a day made of rice and vegetables. He stressed his noble origin to claim that he was entitled to preach the faith to Hindus and to differentiate himself from the image of polluted 'Parangis' prevalent among Hindus.

The second innovation he made was to let the converts of Brahmans keep some symbols of the affiliation to their caste by claiming that they were not religious but social. His approach can be summarised in the following six points as Neill indicates.

*Nobili allowed to his converts the use of the punul, the sacred thread worn over the left shoulder, which is the identifying mark of the twice-born castes.
*He allowed the use of sandal paste on the forehead, to take the place of the sacred ashes of Siva or the trident of Visnu.
*He did not forbid the practice of ceremonial bathing, commonly regarded as a part of Hindu ritual.
*He permitted the kudumi, the sacred tuft of hair grown by Brahmans on an otherwise shaven skull.
*He had introduced changes into the existing versions of the Creed and other religious formulae.
*In marriage he had substituted for the ring of Christian tradition the tali, the neck-ornament worn by Hindu women as the sign of marriage. (Neill 1984:289)

Even though Nobili argued that the retention of social customs was appropriate to avoid the ostracism of Brahman converts from their caste, the hostility to Nobili's views among most missionaries was becoming increasingly frenzied. They made life more difficult for him. The foremost of Nobili's enemies was none other than his superior in the Madurai mission, Gonçalo Fernandez. In 1610 the senior missionary wrote a long letter of accusation to the Jesuit general confirming Nobili's misconduct. Later Nicolau Pimenta, Visitor of the Provinces of Goa and Malabar, and Dom Cristovão Sá, Archbishop of Goa joined Fernandez in criticising Nobili. They never accepted petitions from Nobili requesting approval of evangelising Hindus. Instead, they accused him of going beyond the limits and becoming heretical. On 4 February 1619, Archbishop Sá summoned a conference to drive him out of the mission in Madurai. In the Goa conference Nobili's claim was rejected and he was deprived of the right to baptise new converts. However, later on Pope Gregory XV finally expressed agreement with Nobili's method in the apostolic constitution *Romanae sedis antistes* of 31 January 1623, declaring that his commitment and approach to evangelism were correct and it was appropriate to allow the high caste converts to keep some of their social customs such as the thread and tuft.

After the approval from the Pope, Nobili continued his mission and expanded it beyond Madurai, Tiruchirapalli, Salem, Sendamangalam and Moramangalam. However he had to bear more afflictions. A series of attacks against missions were made by Hindus, his colleague missionary was imprisoned and there was political instability. Then wars broke out between the Nayak and Vijayanagar, followed by the death of the missionary's patron, Tirumalai Nayak. Moreover in 1646 Nobili was forced to leave Madurai for Jaffna in Ceylon, following an order from the Jesuit headquarters. After a three year stay there, he was transferred to Mylapore, where he died on 16 January 1656.

It can be said that Nobili was the first missionary who plunged himself deep into Hindu society. He learned Tamil and Sanskrit to the extent of speaking and writing fluently. In addition to these two languages, he mastered Telugu as well. Not only did he learn the languages, but he also managed to acquire a credible knowledge of the Vedas to which normally only high caste people were allowed to have access[16]. In doing so, he became the most specialised scholar in Hindu ideas and practices among Europeans

at that time. Even before Nobili, there were many missionaries who attempted to master Indian languages. While in Goa and areas around Bassein, Jesuits usually hired interpreters or used native boys trained at the College of Goa, in the Fishery Coast and Malabar, some of the missionaries made enormous efforts to master the local languages, Tamil and Malayālam. For example, Antonio Criminale, the first superior of the Fishery Coast, had learned how to communicate and read in Tamil before he was martyred in 1549. Following him, Henrique Henriques attempted to master Tamil. Not only did he learn the language, but he composed its grammar and translated several Christian tracts such as *Doutrina Christão*, which was a translation of Xavier's brief Catechism and was published in 1576. Later on he embarked on compiling Malayālam grammar and vocabulary (Neill 1984:436-438).

As more Jesuits tried to learn Indian local languages, some missionaries began producing apparatuses of evangelism by making use of their command of languages and the knowledge of local practices. Among them, the first English Jesuit going to India, Thomas Stephens was struck by the idea that he should adopt local ways to make Hindus listen to the Christian faith like his successor, Nobili. After compiling a Konkani grammar, he created a Christian version of a Purāna, which was a long poem listened to by the people of Salsettem with amusement. Stephens put the stories of both the Old and New Testaments in his Purāna. But he did not come to acquire the knowledge of the Brahmans.

However, even Stephens did not know very much about the central doctrines of Hinduism. Before Nobili, there had been some endeavours to get familiar with Hinduism. In 1558, the Jesuits acquired two books called *Anadipurana* (*Ananta-purāna*, or the history of Vishnu), and in the following year, a Brahman convert went to the mainland and seized the library of another Brahman. Among the confiscated books, the acclaimed Hindu epic, *Mahabharata* was translated for the purpose of educating the Jesuits in Ceylon and Europe. However the Jesuits did not possess encompassing knowledge of Hinduism but only fragmented pieces of information (Neill 1984:438-439). Henry Henriques advocates the necessity of learning Indian languages in his letter in January 1551 and the difficulty in understanding the ideas of local people with the lack of command of the languages.

Since till now the instruction in the mysteries of the Faith was being given through interpreters, the people could not understand things well, because the interpreters could not explain such ideas. And since to be able to do good among these people it is necessary to understand their language, the four of us who are at present here [on the Fishery Coast], namely, Father Paul, Brother Balthasar, Brother Ambrose, who was received into the Society here in India, and I, strive to learn to read and write in *malavar* [Tamil] which is indeed a laborious task. But the Lord God has given us much assistance, especially in that a *malavar* grammar is ready, which the Brothers study. With it one learns within a short time to speak correctly, putting things in their correct place, such as the conjugations and declensions, and all the tenses. (quoted in Correia-Afonso 1969:93)

Thus, Nobili's penetration into the Hindu society marks the processes of Europeans' understanding 'Hindus', 'Hinduism' and 'Indians'. Nobili seems to have believed that by being acquainted with the knowledge of the Brahman and showing Hindus the mistakes in ideas of god and the world, he could save Indians from the world of wrong ideas. It can be argued that Nobili's way of seeing Indian society is through the eyes of Brahmans. Here we can discover interesting parallels between later Indologists and Nobili's position. The former, as well as the latter, mainly studied the Indian ancient text, the Vedas, and projected the ideas they extracted from the text on to India, their object. Nobili's interest was principally in Brahmans and his ideas of Hindus and Hinduism came from conversations with them and the study of their texts, although later in his life, Nobili expanded the mission to lower castes and made greater success. As we mentioned above, after the careful examination of the Vedas, he allowed Brahman converts to retain their threads, tufts and so on as signs of social status, denying that they were religious. In fact, the symbols which he claimed had nothing to do with his converts' former religion, seem to be attached to Hinduism, if we think that 'religion' includes not only belief in God and the way of seeing the world, but also ceremonies and practices. However, Nobili differentiated the former from the latter on the pretext that the missionaries should protect the Brahman converts from ostracism from their caste. On the other hand, he harshly pointed out the contradictions in certain Hindu beliefs such as 'transmission of the soul' by referring to the Christian doctrine. In one of his major works, the *Attumaniranayam*, we can find a criticism of a Hindu idea of no possibility of the salvation of soul after death because it reincarnates

into another body.

...Man may enjoy every sensual pleasure that the world can offer; he may possess all wealth and wordly goods (sic.); he may be famed in all royal splendour and luxury. But what is the advantage of this earthly profit and wealth and good fortune, which is like a bubble of air which rises out of the water and explodes – I say, if after death the soul laden with sin comes to hell, there to burn like a log of wood which burns but is never consumed in inextinguishable fire, and to suffer everlasting loss? (quoted in (Neill 1984:299))

As Neill argues, Nobili was certain that there was only one system of truth in the world, and it was Christianity (Neill 1984:300). Proving this, he examined the Vedas and quoted related parts when he discussed religious topics with Brahmans. From this examination, he wrote many works both in Tamil and Sanskrit. Although he conducted his missionary works among Hindus and freely attempted to understand Hindu ideas, it can be said that he contributed to the image-making of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' by applying himself to scrutinising the Vedas possessed by Brahmans and writing about his understanding of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'. Before him, the Annual Letters of the Jesuits and the memoirs of some travellers mainly focused on geography and remarkable customs such as *sati* and idolatry. In contrast, Nobili put the text of the Vedas in the centre of understanding 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'. It could be argued that somehow he was the precursor of Indologists in later periods, who circumscribed Indian society depending on the texts of the Vedas. This disposition of relying on sacred texts to explain Hindu beliefs was a mirror image of an emphasis on the Bible in the study of Christianity, which started to emerge as studies of comparative religions were developed in the era of the Enlightenment. Although Indologists and Nobili both focused on sacred texts, there was the difference between the standpoints of these two. Whereas the former dealt with Hinduism as an object of academic disciplines based on scientific knowledge[17], the latter saw 'Hinduism' through the dichotomy of Christianity versus heretical religion.

3-3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter, there has been a discussion of how the way the Portuguese and Catholic missionaries' saw 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus' had changed and what sort of elements affected the image-construction in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries after Albuquerque's conquest of Goa in 1515. When the Portuguese started to establish Goa as the headquarters of their expansion eastwards, unlike Vasco da Gama and his crews, they did not confuse Hindus with their 'fellow Christians' and even differentiated them from Muslims by regarding them as their allies. It is probable that their precursors' belief in the existence of Christians in the sub-continent had some influence on the Portuguese officials' attitudes towards local Hindus at the first stage of ruling Goa. They tolerated Hindus keeping their customs as we saw in *the Charter of Local Usages*. It can be said that at this stage the Portuguese did not have a strong idea that Hinduism was a heretical religion which could be a threat to Christianity.

However, this tolerant attitude gradually changed as a number of Jesuit priests started their activity in India. Their antipathy towards heretics which had come from the counter-movement against the Reformation in Europe made the Portuguese officials implement harsher policies toward Hindus. The introduction of the Inquisition in Goa in 1560 made things worse for Hindus. Their practices were recognised as heretical and Hindu temples in Goa were demolished. Through these processes, Hinduism was being acknowledged as a heretical religion in addition to Judaism and Islam. It can be assumed that the idea of 'being heretical' which was established by the Spanish Inquisition, and was applied to converts from Judaism to Christianity, played a great role as a reference for making Hinduism 'heretical'.

Since the arrival of the first Jesuit, Francis Xavier, the Jesuits had contributed to the image-making of 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus'. As time progressed, the image of 'Hinduism' had transformed from a vague body of beliefs and customs of heretical followers, to a heretical religion with a certain tenet, which can be found in the writings of Roberto Nobili with specialised in the Hindu sacred knowledge from the Vedas. Throughout this process, the basic premise that the Hindu idea was wrong and the only truth existed in the Christian faith retained.

In the course of the Portuguese rule since the end of fifteenth century, the image of 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus' were exposed to constant changes which were related to the historical and social transformation of not only Portugal but also Europe itself. As a result of the formation of scientific knowledge, the world view which was based on Christian cosmology came to be shaken. And it would bring about a change in the basis of seeing the world and understanding 'the Other'. This transformation in the way of understanding 'the Other' with the rise of Orientalism will be discussed in the next chapter. Before the transition, the Portuguese understood 'Indians' from the Christian point of view, which was the prevalent idea in Europe at that time.

Notes

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[1] This claim can be traced back to advocates of Hindu socio-religious reform in the middle nineteenth century, such as Ram Mohan Roy and Dayananda Sarasvati. See (Gold 1994).

[2] The system of village which was administrated by *gauncars* was called gauncari system or *communidade* system in Portuguese. After the take-over of Goa by India from the hand of Portugal, village administration was taken by *panchayat* (Robinson 1998:71-74).

[3] According to Robinson, usually Brahmans had power over other villagers as *gauncars*. But not all Brahmans were *gauncars* in every village (Robinson 1998:37).

[4] It can be considered that it took some time before the category of the mixed people came to be recognised. We can find a description of '*Mestiço*' in the writing of John Huyghen van Linschoten who worked for the Portuguese office in 1580's.

[5] Dumont mentions that there are two ways for foreign groups to enter the caste system: one is, as I wrote, to be placed at the same level as the Untouchables; the other is to enter as a conqueror.

[6] 'Sati' is a custom which could be found across the sub-continent. At the funeral of a late husband, his widow was expected to sacrifice herself willingly by jumping into the burning pyre. According to Tomé Pires, who wrote *The Suma Oriental*, sati could be found in Goa around 1512-1515.

It is mostly the custom in this kingdom of Goa for every heathen wife to burn herself alive on the death of her husband. Among themselves they all rate this highly, and if they do not want to burn themselves to death their relatives are dishonoured and they rebuke those who are ill disposed towards the sacrifice and force them to burn themselves on any consideration become public prostitutes and earn money for the upkeep and construction of temples in their district, and they die in this way (Tomé Pires 1944: 59, quoted in Priolkar 1991(1961):52).

If she hesitated to do it, it was regarded as infidelity to her husband. It was also prohibited under British rule in 1829.

[7] The number of Cathars started to increase rapidly in the late twelfth century. They claimed to hold the Christian faith in its pristine form. Although they used Christian vocabulary and accepted the New Testament as divinely inspired, they believed that souls of men were imprisoned in the evil body and there was an eternal round of reincarnation. These ideas were regarded as heretical from the point of view of the Church (Hamilton 1981:21-22).

[8] This is the year when the first *auto de fe* (burning the accused at stake) was held. The grant of introducing the Inquisition from the Pope had already been given to the Spanish Crown in 1478.

[9] According to D'Costa, these enactments did not become effective immediately before they were revised by the Court in 1559. Miguel Vaz, who was one of the clerics most enthusiastic to get rid of heretical elements of the Hindu worship, asked the King to give authority for the enactments (D'Costa 1965:34).

[10] There is an argument whether the conversion which occurred in Goa was compulsory or voluntary. Priolkar stands for the former and D'Costa is the advocate of the latter. The present writer prefers Robinson's explanation,

'Such debates between the temporal or spiritual motivations for conversion raise a false problem. As various writers have shown, for the converts the two were inseparable; they saw the missionaries' offerings as an undifferentiated 'package deal' (Robinson 1998: 47). And this paper's aim is to clarify the ways in which the Portuguese and Catholic missionaries saw Hindus. Thus, we are not concerned here with the question of whether the conversion was done completely by force or not, which remains hanging in the air.

[11] In the translation of the Draft, Priolkar uses the term 'New Christians' who are apparently converts from different denominations from Christianity. However, it is obscure whether the term means converts from Judaism, Islam or Hinduism. It is stated that education in the faith was given specially to the reconciled who converted from Islam or Hinduism. It is not certain that former Jews could be exempt from the enforced education.

[12] The term, 'Hinduism' originally came from the Persian word *hindu* deriving from Sindhu, the Sanskrit name for the River Indus. It originally meant a native of India, the land around and beyond the Indus. In the seventeenth century, the word came to be used in English to mean any native of India and also mean someone who retained the indigenous religion. 'Hinduism,' in English, which was coined by adding 'ism' to 'Hindu,' is modelled on the occidental religions, especially Christianity as Fuller points out (Fuller 1992: 10). Thus, though in this paper the term, 'Hinduism' is sometimes used, readers should be reminded of the background which the term derived from. 'Hinduism' in this paper has a slightly different meaning from the term which is prevalently used now.

[13] It can be found in a section of the Constitution of the Order which was approved in the Congregation of the Order in 1558 after Loyola's death. He stressed the importance of the epistles for strengthening the ties of members of the Order scattered in the world and as the source of information of the various parts where the members were active in their missionary works (Correia-Afonso 1969: 5). There were two kinds of letters which Jesuits wrote: one was to be read by Jesuit colleagues and the other was aimed at a wider range of readers including the laity.

[14] As will be mentioned later, we can find his remark that he had already written some books concerning Hindu gods in the Annual Letter dated in 1603.

[15] The following description is based on (Cronin 1959).

[16] Nobili asked a Brahman, Śivadharma, who was his Sanskrit teacher and was later baptised by him, to write down the content of the Vedas to learn it. The Brahman firstly hesitated to do so because only Brahmans were allowed to have access to the sacred texts and if the collusion were to be unveiled, he would certainly have been degraded. However, moved by Nobili's enthusiasm, in the end Śivadharma agreed to show Nobili the text.

[17] For example, William Jones tried to reconcile Indian chronology with the Biblical chronology in order to create a time span of human beings which can be applicable anywhere on the earth (Trautmann 1997: 57-59). In this respect, his project was based on scientific knowledge which was thought to be applied universally, although he was in favour of the Biblical chronology.

Chapter Four. The Decline of the Portuguese Empire and the British and Dutch Successors: Continuity and Change in the Images of 'India' and 'Hinduism'

The credit as the founder of Indology is, Mukherjee says, accorded to Sir William Jones (1746-94), who was a lawyer and Persianist, and was appointed as a Judge of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. He is said to be the first Englishman to study Sanskrit (Mukherjee 1968). As Inden points out, since England started to rule India, many Indologists, who were academic representatives of the former, have followed the trace of Jones, reducing India to a reflection of the rational West. In other words, Indologists considered caste, Hinduism, divine kingship, as defining factors of Indian society and all aspects of India, from religion to economic institutes, came to be understood in terms of 'irrationality', which the English found in contrast to themselves (Inden 1990).

It would be true to say that Indology was established as a scientific discipline during the eighteenth century as a part of the rise of 'modern Orientalism', and after that a body of knowledge about 'India' increasingly neglected the voice of Indian people and attributed their 'irrationality' to static institutions such as caste and Hinduism. In doing so, the English transformed 'India' into an imagined place which inferior people inhabit. The emergence of Indology was associated with an increase in the number of scholars who studied Indian beliefs and customs in need of useful knowledge for the British direct rule of Bengal. Trautmann points out that in the late eighteenth century, we can find a rupture concerning British understanding of India (Trautmann 1997). However, did Indology come from nothing? Were Indologists forced to collect the their knowledge alone? This would not be entirely true. It can be assumed that they could inherit a body of knowledge constructed by their precursors. Then what sort of body of knowledge was available before the emergence of Indology?

Many studies of British Orientalism in India start their examinations from the late eighteenth century (for example, Breckenridge & van der Veer 1993, Inden 1990) and they do not give us a picture of the way that the British had gradually built up the image of India since the East India

Company was founded in 1600. Singh is one of the few scholars who attempts to trace how British Orientalism appeared by going back to the period when the English started to be commercially active there. To explain the English way of imagining 'India/Indies', she examines some seventeenth-century English discovery narratives about 'India' (East Indies), written by Sir Thomas Roe and Thomas Coryate, both of whom had a close relationship with the Mughal Empire, and argues that English travelers/writers 'frequently fall back on naturalizing distinctions between themselves and the natives they encounter, representing the otherness of unfamiliar customs and sights as antithetical, and, thereby, inferior to Christian beliefs and practices.' To draw the image of India, 'Christianity not only serves as the mark of the normative, but also crucially provides the moral imperative for the discovery, and later conquest, of the non-Christian, "heathen" lands.' (Singh 1996:22) In the next step, Singh proceeds to the examination of the *nabobs* in the latter part of the eighteenth century just before Indology was born. *Nabob* was the word for employees of the East India Company at that time. They were characterised as greedy merchants and factors in contrast to the image of hapless and victimised Indians. According to Singh, in the narratives criticising the *nabobs* at that time, which designated 'India as a place of corruption, while defining England as the site of normative, civic virtue,' we can find the same form of British Orientalism as in the nineteenth century onwards, namely the contrast of superior British and inferior Indians (Singh 1996:60).

Singh somehow gives us the picture of social context which lay behind the rise of the discourses of Orientalism. She points out that, at the time when the *nabobs* were active, the English were undergoing a transitional period in terms of the way of seeing India from mercantile covetousness to administrative necessity. In this respect, her argument can convince us. However, it seems that she regards the framework of Orientalism as rather static and thinks that it had always put 'India' clearly into the paradigm of 'superior' England and 'inferior' India. Singh claims that early travellers' understanding of India considered Indians as 'heathens' according to Christianity, and in this Christianity-centred point of view we can find the same colonial paradigm from the eighteenth century onwards. But it seems that by projecting onto the early colonial era, the English colonial paradigm after establishing its foothold in India, she overlooks the

transition and gradual emergence of 'Orientalism' in India, and its rather complicated nature, which led to the mixed attitudes towards India, both admiration and contempt, among British Orientalists from the late eighteenth century on (Trautmann 1997).

As Singh points out, we can find Christian-oriented ideas on which early English travellers to India relied in order to differentiate Indian 'heathens' from themselves. And the relationship between Christians and heathens seems to parallel that between the West and the Orient which appear in Orientalism in the sense that in both, the former sees the latter as inferior, weak and thus patronised. However, as Said points out, modern Orientalism emerged as the rise of scientific disciplines to study the Orient. Religion and science, at the heart of understanding the world, characterised the difference between the period before the rise of Orientalism and after it. It can be called the transition from the classical to modern *epistemes* between sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, as Foucault argues in *The Order of Things* (Foucault 1994(1970)).

How then did the Europeans' understanding of 'India' and its inhabitants change over these two centuries and what elements in European thought contributed to this?

To understand how this transformation of the images of 'India' occurred, two significant phenomena, which were occuring in Europe should be considered. The first was the increase in circulation of printed books. The second was scholars' effort to find fitting places in the Eurocentric theory of the descent of humans, which was based on the Bible for diverse people with different types of religions in Asia, the Americas and Africa, whom Europeans 'discovered' in the age of exploration. The rise in printed materials made a contribution to the emergence of the 'archive' of information (Said 1995(1978):41) concerning India, which would be a significant element in British Orientalism. The reconciliation of newly discovered diverse religions on the earth with the biblical history of human beings was associated with the emergence of evolutionist theories which would consider savages without European-like culture as embodying the life of ancient people which Europeans put behind long time ago (Hodgen 1964). This parallels with Fabian's argument concerning a change in understanding 'the Other' in the era of the Enlightenment. Revealing the association of time with the way human beings conceive 'the Other', Fabian argues that

'naturalization of Time', which was carried out in the era of Enlightenment, replaced the 'Time of Salvation', the paradigm of medieval time. The latter paradigm provided European people with a spatial conception of the world which was dominated by Christianity. In this picture, Rome and Jerusalem, the sacred places of Christianity, were situated close to one another and just outside was the rest of Christian World surrounding them, while the Pagan World was excluded on the periphery. But the periphery of pagans and infidels was, Fabian claims, inclusive or incorporative: they were acknowledged as 'candidates for salvation' by means of conversion to Christianity[1] (Fabian 1983:25-28). In contrast to the pre-modern time/space conception, the modern picture of the world distances the 'Others'. As a result of the Enlightenment, the description of 'pagans and infidels' came to be replaced by that of the more natural 'savages', who were living in a different time and at an earlier developmental stage through which the West had already passed.

Fabian's simplification of the transition of 'the Other' outside Europe from 'pagans' to 'savages' does not really fit the case of India, because in the eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans came to believe that Indian people used to possess a great civilisation, but they fell from the old legacy and became corrupted. Thus, the attitude of Europeans towards India was rather complicated. However, Fabian's insights into the change from a religious-oriented to scientific-oriented way of seeing 'the Other' provides us with a key idea to look into the process of how the image of India and its inhabitants was transformed during the seventeenth and eighteenth century towards the rise of 'modern Orientalism' which is based on the scientific reduction of 'the Other'.

This chapter aims to shed light on the issue which has just been mentioned: namely, how the knowledge which was compiled by the Portuguese and the missionaries was inherited and transformed in the course of the English, Dutch and French attempting to strengthen their grip on Indian trade[2]. To put it briefly, before the English Indologists came on the scene in the late eighteenth century, especially from the latter part of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese and missionaries saw non-Christians from the Christianity-centred view. This perspective was a rather European local idea. In the Middle Ages before the age of exploration started the horizon of Europeans

was limited because of the Turks in the east. Thus Europeans at that time did not recognise Christianity as a religion among many others and it was beyond their idea that other religious creeds, which were completely different from Christianity, could exist on the earth. (Of course there were Judaism and Islam, but they were not really alien to Christianity in the sense that all these three religions share the idea of ultimate God.) This thought affected the attitudes of the Portuguese and missionaries who encountered a different set of religious ideas from those of Christianity. Following their Christianity-centred understanding of the world, they circumscribed the inhabitants of the sub-continent as the devotees of a 'heretical religion'. This concept, 'Indians are heretical', was created, partly modelled on the ideas of Jews and Muslims who had been 'heretics' to Europeans for a long time. Since the Portuguese opened the sea-route to India, the evangelisation of 'heretics' had been their mission which had been assigned by the Pope. Portugal regarded itself as the protector of the faith, facing threats from 'heretics' within Europe, Jews and Muslims. When it engaged in the spice trade and the expansion of its grip on Indian port cities, the nature of Portugal's mission was commercial as well as religious. For the Portuguese, these two elements could not really be distinguishable.

But as the Portuguese 'Sea-borne' Empire declined from the end of the sixteenth century, which was marked by the annexation of Portugal by Spain in 1580, the English and Dutch started to emerge as the new powers in the East Indies. They began searching for new trade routes to elude confrontation with Portuguese and Spanish forces. And eventually it was the foothold gained in northern India by the English and the start of their mercantile activities there, that dealt the final blow to the Portuguese. It is significant that both the newly emerging powers in the East Indies separated a commercial sense of expansion from the religious element, evangelisation of natives. As Weber mentions, the arrival of the modern era was represented by the movement towards 'rationality' (Weber 1958). The 'rational' mind was in a nascent form in the early seventeenth century, but it was developed rapidly when the Enlightenment movement was in full swing. As Hamilton points out, the Enlightenment is characterised by a belief in reason, science, progress, secularism and so on (Hamilton 1992:21-22). The basic ideas of the Enlightenment can also detected in the works of sixteenth and seventeenth thinkers such as Roger Bacon, Thomas Hobbes and John

Locke. And the ideas of progress and secularism were in the writings by travellers in India as well. In any case, the 'rational' mind started to transform the image of 'India' from the land of 'heathens' to one of 'irrational people'. In the transition, first English merchants regarded 'India' as a land of commodities which gave them enormous profits. As a result, they came to reduce the meaning of 'India' into a list of articles which they could obtain. As English knowledge about the sub-continent increased, with the development in science in Europe as a backdrop, they came to put a label of 'irrationality' on Indians who behaved in a way scientific knowledge could not perceive. At the birth of Indology, scholars embarked on detecting the origin of the 'irrationality' of Indians based on science. In its course, an Indian religion was transformed from a vague 'heretical' religion to a more concrete body of knowledge called 'Hinduism', which was at the centre of 'India'. Moreover, scholars used the 'scientific' method to scrutinise not only religious aspects of 'India', but also its economic and political dimensions in order to utilise the findings for English colonial rule.

The following part of this chapter will endeavour to trace the transformation of European understanding of 'the Other' in the Indian case in the transitional period between pre-modern and modern eras in the writings of English and Dutch travellers, including merchants and officials.

First, to understand the historical background at that time, there will be an outline of the decline of the Portuguese Empire and the emergence of the English and Dutch in India. Then the focus will shift to the people in whose writing we can discover an incipient transition towards more scientific and concrete ideas about the sub-continent. Firstly, we will review how early English and Dutch travellers such as Ralph Fitch and John Huyghen van Linschoten saw India. The first was one of the English merchants who were dispatched to India, while the latter was a Dutchman who served the Portuguese office in Goa for five years. As the mercantilism of the new European powers rose, they started to make use of the methodology of classification to understand India. This can be found especially in the writing of Linschoten with its detailed listing of commodities, which are available in India, although his depiction of its inhabitants and their practices are still under the influence of the Portuguese framework of the Christians versus heretics opposition.

Secondly, we will examine the writers in the seventeenth century such as Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador to the Mughal Empire and Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain. Because of Portuguese hostility, the English had to avoid ports on the Malabar Coast down to Goa which were important for the spice trade. Instead, they sailed up to Surat and attempted to establish a factory for commercial activities there. The port was in the territory of the Mughal Empire. Thus the English were obliged to negotiate with the great emperors who ruled most of northern India at that time, in order to get permission for the establishment of their base. In the course of dealing with the Mughal, the English merchants were struck by the difference between their own commercial disposition and that of the Mughal. Before this encounter, the English had no experience of coping with such considerable differences in custom. As a result the English came to relate Muslims to the mighty power and extravagant rituals of the palace of the Mugahl, as an important element which comprised 'India'.

Moreover, the encounter with the Muslim Empire made them look at 'Hindus' in comparison with 'Muslims'. The important thing is that in the early seventeenth century the Mughal Empire still retained its strong grip on northern India and thus the English merchants relied on the authority of the emperor to carry out commercial activities. Later on, among British Orientalists in the late eighteenth century, an assumption was formed that the ancient Indian civilisation went into decline as the result of constant invasion from outsiders, including the Mughals (Trautmann 1997). The origin of this idea, which distinguishes 'Hindus' from outsider 'Muslims', can be traced back to the English experiences of the Mughal Empire. The conception of two main affiliations, 'Hindu' and 'Muslim', would become dominant in British India and a clear distinction and conflict between the followers of these two faiths can also be found in the partition of the sub-continent in 1947.

Thirdly, there will be an examination of the writing of Philippus Baldaeus, the Dutch clergyman and traveller. While the English focused on the western coast of northern India, the Dutch established themselves in the eastern coastal area, Masulipatnam, which was north of Madras, towards the middle of seventeenth century. They later made inroads into Ceylon and the Malabar Coast which was in the hands of the Portuguese. Baldaeus's description of India and the beliefs and practices of its inhabitants gives us a

clue that by the middle of seventeenth century Europeans had acquired a systematic body of knowledge about what would be later called 'Hinduism'.

At the end of this chapter we will look at two phenomena in Europe, which lay behind the transformation of the image of 'India'. They were an increase in the distribution of printed materials and efforts to produce a theory of the descent of human beings to encompass diverse human cultures, including savages. For the former, the rise in books on India will firstly be outlined and then works of two English compilers will be examined. They are Richard Hakluyt, the famous geographer who played an essential role by producing compendiums of travel writings, and his successor, Samuel Purchas. Their published works, which conveyed information on 'India' and 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' played a role in diseminating images of India among Europeans. Thus before 'Orientalism' came into being in the next century, a certain body of knowledge of India was available for Indologists. Secondly, we will look at the series of efforts which the scholars of the age made to understand the diverse cultures of human beings. These required European scholars to modify the biblical history of human beings which mentioned that all people on earth were the posterity of Noah after the Deluge. At first they attempted to understand 'savages' in the Americas and Africa by interpreting that they were the product of diffusion of Noah's descendants followed by cultural decline (Hodgen 1964:254-69). But this was gradually replaced by more scientific evolutionary theories of human beings which culminated in Darwin's thesis about human origin. In contrast to 'savages' who did not have European-like culture, Indian people possessed their own sacred texts. This made it difficult to place Indians and their belief in the chain of human beings. Over the seventeenth century, Europeans came to recognise 'Hinduism' which was composed of a set of beliefs and practices as an important part of Indian culture. They gradually transformed their ideas about 'India' and its inhabitants, based on a scientific point of view. But they still saw Indians through Christian-centred ideas as heretics from time to time. When 'modern Orientalism' emerged in the late eighteenth century, William Jones and other Indologists finally altered the previously held idea that Europeans and Indians were completely separate by founding Indo-European philology. But the question of where Indian people are placed in the history of the development of human beings still remained unsolved and would re-emerge later on.

In sum, this chapter will take up the process of how new European powers came to establish a scientific body of knowledge about 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus'. This form of knowledge can be considered as the equivalent of 'modern Orientalim' (Said 1995(1978)). A number of scholars have been investigating Orientalism in Indology (Inden 1990, Breckenridge and van der Veer 1993). Thus, though this chapter will mention the establishment of Indology by Sir Williams Jones, it will mainly focus on the transition of the process of producing the images of India, from the Portuguese to new European powers in the seventeenth century, such as the English.

4-1 The decline of the Portuguese Empire and the rise of the English and Dutch: Mercantilism and the concept of 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'

In the late sixteenth century, the Portuguese Empire started to decline. There were several reasons why Portugal could not build up as strong an empire as the British did in the nineteenth century. Due to the conflicts with Spain in 1570's, it became incapable of sending enough soldiers to protect its territories from the invasion by other Indian local powers surrounding them. Moreover, the frequent change of viceroys made things worse, by failing to establish consistent policies for their *Estado da India*. Viceroys were more concerned with accumulating wealth and as a result corruption among the Portuguese officers became chronic.

While Portugal was losing its domination over the trade in India, England was increasingly interested in the expansion of its overseas commercial activities. But at the end of the sixteenth century, for the English, 'India' was a remote land which was constructed with scattered pieces of knowledge. Even though Marco Polo's writing was widely known and the tales of the Portuguese could have been indirectly obtained from books written in Italian and French, for the English 'India' was a blurred image which produced a massive quantity of wealth. It is probable that the English could see 'India' only from an economic point of view, because they did not have to define the sub-continent and its inhabitants according to the measure of 'hereticalness' as the Portuguese and their missionaries did. To

consider how English Orientalism came into being, England's orientation towards mercantilism, not religion is a starting point.

Although the English would become rulers of the vast Indian sub-continent after the Mutiny in 1857, they made rather slow progress in the spice trade in the East. Since the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 the Portuguese had dominated Indian trade, and merchants of other countries were reluctant to approach the route out of fear of attack. However, as knowledge of India came to be acquired by the English, the profitability of the spice trade was realised and it inspired the covetousness of English merchants. In 1580 Drake succeeded in circumnavigating the world and this also stirred up the desire of merchants to embark on the seas toward remote lands.

As well as their English, Dutch merchants started to prepare to sail eastwards for profitable opportunities in the spice trade. In 1596 a troop of four ships reached Java, which was followed by another expedition in 1599. These ships carried back a lot of pepper and produced huge profits.

This inclination of the English and Dutch towards mercantilism was distinguished from the Portuguese engagement in commercial activity. The English formed the East India Company in 1600 and the Dutch created, as the result of the merger of several companies, the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602. Both companies collected their capital by means of stocks and their primary concern was making as much profit as possible. Although the Portuguese as well sought wealth from the trade in India, their trade was fundamentally the monopoly of the King and its nature was not as commercially oriented as the English and Dutch trade[3]. Moreover, they mixed up commercial and evangelical ends in their advancement in India. As Robinson pointed out, 'For the Portuguese viewed theirs as a mercantile and maritime empire cast in a military and ecclesiastical mould.' (Robinson 1998:44) Therefore, missionaries were sent to the territories of Portugal in the name of the king.

In the following section, we will examine the writings on India of two travellers in the late sixteenth century: Ralph Fitch and John Huyghen van Linschoten. In their description of India and its inhabitants, we can see the effects of the rise of mercantilism which was behind the time. Things were seen from the mercantile point of view, which focuses on profitability of commodities. This view point was free from the missionaries' dichotomy of

Christian versus pagans. The English and Dutch looked at Indians more objectively than the Portuguese and the Jesuits did. Thus, people in India and their beliefs and practices came to be classified in the same way as commodities were grouped. And the nascent form of the more objective concepts about them emerged. This would later be transformed into 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' on the basis of scientific knowledge. But as we will see in Linschoten's writing, at this stage, the transition towards rational and scientific understanding of India was still under way and we can also find the remains of the Christian versus heretics dichotomy.

4-1-1 Ralph Fitch: A vague picture of 'Hindus' from the eyes of one of the 'First Englishmen in India'

The movement towards commercial activity in India was marked by the establishment of the Levant Company by four merchants of the City of London, Sir Edward Osborne, Richard Staper, Thomas Smith and William Garret in 1581. At first they pursued the possibilities of trading in the Turkish domain and dispatched an envoy to the Sultan in Constantinople. But soon they shifted their interest to the spice trade in India, in areas left open by the Portuguese. In order to start their activities, the English merchants needed to collect up-to-date information. Thus Osborne and others launched a project to send an expedition to India via the Persian Gulf. Ralph Fitch was one of the merchants who participated in the project. To avoid the Portuguese ships, they went to Hormuz on land. But they were captured by the governor of the town under suspicion of spying for the competitor of Phillip II and were sent to Goa by a Portuguese ship. In Goa the English merchants managed to escape the hands of the Portuguese and continued their travel. Among the merchants, who are said to have remained in India or disappeared, only Fitch reached Malacca and came back to England after an eight year journey.

In writing about his journey from Goa to Pegu across north India, Fitch mainly focuses on topography and the products of each city, as a merchant who sought the possibilities of commercial activities. But at the same time he gives us some picture of the inhabitants of the sub-continent.
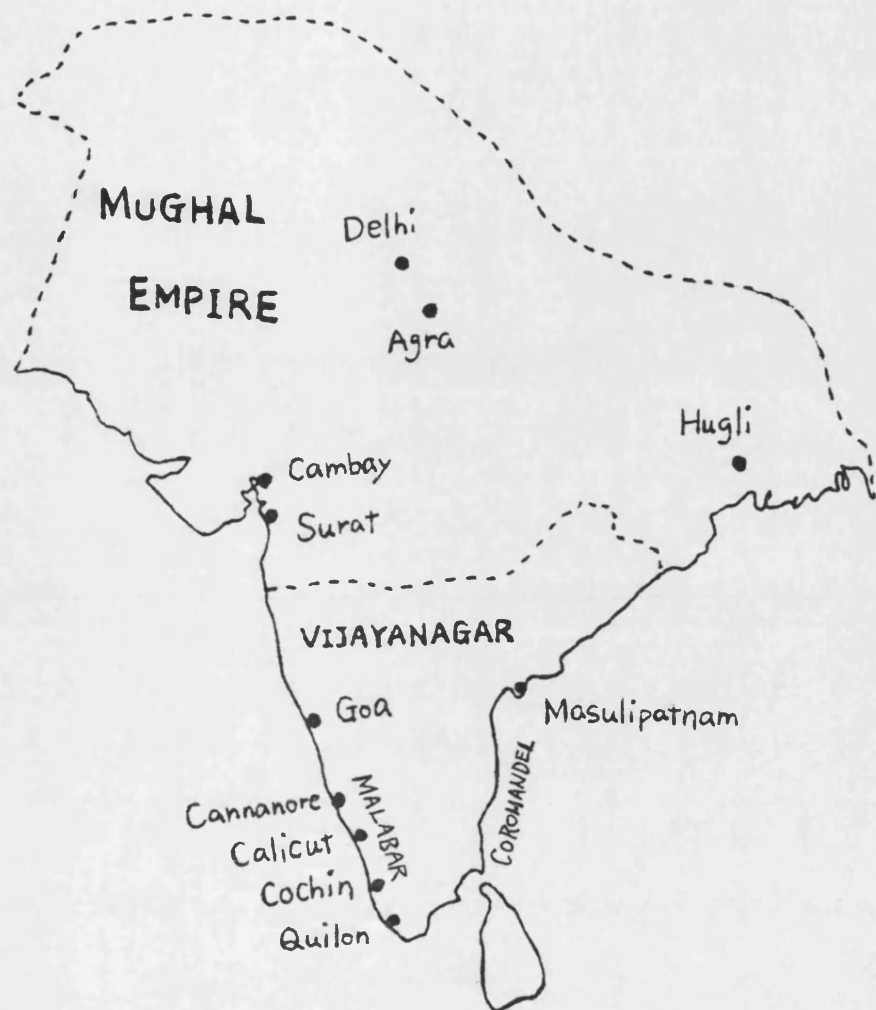
b. India , circa 1600

In these countries they have many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes, which are their priests, come to the water and have a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade up water with both their hands and turn the string first with both their hands within and then one arm after the other out. Though it be never so cold they will wash themselves in cold water or in war.

The Gentiles will eat no flesh nor kill anything. They live with rice, butter, milk and fruits. They pray in the water naked, ...and for their penance they lie flat upon the earth and rise up and turn themselves about thirty or forty times, and use to heave up their hands to the sun and to kiss the earth, with their arms and legs stretched along out, and their right leg always before the left. Every time they lie down they make a score on the ground with their finger, to know when their stint is finished.

The Bramanes mark themselves in the foreheads, ears and throats with a kind of yellow gear which they grind, and every morning they do it. And they have some old men which go in the streets with a box of yellow powder and mark men on their heads and necks as they meet them. And their wives do come by ten, twenty and thirty together to the waterside singing, and there do wash themselves and then use their ceremonies and mark themselves in their foreheads and faces, and carry some with them and so depart singing. (Locke 1995:104-105)

Fitch draws only a vague picture of 'Indians' which does not give us any comprehensive ideas about the inhabitants. But in the following part, where he has some remarks on marriage customs in India, we can find a similar idea to Catholic missionaries that 'Indians' were 'heretics' as well as Jewish people. In this short remark, he calls Indians 'a kind of crafty people' and continues, 'worse than the Jews.' (Locke 1995:105)

4-1-2 John Huyghen van Linschoten: Transition towards a more concrete idea about 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism'

In contrast to Fitch, who seems not to be very interested in writing about 'Indians', we can find a very detailed description in John Huyghen van Linschoten's book, *Itinerario*. His work should be examined in the light of the transition from the 'religious-oriented' understanding of 'Indians' to 'science-oriented' reduction of 'Indians'. As well as the English at that time, the Dutch began rising as the new power which took over dominance of the East from the Portuguese. It can be said that his writing represents a more sophisticated understanding of 'India' and its people at the end of the sixteenth century.

Linschoten was born in Holland in 1563. In 1576 he went to Spain to join his older brothers who were engaged in trading. In 1583 as a member of the Portuguese fleet, he sailed for India. While he served the Portuguese office in Goa for five years between 1583 and 1588, he obviously made a set of notes of conversations with local people and kept a diary of main events which happened in Goa (Lach 1965:200). After spending two years in the Azores, he came back to Enkhuizen, his birth place and a small seaport in northern Holland, and started to prepare for the *Itinerario*. It comprised three parts: the first was the *Itinerario* proper, which was about India; the second concerned the sea routes and the Spanish domains; the third was about the coasts of Africa and America. Among them, especially, the *Itinerario* proper describes local customs among Indians and commercial articles available in the sub-continent in detail and thus became an acclaimed source of knowledge about the East Indies. Its English translation was published in 1598 and stimulated the English as well as the Dutch merchants' desire to go to India.

At the beginning of his *Itinerario* he focuses on delineating the topography ranging from Ormuz to China. In this sense it resembles the writing of Duarte Barbosa, who was also a Portuguese officer but travelled to India almost seventy years earlier. But for Linschoten, thanks to a century of experiences and the accumulation of knowledge about India by the Portuguese, he could look deep into practices and beliefs among the inhabitants there. In the part where he writes about dwellers of Goa, he begins his explanation with the comparison of different customs among Muslims, Jews and Indians. Indians, who were categorised into 'Decanijns', 'Gusarates' and 'Canaras' according to places they were from, were labelled under the name of 'heathens' at a higher level. It can be said that their belief and customs had already been recognised as 'a heretical faith' besides Islam and Judaism, as we verified in the last chapter. As well as most travellers who went to India, Linschoten was impressed by the custom of *sati*, in which women were burnt in the pyre of their husbands. But unlike others, he did not dwell on the strangeness of the widow-burning and proceeds to the explain the belief of Indians.

Heathens, as Decanijns, Gusarates, and Canaras, and other Indians being dead, are burnt to ashes, and some women being alive are burned with them, that is such as are Gentlemen [or Noblemen], and wives of the Bramenes, which are their

Idolatrous Préestes. Also [for the Marchantes] some of them eate all things, except Cowes or Buffles flesh, which they estéeme to be holy. Others eate not any thing whatsoever, that hath either life or bloud in it, as those of Gusarata, and the Banianes of Cambaia, which observe Pythagoras lawe: most of them pray unto the Sunne and Moone, yet they doe all acknowlege a God that made, [created] and ruleth all things, and that after this life there is an other, wherein men shall be rewarded according to their workes. But they have Idoles [and Images], which they call Pagodes, cut [and formed] most ugly, and like monstrous Devils, to whome dayly they offer, and say, that those holy men have béene living among them, whereof they tell so many miracles, as it is wonderfull, and say that they are intercessors betwéene them and God. The Devill often times answereth them out of those Images whome they likewise know, and doe him great honour by offering [unto him], to keepe friendshippe with him, and that hee should not hurt them (Linschoten 1885:223-224).

For a while he seems to keep an objective way of observing what Indians believe in. But when he starts to mention the idols they worship, he cannot help calling the strange gods (from his point of view) 'most ugly, and like monstrous Devils'. Judging from the way he describes Indians' gods as 'devils', we can see that Linschoten shares the same sort of idea as early Catholic missionaries such as Francis Xavier that Indians were heretical because they worshipped animal-like gods.

Moreover, it seems from his description that he tries to understand men called 'Iogos', who were ascetics, by identifying them with those of witches who had been arraigned in trials of the Inquisition in Europe. As well as witches in Europe the Indian counterparts were good at making poisons from many strange materials. Furthermore, a picture of Indian ascetics, sitting on mats made of straws, gives readers a strange, exotic image of Indian heretics, who were outside the Christian faith.

They pray likewise to the new Moone, and when shee first appeareth, they fall uppon their knées, and salute her with great devotion, there are among them [certaine people] called Iogos, which are such as we call Hermits, and those doe they estéeme for holy men, these men live a verie strict life with great abstinence, and make the common people believe many strange things. They have likewise many [Southsayers and] Witches, which use Iugling, and travell throughout the countrie, having about them many live Snakes, which they know how to bewitch, and being shut up in little baskets, they pull them out and make them daunce, turne, and winde at the sound of a certaine Instrument, [wheron] they play, and speake unto them. They winde them about their necks, armes, and legges, kissing them, with a thousand other devises, onely to get money. They are [al] for the most part verie skilfull in preparing of poysons, wherewith

they doe many strange things, and easily poyson each other, their dwellings and houses are verie little and lowe, covered with straw, without windowes, and verie low and narrow doores, so that a man must almost créepe upon his knées to goe in, their houshold stuffe is Mats of straw, both to sit and lie upon, their Tables, Table-clothes, and Napkins, are made of the great Indian Figge leaves, they serve them not onely for Tables, Sheetes, and other linnen, but also for Dishes, wherein they put their meate, which you shall likewise sée in the Grocers, and Pothecaries shops, to put and wrap in all things whatsoever they have within their shops, (as we doe in paper). They likewise ioyne them together in such sort, that they can put both butter, oyle, and such liquid stuffes therein, and also whatsoever commeth to hand (Linschoten 1885:225-226).

As Linschoten moves to description of heretical gods and rituals, his recognition of Indian gods as devils seems to get stronger and stronger.

They have their Pagodes and Idoles, whose ministers, and say that those Pagodes have been men [living upon earth], and because of their holy lives, and good workes done [here] in this world, are [for a reward therof], become holy men in the other world, as by their miracles, by the Divel performed, hath béene manifested [onto them], and by their commandementes their formes [and shapes] are made in the most ugly and deformed manner that possible may bee devised. Such they pray and offer unto, with many divilish supersutitions, and stedfastly beléeve yt they are their advocates and intercessors unto God. They beléeve also that there is a supreame God above, which ruleth all things, and that [mens] soules are immortall, and that they goe out of this worlde into the other, both beastes and men, and receyve reward according to their workes, as Pythagoras teacheth, whose disciples they are (Linschoten 1885: 251-252).

In his idea, Indian heretics who were caught up in idolatry should be saved in the light of Christianity. At the end of the part about the gods and rituals of heathens, Linschoten shows us an inclusive conception of the world in which non-Christians should be liberated from the shackles of devils and Satan.

This is [the maner of] their ceremonies and daily superstitions, worshipings of false gods, wherein the Devill hath so blinded them, that thereby they are without all doubt perswaded to obtaine eternall life, and tell many miracles of their Idols, whereby wee are moved [and put in mind], to call to remembraunce how much herein we are bound to God, and to give him thankes, that it hath pleased him to illuminate us with the truth of his holy Gospel, and that we are not borne [or brought up] among those Heathens, and divelish Idolaters, and to desire God that it would please him of his gracious goodnesse to open their eyes and to give them the truth of his holy word among

them, as hee is our onely trust, for they are in all things like us, made after Gods owne Image, and that when his good pleasure is, hee will loose them out of the bands of Sathan, and give both them and us that which is most necessarie for our soules, Amen (Linschoten 1885: 299-300).

Linschoten claims that even though Indian heathens worship false gods, they are also the sheep of the Christian God and thus they are entitled to salvation as well as Christians. In the end he even utters a word of prayer for both Indian heathens and themselves. Here we can find the pre-modern picture of the world and the way of understanding 'the Other' as Fabian presented. Indian heathens in the peripheral area were connected to the Christian centre, whose faith was the doctrine of the world. Thanks to the mighty power of the faith, Indians were placed on a map of Christianity. Although they were understood as different kind of people, they were not the object of scientific knowledge, as they became from the late eighteenth century onwards. In this sense, 'India' and 'Indians' were not distanced from the West in the pre-modern understanding.

Can we then call Linschoten exactly a man of the pre-modern world? Unlike the Portuguese and missionaries who were the real inhabitants of the old Christian world, Linschoten was from the Netherlands, which was one of the newly emerging mercantile and more rational countries. Thus, partly in his writing we can see an embryonic form of scientific knowledge, whose nature is the reduction of things into a list of attributes by the means of classification. After the description of local customs and belief which were quoted above, Linschoten gives readers a list of commodities which merchants can have access to in India with an explanation of their attributes in detail. It seems that suddenly he turned from an advocate of Christianity to a naturalist who tends to classify everything in the world. For example, under each named spice, he provides readers with the places where these spices grow, their shape and how to use them. It can be said that, as an officer who served the Portuguese office, Linschoten acquired a Portuguese knowledge of India and thus belonged to the pre-modern thinking which recognised the world on the basis of the dichotomy Christians versus heretics. However, in his classification of Indian commodities such as spices and jewels, we can discover a nascent form of scientific knowledge which defines the Enlightenment era. In this sense, it can be said that Linschoten was a person who represented a period of transition from pre-modern to

modern understanding of the world and the 'the Other'.

4-2 The Rise of 'Hinduism' as a Systematic Body of Knowledge

After the turn of the century, the English East Company and the Dutch VCO were established and more merchants started to head for the sub-continent. Then they gradually replaced the Portuguese in trading there. As the sixteenth century progressed, this shift of power in India from the hands of Portugal to England and the Netherlands also led to change in the nature of understanding India. As seen in the last section, in the writings of Fitch and Linschoten, the ideas of 'India', 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' were still vague. And especially Linschoten presented both elements of pre-modern and modern ways of seeing 'the Other'. But as time passed, this transition towards understanding of 'India' in the modern and scientific way was accelerated and the concepts of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus' became more concrete as a systematic body of knowledge.

This section will trace this process of the emergence of these categories in works of the English and Dutch writers. Firstly, we will see how the English developed the concepts of India and Indians in the course of dealing with the Mughal, using the writings of Sir Thomas Roe, an ambassador to the Empire, and Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain. Secondly, we will look at the description of Phillipus Baldeaus, a Dutch clergyman, of Hindu beliefs and practices and will see the emergence of a systematic body of 'Hinduism' by the end of seventeenth century.

4-2-1 'India' and 'Hindus' and the Mughal Empire: Sir Thomas Roe and Edward Terry

After the foundation of the East India Company, England dispatched some ships and established a factory in Surat in 1612. English merchants were anxious to expand their activity. However, in the territory of the Mughal Empire, the Portuguese still took advantage of the close relationship with the emperor which was mediated by the Jesuits, to retain their monopoly of trade[4]. The officials of the Empire were not kind to the newcomers and the

business of English merchants often met obstacles. To achieve a breakthrough in the situation, it was necessary to dispatch an official ambassador to the court of the Empire and conclude a treaty which would allow England to have the protection from the Portuguese in the territory of the Indian monarch and to access more free commercial activities in India. Therefore, the East India Company decided to send a gentleman, Sir Thomas Roe, to the Mughal Emperor, Jahangir, for this mission.

Roe arrived at Surat in 1615 and stayed in the Mughal court until 1619. Even though he could not secure an agreement with a full range of commercial rights which the English had longed for, he left a detailed diary and letters in which he described what he saw in the court of the great empire: politics and extravagant rituals such as the celebration of the Emperor's birthday. In these records, it can be found how he was bewildered by different procedures concerning how to decide policies in the court of the emperor. From the beginning when he set foot in Surat, he was bewildered by the 'custom of the country'. He was told that nobody could pass without a search at the custom house. Even though the governor of Surat offered special treatment to Roe enabling his belongings to be sealed by officers to prevent them from being opened, he believed 'for myselfe and my followers, they should be free from all offer of affront.' Roe engaged in some disputes over the issue with the messenger of the governor. But in the end he had to comply with the custom (Roe 1926:44-45). After his arrival at the court at Ajmer, he was continually surprised at the Mughal's way of dealing with matters. First of all, it was the Emperor Jahangir who possessed the ultimate authority and once he uttered something, it became a policy. Roe, in a letter to Lord Carew, dated January 17, 1615, wrote '(t)hey haue no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Gouernours of Prouinces by that authorities.' (Roe 1926:110) Moreover, he discovered a fundamental gap between himself and the emperor's side when it comes to negotiation. For everybody from the emperor to governors of the Mughal Empire did not lend their ear to Roe unless he gave them luxurious presents. Thus when he was short of gifts as a result of a long stay without a fruitful achievement, he had to put up with being ignored by the emperor.

Roe's records mainly concern the happenings of the Mughal court and do not pay very much attention to the life, customs and religious

practices of people outside the court. This is because he was first of all an ambassador sent by the king of England in order to overcome the setback which English merchants faced. To secure a commercial arrangement and surpass other rivals, the Portuguese and the Dutch, Roe had to be immersed in the politics of the court and as a result, his journal was full of accounts concerning the Emperor, princes, and courtiers. But we can find in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury some clues to the way he categorised people in the territory of the Empire. It is basically according to the religion Indians believed in. First, he began his explanation with Muslims.

So that these naturalls, from the circumcision (which came in with the Moores), called them Mogolls or cheefe of the circumcised. Among the Mogolls ther are many strict mahometans, many that follow Aly, his sonne-in-law, and other new risen prophetts, which have their *xeriffs*, *mulas* and preists, their mosquies, religious votaries, washings, prayings, and ceremonyes infinite; and for penitenciaryes, no herecye in the world can show so strange examples, nor bragg of such voluntarie povertyes, punishments, sufferings and chastisments as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled religion, not upright with their great prophett (Roe 1926:274).

Then he moves to Hindus (Gentiles).

The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant, good souldiers, drinking wine, eating hoggs flesh, but woorshiping the figure of a beast; some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation; others that willnot eate any thing wherin ever there was any blood, nor kill the vermin that assaulteth them, nor drincke in the cup with those that doe; superstitious in washing, and most earnest in their profession; but all of them ascribe a kind of divinitie to the River Ganges, at which at one season of the yeare 4 or 50,000 meete, and cast in gould and silver for oblation. In like manner to a piggs head in a church near this citty, and to all living cowes, and to some other beasts and kinds (Roe 1926:274).

Even though there seems to have been some confusions with Jains ('others that willnot eate any thing wherein ever there was any blood, ...') in this short description of Hindu customs and religion, we can find the nascent form of the attributes of Hinduism which we recognise today: the worship of animal-like gods such as Ganesha (a god with the head of an elephant), devotion to the River Ganges and the worship of cows. It is probable that at the time of Roe, in the early seventeenth century, 'Hinduism' started to be regarded as an entity with more concrete contents than in the previous

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century. But unlike the late eighteenth century onwards, there was no endeavour to circumscribe 'India' with the caste system which was deeply attached to 'Hinduism'. On the contrary, in Roe's account, Islam comes first as the religion of the Mughal and Hinduism is considered as secondary. In the same letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury from which I quoted above, Roe shows his knowledge that Muslims brought their religion to Hindu princes who had not known any religion but the worship of creatures. It is as though, from the eyes of the Muslim ruler, Hinduism was not recognised as religion. It is probable to say that for the English in the early sixteenth century, 'Muslims' were a more significant element of 'India' than 'Hindus'. Unlike the Portuguese whose headquarters was in Goa and who had a close relationship with south Indian port cities, the English, at the first stage of establishing their footholds for trade, went to the territory of the Mughal Empire. Of course, the Portuguese allowed Muslim merchants from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to engage in trading under the *carta* system which, in return for a good amount of money, gave permission to the merchants to trade and guaranteed them protection from assaults on the sea. And they also had to deal with the Mughal to make their commercial activities in Gujarat go smoothly. Moreover, from the report of the Jesuits who stayed in the court, the Portuguese must have obtained good enough information about the empire and its customs. Thus before the English arrival in India, it can be considered that there had been an idea that the Muslim was a part of the Portuguese concept of 'India'. Moreover, first-hand experiences of the English in the court, including Roe's, must have functioned to strengthen the category of 'Muslims' in India. It is confirmed in the writing of Edward Terry, who was the chaplain for Roe.

Terry, in the last part of his *A Voyage to East-India*, focuses on describing religion and customs among the people in the territory of the Empire. While he delineates the picture of 'Muslims' in India from religious tenets to their marriage customs, he gives fewer pages to 'Hindooes' (Hindus). Even though Terry shows friendliness to the Mughal Emperor, he throws harsh words on the Muslim creed itself.

...the Mohometan religion hath abundance of stranege, monstrous fables and lyes for its support, their Alcoran (for the substance of it) being a fardle of foolish impossibilities, fit to be received by none but fools and mad-men...(Terry 1777(1655): 244)

Terry continues his attacks on the Muslim faith, after itemising eight commandments of Islam: (1) the acceptance of the God and Mahomet as His prophet (2) children's duty to obey to parents (3) the rule that people should behave to others as they wish others to treat themselves (4) observance of five prayers a day (5) annual observance of fasting (6) giving liberally, freely, and voluntarily to the poor what they need (7) the necessity of marriage and having children for the prosperity of Islam (8) the prohibition to kill others or to shed blood.

Now much in these commandments agrees with the word of truth; and we need not wonder at it, when we consider, that even the Devil himself (as we may observe in the gospel) hath sometimes had a scripture in his mouth. So have hereticks, and so did Mahomet and his assistants mix some scripture in their Alcoran, to put a fairer gloss upon their irreligion. But what scriptures they all urge, are for the most part, if not ever, wrested, by their maiming or perverting, or misapplying of them (Terry 1777(1655):246).

This can be understood from the Christians' antagonistic relationship with Muslims, being exemplified in *reconquista*. Thus, the concept of Muslims as potential enemies, which had been historically produced, might have been combined with the Mughal as an exotic conqueror of the sub-continent. By giving us detailed explanation about elephants in the Empire, he associates the might and exoticism of the Mughal with the animal (Terry 1777(1655): 134-146).

Terry understands 'Hindus' (Hindooes) with reference to 'Muslims' in many respects.

(I)t is the manner of the Mahometans to shave all the hair from off their heads, reserving only one lock on the crown of them for Mahomet to pull them up to Heaven (as they fondly conceit.) The Hindooes shave their heads likewise, but cut all off, and both of them shave thus, and that very often; but however their baldness appears not at all, because their heads are continually covered with a shash, or a wreath of narrow callico cloth many times wrapt about them, (usually for the colour white or red) which they never pull off, as we do our hats in compliments. Their much and often shaving makes many excellent barbers amongst them, who besides their scissars and razors use a little instrument about the length of a short bodkin, very sharp, made like a chisel, but not broader at the cutting end than the shank of a sixpenny nail, with which they pare and cleanse the nails on their fingers and toes.(Terry 1777(1655):126)

He also explains Hindu marriage customs in comparison with Muslim. In his

description, Hindus are recognised as monogamous.

> They take but one wife, and of her they are not so fearful and jealous as the Mahometans are of their several wives and women, for they suffer their wives to go abroad whither they please. They are married very young, about six or seven years old, their parents making matches for them; who lay hold of every opportunity to bestow their children, because confin'd to their own tribes they have not such variety of choice as otherwise they might have; and when they attain to the age of thirteen or fourteen, or fifteen years at the most, they bed together.(Terry 1777(1655):301)

As a result 'Muslims' emerged as an essential part of that which represented 'India' as well as 'Hindus'. Later on, under British colonial rule, one of the most important issues was to differentiate Muslims and Hindus as two main groups in India. The origin of the emphasis on these two religions could be traced back to the early seventeenth century and Roe and other English merchants played an essential role to form the view.

4-2-2 Philippus Baldaeus: 'Hinduism' as a systematic body of knowledge

Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the wider the area the English and Dutch merchants spread to in India, the clearer their image of 'India' and 'Hindus' became. While the English engaged themselves with attempts to strengthen their influences in India by establishing factories in Surat in 1612, in Masulipatnam in 1611 and in Hugli in 1651, the Dutch established their footholds on the western and eastern coasts of the sub-continent and expanded to Ceylon. Furthermore they attacked the Portuguese territories and took them over: Ceylon was taken from the Portuguese in 1658, Quilon and Cranganor were taken in 1661, and Cochin was captured in 1663. As a result, not only the profits of the trade but also the body of knowledge about 'India' and 'Hindus', which had been constructed by the Portuguese, fell into the hands of the Dutch. Philippus Baldaeus, a Dutch clergyman who served as a *predikant* mainly in Ceylon, left a detailed description of the history of cities in southern India, Ceylon and customs of Hindus. In his work, we can discover the way the information – whether it was acquired from first-hand experiences or came from the works of other writers – was condensed and offered a certain image

of 'Indians' who had a religion with its own myths and distinct customs.

Baldaeus was born at Delft in Holland in 1632. And he later spent some time as a student of divinity at Leiden. Under the influence of the *predikant*, Arnoldus Montanus, who got involved in East Indian affairs, he decided to go to India . After marrying his cousin, Maria van Castel, Baldaeus and his bride set sail for Batavia from the Vlie in the ship named *Wapen van Amsterdam*. Between July, 1655 and September, 1656 he stayed in Batavia, where he lost his wife. After that he and his colleague Joan Ferreira were summoned to Celyon. In early 1658 Baldaeus was appointed chaplain to the troops and accompanied the Dutch soldiers to Tuticorin, Mannar, Jaffna and Nagapatam. At Jaffna he was ordered to become the first *predikant* of the area and devoted himself to evangelism. In 1661, he again accompanied the Dutch expedition to the coastal area of India, this time, the Malabar coast. The troops conquered Quilon and Cranganor. In 1662, while the troops were facing a series of obstacles to capturing Cochin, Baldaeus went back to Jaffna. He remained there until April 1665 and set sail for Holland.

His work, *Naauwkeurige Beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel*, which was put into print for the first time in 1672, is made up of three parts: the first is about the history of major trading ports in India since the arrival of the Portuguese, the second focuses on Ceylon and the third concerns the myths and religious practices of Hindus (Malabars, Gentives). In the following analysis, our attention will be mainly drawn to the last part. Baldaeus himself declares in the preface that the section concerning Indian religion was the most essential of the three and the other two were merely subsidiary to it (Ferguson 1895:22).

Baldaeus began the first part of the book with a geographical explanation of India. It can be seen that at that time in Europe the topographical image of 'India' was already fairly clear. He gives us the picture of 'India' which was bordered by the river Indus in the west, a series of mountains in the north and the Indian Sea in the south.

India therefore borders to the west upon the river *Indus,* towards the *Arabian Sea;* to the north it is inclosed by the mount *Taurus,* on the east side by the vast *Eastern Ocean,* and to the south by the *Indian Sea.* India was anciently divided into two parts by the river *Ganges;* thence the more eastern part was called India beyond the *Ganges,* and the western part *India* on this side of the *Ganges,* now known by the name of *Indostan,* and

according to the opinion of some authors, is the same mentioned in the scripture by the name of *Havila* (Baldaeus 1745:513).

But as for the east side of the border, Baldaeus mentions only the Eastern Sea and it is rather vague. As we can see in the following description, in his idea, 'India' included the Maldive islands and Ceylon and was extended to Thailand and the Molucca islands.

When it comes to the religion of India, the Dutch clergyman principally concentrated on giving readers a picture of a body of belief which includes myths, practices related to worship and customs regarding marriage. Baldaeus endeavours to show more vividly Hindu ways of seeing the world in which stories of their gods had a significant influence on social practices. In this respect, Baldaeus went beyond his precursors who just assumed the worship of Indians to 'monstrous' gods and the scandalous practice of *sati* as 'heretical' and did not try to grasp the Indian world as a sort of system. Moreover, he assigns the Brahmans to a position of interpreting a law-book, the Vedam (the Vedas) and by doing so, he not only placed them at the core of the religion, but regarded them as politically essential in their association with the king. In one part of his book, there is a mention of the annual celebration in memory of the dead, which was organised by the kings of the Malabar Coast. On the occasion, according to him, the Brahmans were entertained and given money (Baldaeus 1745:739). Even before Baldaeus, the view had been predominant that it was the Brahmans who represented and advocated idolatry and as a result gave Indian people a harmful influence. Francis Xavier, for example, mainly accused the Hindu priests of cheating innocent people. And it was from the Brahmans that Europeans collected information about 'Hinduism' as most Jesuits did. But the standpoint of Baldaeus goes beyond the Brahmans as mere priests among normal devotees, because they fill a significant function in the political sphere, too. This view reminds us of a theory of Hocart that the king is a ruler of Indian society and the Brahmans support the former as a person who presides over religious rituals. It is not probable that Baldaeus acknowledged the relationship between the Brahmans and the king as systematically as the scholars of future generations did. However, at least we can see in his work an attempt to describe 'Hinduism' as more encompassing in the sense that the religion not only means the worship of

idols but also covers politics and thus has a great influence on every aspect of the life of Indian people.

He devoted many parts of the book to telling the stories of the two main Hindu gods, Ixora (Siva) and Vistnum (Vishnu). At first the children and a wife of Ixora were mentioned. We can read some stories about Ganesha, who possesses the head of an elephant. Ixora's wife was called Parameswari instead of Parvati. In the part about Vistnum, Baldaeus introduces ten transformations of the god in turn. Rama and Krishna were also included in these transmutations. We can find the story of Rama's fight against the evil king of Ceylon, Lanka, to recover his wife Sitha with Hanuman's help (a god whose appearance is an ape). Baldaeus found difficulty in conceiving the logic of transformation.

...I must agree with *Rogerius*,[5] ...That he could not dive into the mysteries of the transformations; because I am certain that it cost me a great deal of troubles, before I could attain to the knowledge thereof; and that not without the assistance of a certain *Brahman*, who coming from *Bengale*, settled at *Jafnapatnam*: and as I frequently conversed with him, so I often animadversions made upon this head by *Rogerius*. He being afterwards converted to the Christian faith, and baptized in the church of *Vanarpone*, and our discourse running upon the transformations of *Vistnum*, he told me, That this *Vedam*, or law book, being inclosed in a *Chanki*, or seahorse's horn, the fame was found out by *Vistnum*: whence it is that they say, the prints of the fingers are to be seen in these horns to this day; and that they have put the *Saccaram*, or sword, and the *Chanki*, or horn, into his hands, as you see in the preceding draught; though some ascribe the same to *Bramma* (Baldaeus 1745:746).

After he tells Hindu myths, he moves to the cosmology of the world among Hindus. To understand their version of the origin of the world, which was believed by the Brahmans to be produced from an egg, Baldaeus mentions that the same is found among the ancient Egyptians and Persians. In his opinion about the Brahmans' conception of the world, we can discover the embryonic form of an evolutionary view that Indians had obsolete knowledge, while Europeans possessed advanced knowledge based on science. He points out that the Brahmans believe that the world is not round but flat, and the heavens are the uppermost half, while the earth is the lowermost in the egg-shell, and he comments on it as 'ridiculous'. Indians were placed at the same level as the 'ancient' people from whom Europeans developed.

As another example of the belief among Hindus in contrast to Europeans, the idea of transmigration of souls is mentioned. According to the inhabitants of Malabar, Baldaeus says, the souls of human beings transmigrate into a dog, cat, crow, cow, king, Brahman, serpent and so on in the next life, depending on the actions which the dead have done in the past. Therefore, if a person committed injustice to another in his past life, a judge called Chitra Putta assesses his sin and his soul will be transplanted into the body of a slave of the offended party. Baldaeus also refers to Hindus' abstention from eating meat and says it is because they are afraid of eating the flesh of a cow who might have been their own father or grandfather (Baldaeus 1745:785).

The most significant customs which represent 'Hinduism' were washing the body and the use of cow dung.

Their custom of washing themselves daily, seems not only to be introduced for the cleaning and cooling of their bodies, but chiefly for the purifying of them from their sins; for as these pagans make a distinction betwixt *venial* and *mortal* sins, they regulate their washing accordingly. The first they are cleansed of by dipping the head under water; whereas to purify themselves of the others. viz. (such as include the loss of life or family, and fall under the cognizance of the civil magistrates,) they dive the whole body under water. ...(Baldaeus 1745:785-6)

In the ten constitutions regarding the custom of body-washing (Baldaeus compares it to the 'ten commandments' of the Bible), there are some rules of 'uncleanness' which are identical to those concerning becoming 'impure' in the concept of Hinduism today. The rules include uncleanness which is caused by inferior people touching a person of high rank, touching the dead and women in menstrual periods (Baldaeus 1745:785). It is easy for us to find similar cases of and avoidance from becoming 'impure' among the Brahman in the literature of *dharma* as Dumont puts it (Dumont 1980(1966):48-53).

The importance of cow-dung in everyday life and special rituals among Hindus, Baldaeus explains as below:

The ashes of cow-dung are a thing in such request among the Indian pagans, that they with it besmear every morning their front, breast, and shoulders; every king maintains in his court a certain person, who every day, early in the morning, exposes a good quantity of these ashes upon a fig-leaf in the market-place, when every one that pleases comes

and takes from part thereof for his use:...

The Zamoryn or king of Calecut, washes himself every day before dinner; and when he goes to the Pagode, the way from the cistern to the Pagode is cover'd with cow-dung, upon which they strow roses and other flowers; besides that two women, each with a pot of cow-dung mix'd with water, walk just before him; and the place where he dines is afterwards constantly cleansed with cow-dung. ... (Baldaeus 1745:785-6)

In Baldaeus's writing, we can find most of the main attributes which came to be considered as belonging to 'Hinduism' in the late eighteenth century, at the rise of Orientalism, or even today: for example, the Hindu pantheon embodied by Siva and Vishnu, the ideas of transmigration of souls and of how to become unclean or impure, and the importance of cow-dung. Even though not all of his writing was based on his experiences and conversation with Hindus[6], it can be said that the systematic body of knowledge, which we can find in his writing, shows that in the late seventeenth century the image of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus' had achieved almost the same level as the late eighteenth century. However, Baldaeus's understanding of 'Hinduism' was not so comprehensive as that of Orientalist literatures which claimed to cover all Hindus in the sub-continent. It was still transitional and the body of knowledge he offered had to await the scholars of future generations to be transformed into the knowledge which defines 'India' itself.

4-3 Towards the emergence of British Orientalism in India: circulation of books and evolutionary theory on human diversity

So far we have seen how the image of 'India' became more established in several travel writings of the seventeenth century. Throughout this process, Europeans made use of categories such as 'Christians', 'Muslims' and 'Jews' for understanding India. These devices of comprehending 'the Other' were influenced by politics, economy and culture in Europe. The same was the case of the emergence of Orientalism at the end of eighteenth century. A more objective study of India was brought about by the advancement of European trade companies such as the East India Company and the VCO as well as by the development of the natural sciences, which was represented by figures such as Isaac Newton. As seen in

the last section, a systematic body of knowledge on India had already existed at the end of the seventeenth century. But this knowledge and imagery of India was different in character from that of the Indologists. The Indologists could certainly utilise the achievement of the Portuguese travellers and missionaries for their study as a 'library or archive of information' (Said 1995 (1978)). But the former saw India as the object of academic discipline based on scientific knowledge, while the latter's understanding of the sub-continent was bound to the dichotomy of Christians versus pagans. What then lay behind this transformation of understanding India from that based on religious-oriented ideas to more scientific knowledge? Generally what sort of problems did Europeans have in order to understand other people with different cultures? In this section, first we will examine how an increase in circulation of books on India had influence on strengthening the image of India. Then we will proceed to looking at a series of struggles of Europeans' with incorporating plural cultures and religions, which existed in the Americas and Africa, into their understanding of the world. This effort to reconstruct the world view eventually led to the rise of evolutionary theory for understanding the diversity of human beings and made it difficult for later Indologists to establish the place of Indian people in the history of human development.

4-3-1　The rise in circulation of books and the image of 'India' strengthened

4-3-1-a　The early development of the image of 'India', 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' through printed books in Europe

Printed records concerning India and their circulation started just after Vasco da Gama reached the sub-continent in 1498. The first of them was a letter in July, 1499 written by the Florentine merchant, Girolamo Sernigi, which was first printed in 1507. He collected first-hand information on the voyage led by Vasco da Gama from the crews of the fleet. Although the letter mainly focuses on trade routes and spices, it also has comments on the Zamorin of Calicut and local customs such as avoidance of beef (Lach 1965: 155-156). In 1509 an account known as *Die Merfart uñ Erfarung*

nüwer Schiffung und Wege zu viln overkauten Inseln unt Künigreichen... appeared, which was based on the experiences of Germans who were in Francisco Almeida's fleet (Lach 1965: 162).

Even though Portugal dominated activity in India, it was not until the middle of the sixteenth century that books on the sub-continent and Asia began to be published. Lach assumes that it was the result of the Portuguese policy of suppressing information on India and the Far East as well as on African discovery and trade (Lach 1965:153). Thus, although some remarkable accounts on India such as Tomé Pires's *Suma oriental* and Durate Barbosa's *Book of Duarte Barbosa* had already been written before 1520, they had not been printed before they were published in Giovanni Battista Ramusio's compilation of *Delle navigationi et viaggi* in 1550[7]. In Europe, between 1540 and 1569, fifteen out of 175 books were on eastern subjects and eleven were chronicles dealing with the Portuguese great discoveries. Between 1570 and the end of the sixteenth century, the figure remained almost the same and out of 190 titles, sixteen were about Asia. After 1565, the books compiling the Jesuits' Annual Letters, which were translated into Spanish, started to be printed at Coimbra. But it is estimated that only ten percent of the total books published in Portugal between 1540 and 1600 were on the eastern subjects. The number seems to be lower than expected if we think about the impact of the discovery of the sea route to India and the enthusiasm for the spice trade at that time. Probably, information on the east was still kept under control. Lach observes, however, that although the number of publications was low, the chronicles and the Jesuit letterbooks were lengthy and multi-volumed (Lach 1965:182-183).

The period between 1550 and 1570 was important period for the circulation of information about India. In 1563, the detailed accounts of India in terms of its topography and people's customs by Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa finally appeared in Ramusio's collection, which had a wide range of readers. Especially Barbosa delineated not only cities but also people inhabiting the sub-continent and their customs. His sharp observation enabled him to differentiate three kinds of people among the 'heathens': Resbutos (Rājputs), Baneanes (Banyans) and Bramanes (Brahmans). Later on he also looked into social classes which would be named 'castes'.

Around a decade before Ramusio's volumes were published, the first

copy which collected letters from the Jesuits in India appeared. It was titled *Copia de unas cartas* or *Copia da diversas cartas* and printed at Coimbra in 1551 or 1552. Later on new compendiums in this series came out in 1555, 1561, 1562, 1565 and 1570. They were published in Spanish for the convenience of a wider range of readers. At Rome the series titled *Avisi particolari* or *Nuovi avisi* started to be printed in 1552 and subsequently other editions were published at least every three years from 1553 to 1570. They were even translated into German and French and attracted more readers across Europe (Lach 1965: 431). As Correia-Afonso writes, the letterbooks of the Jesuits must have had a considerable impact on Europeans.

In the materialistic egocentric world of today it may be a trifle difficult to realize the ardour and enthusiasm with which those pages, often penned hastily in some rude oriental hut, were read by 16th-century Europe. In royal courts, famous universities, and middle-class homes, the good news from the East was welcomed with joy by scholars and by people of ordinary education, by the clergy and the laity. The events narrated therein provided thrills for the most *blasé*, and the news struck a consonant note in the hearts of those stirred by the apostolic spirit of the Counter-Reformation (Correia-Afonso 1969:100).

Jesuits such as Francisco Xavier, Jacobo Fenicio and many others wrote down their impressions of India and Hindu beliefs and customs in the Annual Letters and sent them to Europe. As examined above, their attitudes towards Hindus were strongly coloured by the Christian point of view. Although at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Portuguese officials allowed Goan Hindus to retain their customs and employed rather tolerant policies, in the course of several decades, under the influence of missionaries, the Hindus came to be seen as the followers of the heretical religion. This standpoint was implied in the Jesuit Annual Letters. Because the letters were written on a regular basis and were supposed to be dispatched to Rome as soon as they were written, it can be said that there was not a very long time-lag between the strengthening of the image of 'Hindus' as 'heretics' in India and them in Europe. The images of 'India', 'Hindus' and 'Hinduism' went though a considerable transformation, that the meaning of 'India' changed from a mystical land of Prester John, which 'fellow Christians' inhabited, to the land of the followers of a 'heretical

religion'. Later on, after some Jesuits succeeded in entering the Mughal Empire, they started to dispatch letters about the empire and came to add another aspect to the image of 'India'.

These published books written by early travellers and missionaries convied their image of 'India' and its inhabitants' practices and beliefs to Europe. It can be assumed that the English, Dutch and French, who arrived in India later than the Portuguese, collected information on India from books which were available at that time. Thus, when they reached the sub-continent, their point of view was still coloured by the Christian-centred idea which considered Indian people as 'heretics', and this can be seen in the works of Hakluyt and Purchas.

4-3-1-b Travel writings compiled by Hakluyt and Purchas

Before the English and Dutch began arriving in the sub-continent, most writings about India were related to Portugal to some extent and thus the image of 'India' at this stage was based on the Catholic way of understanding the world. Pagans were wrong about their faith and therefore should be converted to Christianity. How, then, was the image of India changed in the transitional period from the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century? The publication of travel writings was a crucial factor, which is shown by the works of two English compilers: Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas. Both dealt not only with writings about the Indian sub-continent, but also a vast range of areas from the Americas to the Far East. But in their key idea of producing compilations of travel writings, we can find a transition from pre-modern to modern ways of understanding the world, as we have already seen as well in the work of the writers such as Linschoten.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century there was a continual increase in the English mercantile desire for expansion to the Indies and as a result, four English merchants, including Ralph Fitch, were sent to India in 1581 to seek trading opportunities which had been seized by the Portuguese. At that time England was behind Germany, France and Italy when it came to the publication of travel writings about the sub-continent[8].

Thus the experiences of Fitch, who was the only one who managed to return to England, became an important source for merchants who were eager to sail for India. Even though Fitch did not give readers a comprehensive picture of India (he seems to have been more intrigued by commodities), it is possible that he could have told other merchants more about his experiences.

Richard Hakluyt was strongly influenced by his older cousin, Richard Hakluyt the lawyer, who specialised in collecting economic information in remoter countries, and was active as a consultant to merchants who wished to get involved in trade in such countries. The younger Hakluyt, who was born in 1551 or 1552, went to Oxford in 1570 and read cosmography as his subject. It was the time when England was increasingly looking at its trading interests abroad, as well as emerging as a rival of Spain which claimed to be the protector of the Catholic faith. In 1580 the Muscovy Company was active in Russia and Persia, vigorously attempting to complete the discovery of the North East passage. Around the same time a new Eastland Company was founded by the government for the Baltic trade. Thus it was natural that the atmosphere of the time drew Hakluyt's attention to enterprises of the English mercantile expansion outward. After he finished his education at Oxford, he was engaged in the Muscovy Company's activities. At the same time his interests in North America were growing. He asked an Italian friend at Oxford to translate Ramusio's narrative of Jacques Cartier's first two voyages to Canada. In 1582 he published *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America* on his own.

Even though he kept his enthusiasm about North America, Hakluyt turned his attention to the East. In 1583 he was appointed chaplain of the English embassy in Paris, in which he remained until 1588. In Paris at that time there were a number of political refugees who fled from Portugal which was occupied by King Philip of Spain. Among them some used to work as officials in the East. Although he still kept on being involved in American projects such as the publication of *Discourse of the Western Planting*, it can be assumed that by listening to interesting stories from Portuguese ex-officers, Hakluyt might have started to develop his curiosity in the East (Williamson 1946:32). All plans for enterprises in North America were then suspended because of the war which broke out with Spain in 1585. After he

published *The principall navigations, Voiages and Discoueries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land, in the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 years* in 1589, Haklyut started to get involved in the East Indian project. Before the. East India charter was granted by the government, Hakluyt was called in because of his wide knowledge of former voyages and of eastern topography and commodities. Later on he became the permanent consultant of the Company (Williamson 1946:39). The Company was established in 1600.

His *Principal navigations* does not contain as many travelogues about India as about other areas such as North America, and the image of the sub-continent was still vague and intangible. This is mainly because the compilation largely concerned the achievements of the English in travelling to remote lands before 1500, and there was no record of any Englishman visiting India between the Bishop of Sherborne in 883 and an English Jesuit, Thomas Stephens, in 1579 (Strachan 1974:208). Hakluyt managed to include John Newbery's letters, and the story about travelling across the sub-continent to Pegu of Ralph Fitch who accompanied Newbery. Hakluyt also included a non-English traveller and reprinted the English translation of a Venetian merchant, Cesare Fedrici, whose observation of India was published as *Viaggio di M. Cesare de Fedrici, nell' India Orientale, et oltra l'India...* in 1587 in Venice. Fedrici's description of Indian geography and customs were vivid. But the information on India given to English readers was still obscure at this stage.

In 1598, Hakluyt took another step to share his store of knowledge with the public. At his instigation, Linschoten's *Itinerario* was translated into English and published. As we saw above, the *Itinerario* contained a wider range of items about India, from topography to articles which merchants obtained there, and the description of the practices of natives had greater depth. It is probable to say that the translation had an impact on the English and to some extent formed an image of 'India'. And as mentioned, the *Itinerario* delineated 'India' and 'Hindus' partly through the eyes of the Portuguese. Therefore, the image of the sub-continent and its inhabitants which prevailed in England at that time can also be thought of as transitional towards the modern. Moreover, Hakluyt himself can be considered the inheritor of the Portuguese point of view. Although he did not incorporate many materials in the *Principal Navigations*, he himself was well

informed about India through literature written in other languages. He knew Portuguese and we can see that he was acquainted with the work of Barros, the Portuguese historian (Strachan 1974:210). When he was in Paris, he encountered some Portuguese who were on the side of Don Antonio, the exiled pretender to the throne of Phillip II and fled there after the Spanish annexation of Portugal in 1580. So, it can be said that the Portuguese ideas of 'India' were shared by Hakluyt.

When Hakluyt died, Samuel Purchas inherited the materials which he had collected. Purchas continued to work on compiling travel writings, and then a significant transformation of the image of 'India' gradually started. In 1625 *Purchas his pilgrimes* was published. Since more English merchants went out to remote countries to seek commercial opportunities after Hakluyt's death in 1616, Purchas could include writings by the English. From 1608 onwards, the East India Company started to get actively engaged in the Indian trade and as a result substantial information was collected. Purchas had direct access to the records possessed by the Company. For example, before 1614 the Governor, Sir Thomas Smith, gave him the account of the Mughal court written by Captain William Hawkins, the Company's informal ambassador to the Empire from 1609 to 1611, and in 1621(2?) the Company granted him permission to access the Company's journal, especially the Journal of Sir Thomas Roe (Strachan 1997:242). As a result in Purchas's collection included the descriptions of the main English travellers in India by 1620: Ralph Fitch, John Mildenhall, William Hawkins, Thomas Coryate, the Reverend Edward Terry and Sir Thomas Roe. Moreover, the literature of non-English writers were also taken into account including the Dutchman's, John Huyghen van Linschoten, whose *Itinerario* again appeared in print.

What sort of effect did the works of Hakluyt and Purchas have on England at that time? Lach assesses Hakluyt's job and stresses that 'the English reader, who at mid-century had almost nothing available in his own language on the overseas world, now had at his disposal one of the finest collections of original sources to appear in the sixteenth century.' (Lach 1965:215) Their collections of travel writings enabled people to acquire pre-packed knowledge of various areas and helped them start to form a certain image of remote countries and their inhabitants. The extent to which Hakluyt and Purchas's works influenced the process of constructing the

image of 'India' should not be exaggerated, since their collections not only were about the Indian sub-continent, but also other areas such as Africa and the Americas. But at least it can be said that by being compared with other areas, India's distinctive attributes such as its inhabitants whose religion differed from Christianity, and the magnificent Empire of the Mughal – came to be known among English people. This was as a result of the compilers' efforts in editing an enormous amount of travel writings available at that time into accessible form.

It is intriguing that Haklyut and Purchas themselves can be considered as people living in the transitional era from the pre-modern to the modern worlds. Helgerson points out that behind Hakluyt's works there existed two ideological aspects which constituted the atmosphere of expansion at the time: one was the inclination towards heroic enterprises and the other was the purely mercantile seeking of profits. The former was an aristocratic ideology which was dominant among noblemen. They emphasised chivalric glory and identified their nation with the monarch and the arms-bearing nobility. The ideology was of noblemen who sought fame in sailing to remote countries such as India and America. In this sense, it was the opposite of the commercial-oriented ideology among merchants. 'Free traders and imperialists repeat,' Helgerson says, 'albeit with significant changes in emphasis and ideological commitment, the differences between merchants and gentlemen that divided both Elizabethan culture and Hakluyt's text.' (Helgerson 1992:48) Hakluyt compiled *Principal Navigations* by relying on many writings by the hand of merchants. If we focus only on this aspect of his work, Hakluyt can be recognised as a carrier of the mercantile ideology. But as Helgerson says, his text was divided into two parts based on two ideologies. Hakluyt recognised Sir Walter Raleigh's endeavours in Virginia as a heroic enterprise. He asked Stephan Parmenius, a Hungarian humanist, to compose poems about the voyage in Latin. The enterprise was led by Raleigh's half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert. But both Parmenius and Gilbert died on the voyage. The poems were about heroic adventures and obviously based on the aristocratic ideology. Hakluyt put Parmenius' poems in his *Principa Navigations* along with merchants' writings.

Thus if we associate the aristocratic and heroic ideology about sailing to remote countries such as India and America with the pre-modern

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and the mercantile ideology with the modern, it can be said that Hakluyt, as well as Linschoten, embodied the transition towards modernity. Purchas also shows us a mixture of devotion to Christian doctrine and an inclination towards an embryonic form of the ideas of the Enlightenment. His intention in producing *Pilgrimes* was, as he declared in 'To Readers', to display 'the extraordinary Wonders, which Gods Providence hath therein effected according to his good and just pleasure.' As long as we focus on this aspect of his job, it is easy to see him as one of the Renaissance writers and say 'in the quest for marvels, then, the geographic imagination of the Renaissance travelers/writers and ethnographers ranged freely, mingling their eye-witness descriptions with received accounts of the exotic from classical and medieval writers' as Singh claims (Singh 1996:20) However, things are more complicated. According to Porter, at the same time Purchas dedicated himself to 'Theologicall and Giographicall Histories', surveying Africa, Asia and America, and he was also interested in the diversity of languages and religions and reprinted a book *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages, and religions through the cheife parts of the world* by Edward Brerewood which had been published in 1614 (Porter 1997:181-182). As King points out, in the era of the Enlightenment, scholars came to recognise 'the religions' of the world in a detached way and this led to 'religious studies' as a secular and modern discipline (King 1999:41). Therefore, it can be said that both Hakluyt and Purchas embodied the transitional nature from the pre-modern to modern worlds.

4-3-2 The recognition of plural religions and the transition from 'Religious History' to 'Natural History'

Besides an increase in the distribution of printed texts, the emergence of an idea about plural religions can be addressed as another important issue in European intellectual history, lying behind a gradual establishment of the concepts of 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus'. This is associated with the devaluation of Christianity from a single and encompassing explanation of the history of human beings, to being one among many religions whose origins and creeds can be examined on scientific knowledge. As Harrison (1990) mentions, this can be called the transition from

'Religious History' to 'Natural History'. The process was related not only to the rise of a concept of 'religions' but also to an idea about 'cultures' in the sense that doubts about 'Religious History' brought about an evolutionary theory of human society. The scientific exploration for the origin of mankind and the development of various institutions ranging from marriage to law can be found in the attempts of some precursors of anthropologists, Morgan, Maine and McLennan in the late nineteenth century. The age of exploration brought a new idea of human diversity and it made the comprehensiveness of the biblical descendent theory of human beings less convincing. The attempt to find an alternative hypothesis coincided with some scholars' attempts to prove a continuity between animals and human beings in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century (Hodgen 1964: 418). Thus, religious explanations about the history of human beings were gradually replaced by scientific ones which would eventually converge in the human evolutionary theory of Darwin. All these processes started with an inauguration of the age of exploration.

After the Portuguese sailed to the western coast of Africa, Europeans came to realise the diversity of peoples in the world. These peoples' appearance and customs seemed to Europeans remarkably different from themselves and those they had already known, for example, Arabs and Chinese. First the Portuguese encountered African hunter-gatherers in a series of their expeditions. The former found the latter to be less civilised people. Next, after the 'discovery' of the Americas by Columbus, Europeans found natives whom they saw as living a simple life without developed social organisations. These encounters with people living in other continents forced Europeans to broaden their horizons about the conception of human beings. For the first time in their history they faced the problem of how to deal with a range of cultural diversity that they had never imagined. As Hall puts, 'Europe began to define itself in relation to a new idea – the existence of many new "worlds".' (Hall 1992:289)

The most essential issue which was brought about by these encounters was that Europeans came to recognise a much larger diversity of religions apart from Christianity, Judaism and Islam. Edward Brerewood estimated that the number of Christians amounted to approximately one-sixth of the world population, Mohametans (Muslims) one-fifth, and the Idolaters almost two-thirds in *Enquiries touching the diversity of languages,*

and religions through the cheife parts of the world which was published in 1614 (Hodgen 1964: 219)

How could these new peoples be understood? It became an important question for scholars of the sixteenth century onwards. Before Europeans realised the existence of diverse peoples, the Bible had been a main resource for understanding the world and human beings were relatively homogenous in the sense that all people in the world descended from a single couple, Adam and Eve. Then one question rose. Can 'savages' in Africa and the Americas, who seemed to live in so primitive a way, also be considered to be descendants of Noah after the Deluge? As Hodgen points out, scholars resorted to two hypotheses. One of them was biblical, and the other was secular (Hodgen 1964:222). The first hypothesis still clung to the original cultural uniformity and endeavoured to explain the cultural diversity by adding some amendments to the original biblical theory. Two interpretations can be pointed out: the degeneration of human beings from the original position and the diffusion followed by changes in cultural traits (Hodgen 1964:254-55).

The first interpretation of diverse culture, the degeneration of human beings, assigned the cause of the existence of diverse peoples and customs, especially religious practices apart from those of Christianity, to a continual corruption of human beings, which started to happen in the Fall accompanied by the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. Since then, some groups of human beings have continued to lose the true form of religion. For example, Sir Walter Raleigh connects the emergence of idolatry with the corruption of the posterity of Noah.

Hence it was that... the same defection hath continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde. Yea, even among the few sonnes of Noah, there were found strong effects of the former poyson. For as the children of Sem did inherite the vertues of Seth, Enoch, and Noah; so the sonnes of Cham did possess the vices of the sons of Cain, and of those wicked Giants of the first Age. Whence the Chaldeans began soone after the Floude to ascribe divine power and honour to the Creature, which was onely due to the Creatour. First, they worshipped the Sunne, and then the Fire. So the Egyptians and Phoenicians did not onely learne to leave the true God, but created twelve severall gods...whom they worshipped, and unto whom they built Altars and Temples. ...But as men once fallen away from undoubted truth, doe then after wander for evermore in vices unknown and daily travail towards their eternal perdition: so did these grosse and blinde Idolaters every Age after other descend lower and lower, and shrinke and slide downwards from the

knowledge of one true and very God. (Quoted in (Harrison 1990:107) from Raleigh, Walter, *The Historie of the World in Five Books* (London: Pr. For R. Best, Jo. Place, and Sam. Cartwright, 1652, I.6. ii-iii (p.72))

As Raleigh claims, the thesis of degeneration saw the effects of the Fall passed on to the later generations. Thus, a son of Noah, Ham, possessed a potential seed of degradation inherited from Cain. As a result, his descendants eventually plunged into idolatry, inspired by the Devil.

The second attempt to interpret the variety of peoples from the Bible was interconnected with the first. Scholars who supported the idea of diffusion considered that idolaters and 'savages', whose religious practices were completely different from those of Christianity, were also the posterity of Noah. Their original customs and habits faded away in the course of travelling to various parts of the world. As the number of descendants multiplied, they started to mingle among themselves and further changes occurred. With reference to the origin of the American Indians, William Strachey traced their origin to the wandering Ham, one of the sons of Noah, as Raleigh did to explain about the emergence of idolatry. In *Historie of travell into Virginia Britania* published in 1612, he assumes that Ham's offspring went deep into remote areas of the America and as a result their faith started to alter. In the end, the ignorance of the true worship of the God brought about idolatry, adoration of false gods and the devil (Hodgen 1964: 261-62).

On the other hand, others who were not satisfied with the biblical thesis tried to come up with a more convincing and less biblical cause. One of the explanations was associated with environmental effect.

Geographical and environmental influences on human character had already been discussed by some writers before the seventeenth century for example, such as Jean Bodin. Bodin connected three climatic zones, hot, cold and temperate, with certain characters. The people of south have an inclination to contemplation, religion and the occult sciences. Those of north were courageous, hearty and possessed technical skills, and were enabled to rule themselves. The people of temperate climatic zone could only have a balance between the advantages of those living in both south and north. They were intellectual as well as courageous (Harrison 1990:112). Bodin's basic views about climatic influences on human dispositions reappeared in the seventeenth-century books such as Giovanni Botero's *Relations of the*

Most Famous Kingdomes and Commonweales through the World (1630) and Nathaniel Carpenter's *Geographie* (1625) (Harrison 1990:113-14). Moreover, a certain group of thinkers went further and claimed that environment affects not only inclinations in character, but also religious activities. For example, Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648) argued in *A Dialogue between a Tutor and his Pupil* (1768) that, because of the clear air, Egyptians started to worship the planets and the Indians and Brazilians' access to spices and drugs resulted in lengthy meditation and cogitation, which was found in their religious practices (Harrison 1990:117). According to Harrison (1990:114), climatic theory did not put negative meanings on the variety in human cultures as the degeneration and diffusion theory did. In this respect, the first can be regarded as secular compared to the latter two, which mainly depended on the Bible to find explanations for appearance of the diversity of human beings. But the climatic theory still retained the same principle as in the logic of degeneration and diffusion: the centrality of the Christian world. As found in Bodin's argument, a standard was set as the 'temperate climate' which Christians in Europe enjoy and the people of southern and northern regions were acknowledged as possessing distinctive predispositions.

Thus, it can be said that all of the above three attempts to understand the diversity of human beings, whether biblical or secular, shared a basic idea that a yardstick to measure a variation of peoples and their customs across the world should be the religions and practices of Christian Europe. This principle was retained when natural scientists started to endeavour to show the picture of a chain of being between creatures and mankind in the last quarter of the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century. The most difficult task for scientists was to fill in the 'missing link' between animals and human beings. As William Tyson (1650-1708) argued, an ape could be placed just below human beings. Then was there any sort of 'half-man' to fill the gap between an ape and mankind? Tyson regarded an imagined anthropoid, the 'pigmy', as the link to show a gradation from ape to man. William Petty (1623-1687) answered the question by claiming that considerable differences can be found between Africans in Guinea and Europeans, and between Africans in Guinea and those who live around the Cape of Good Hope. He continued that Africans of the Cape of Good Hope were the most beast-like among human beings (Hodgen

1964:418-22). This idea was further developed by the botanist, Carl Linnaeus, in his *System of Nature* (1735). Besides the classification and ranking of plants, minerals and animals, he grouped man into two species, *Homo sapiens* and *Homo monstrosus*. The former included (1) Wild man: four-footed, mute, hairy (2) American: copper-coloured, choleric, erect. Paints self. Regulated by custom. (3) European: fair, sanguine, brawny. Covered with close vestments. Governed by laws. (4) Asiatic: sooty, melancholy, rigid. Covered with loose garments. Governed by opinions.   (5) African: black, phlegmatic, relaxed. Anoints himself with grease. Governed by caprice. The latter covered (1') Montaineers: small, inactive, timid. (2') Patagonians: large, indolent. (3') Hottentots: less fertile. (4') American: beardless. (5') Chinese: head conic. (6') Canadian: head flattened (Hodgen 1964:424-26). The criteria for this grouping ranges from physical characteristics such as skin colour, to cultural attributes such as clothes, and we cannot find consistency. However, in Linnaeus's division of mankind into two hierarchical groups, we can find an incipient form of evolutionary theory of cultures in the nineteenth century.

In connection with the rise of a relatively concrete body of knowledge about 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus', this series of attempts to understand human diversity, and the gradual realisation that there are many religions in the world, can be seen to have had an influence on the projects of William Jones, who established a basis for the philology of Indo-European languages. Jones basically relied on the Mosaic history, like the advocates of degeneration and diffusion theory (Trautmann 1997:42-64). He identified Indians, Arabs and Tartars, with the three sons of Noah, Ham, Shem and Japhet. The Indo-European language group, which included Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Germanic, Celtic and Old Persian, was considered to be spoken by the progeny of Ham. Thus, even though the classification and ranking of groups of human beings were being attempted by natural scientists such as Petty and Linnaeus, the grip of biblical explanations over Europeans died hard and was not overturned until Darwin's evolutionary hypothesis came onto the scene in the late nineteenth century.

As we saw above, the transition from 'Religious History' to 'Natural History' started as a slow and gradual process from its inauguration in the age of exploration. But in its time, the diversity of cultural groups came to be

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acknowledged and an awareness of the plurality of religions emerged. Besides language, religion became a main object of analysis in order to seek the original form of God's revelation, which was lost in the process of religious diversity. To do so, comparison of religions was employed as a methodology. Samuel Shuckford, for example, in *The Sacred and Profane History of the World Connected* (1740), attempted to align the names of several pagan gods to equate them to each other. The Egyptian 'Thyoth' was identified with the Greek Hermes and the Roman Mercury (Harrison 1990:140). It can be said that before British Orientalism began in the academic form of Indology in the late eighteenth century, the idea that various religions existed in the world was embraced in Europe. This certainly cultivated the ground for 'Hinduism' to come to the fore as the religion which represented 'India' as Indology developed.

4-4 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have tried to clarify how the image of 'India' was transformed after the English and Dutch replaced the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century. It was based on the transition in *episteme* in the Foucauldian sense from the pre-modern to the modern way of seeing the world. The shift was clearly found in travel writings by the English and Dutch. At first their knowledge was mostly inherited from the Portuguese and thus biased by the Catholic view of the world: right Christians versus wrong pagans. For example, Linschoten, a Dutchman who served the Portuguese, claimed that heathens should be saved in the light of Christianity, which belonged to the pre-modern way of understanding 'the Other'. On the one hand, he reduced 'India' to a land of itemised commodities, while scholars of the Enlightenment era classified everything on the basis of scientific knowledge. But towards the end of the seventeenth century, a more concrete image of 'India' and the religion of its inhabitants, 'Hinduism', gradually came to appear. An English ambassador to the Mughal Empire, Sir Thomas Roe and his chaplain Edward Terry, discovered an extravagant court life and 'Muslims' – in addition to 'Gentiles' (i.e. 'Hindus') – also became essential aspects comprising 'India'. And as we can find in the writing of Baldaeus, a systematic body of knowledge concerning 'Hinduism'

emerged. Thus, before the British Orientalism of William Jones emerged at the beginning of colonialism, a certain picture of 'India' had come to the fore and become the basis for scholars of the future generation who would develop Orientalism. Two developments in Europe, an increase in circulation of printed materials on India and the recognition of plural religions, were also associated with the cultivation of the ground for the emergence of what would become Indology.

Notes

[1] Fabian seems to draw the picture of the medieval conception of the world in a rather simple way by describing pagans and infidels as just inclusive in the Christian World. As we can see in the cases of the Inquisition, Muslims and Jews were often regarded as great threats to the Christian faith. Thus, we should bear in mind that even though pagans and infidels were seen as prospective Christians, they were not so simply incorporative as Fabian claims. It is probable that from the Christian point of view, pagans and infidels were to convert to Christianity which is at the centre of the world. And in theory pagans and infidels, namely the 'Others' in medieval times should be incorporated into their world by means of conversion. But in reality there was antipathy on the part of missionaries and resistance among pagans and infidels to the task of conversion.

[2] This chapter examines mainly writings written by the English and Dutch travellers because of the lack of French materials back to the early seventeenth century. But this does not mean that French travellers did not participate in transforming the image of India. For example, we can find the name of Pierre Sonnerat who left a detailed record by travelling to India.

[3] The monopoly of the Portuguese king over the spice trade was mostly in the case of Euro-Asian trade and this was not the case of intra-Asian trade. According to Om Prakash, at the end of the sixteenth century the Portugese intra-Asian trade replaced Euro-Asian trade and a number of private Portuguese traders engaged in trade within Asia (Prakash 1999:177).

[4] Some Jesuits visited the court of the Empire 1580-83, 1591, and 1595-1605. The Mughal ruler at that time, Akbar, had a very tolerant attitude towards other religions and welcomed the Jesuits. Among them, especially Jerom Xavier learned Persian up to the level that he could communicate without interpreters (Lach 1965:275-279). Although their efforts to convert Akbar were in vain, the priests played a significant role as intermediaries between the Portuguese and the Mughal.

[5] Rogerius, or Roger, Abraham was a Dutch clergyman who was sent to Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast in 1632. After spending ten years there, he went to Batavia and then went back home. His study of Hinduism, as a result of frequent conversations with local Brahmans, was put together by his widow and published in 1651 under the title of *De open-deure tot het verborgen heydeneom* after his death. (Lach 1993:1029-31)

[6] According to Charpentier, most information in the description of Hindu idolatry can be matched with the study of Jacobo Fenicio on the same topic written in Portuguese (Charpentier 1921-23)

[7] This is the year when the first volume of the book came out. The third and the last volume was finally published in 1556.

[8] It is probable that the transformation of the country from Catholic to Protestant affected the acquisition of information, which could be found in the Jesuit Annual Letters.

Chapter Five. Conclusion

As Cohn indicates, it was not until the eighteenth century that India increasingly became a knowable world for Europeans, especially for the British, by being translated into classified and categorised knowledge in forms such as published reports, statistical returns, histories, gazetteers, legal codes, and encyclopedias (Cohn 1996:3-5). This close connection between colonialism and the utilisation of knowledge of the colonised corresponds closely with what Said discussed in *Orientalism*. It is true that British scholars in religion, philosophy, history, law and so on engaged in categorising India into terms such as 'Hinduism', 'villages' and 'castes', which were believed (and are still believed) to constitute the core of Indian society, and their work made a great contribution to the creation of a modern administrative system in India. On the other hand, as mentioned in the introduction, if we look at some arguments of Indologists after the rise of Orientalism in the late eighteenth century, not all images of India produced by Indologists were associated with concepts of Indian inferiority. As Trautmann points out, in the context of Indo-European philology, Sanskrit, a language of Indian ancient texts, was classified in the same group as European languages such as Greek and Latin (Trautmann 1997:37-8). And Indian sacred texts were utilised by early Indologists such as Jones and Holwell in order to seek 'the primitive experiences and religion of the human race' and 'the truth of Christian scripture' (Trautmann 1997:97) Later, as time progressed to the nineteenth century, this admiring view of Indian culture was replaced by a more nagative orientalist perspective. Figures such as James Mill pushed the glorious Indian civilisation into the past and saw contemporary Indians as degraded from the original legacy. In this way, admiration and contempt for Indians were somehow reconciled in the history of a gradual corruption from a great ancient civilisation. In any case, what we can see from this entangled story of Indologists' attitudes towards India is that we should subtly deal with questions about understanding of 'the Other' in the light of historical development because the relation between 'Us' and 'the Other' is always changeable and complicated. It is clear that we cannot apply the simplified version of Said's thesis that the West sees the Orient

from a dichotomy of superior 'Us' and inferior 'the Other', to our project to consider European understanding of India over centuries. On the other hand, hasn't there been some structure for Europeans to create their images of India since ancient times? If we assume that the orientalists' understanding about the sub-continent was also constructed historically, where did it come from?

In order to answer the above questions, two main arguments have been set out in this thesis. The first is to detect the cultural inclination of Europeans in their understanding of India and its inhabitants by examining their historical encounters with the sub-continent mainly between the end of the fifteenth century and the end of seventeenth century.

European images of India underwent several transformations after the fleet of Vasco da Gama arrived on the shore of the western coast of India. At the first encounter with Indians, the Portuguese crews, including Gama, believed they were 'fellow Christians' ruled by Prester John, who was widely believed among Europeans to live somewhere in the East. While the Portuguese were establishing themselves mainly on the western coast of India, they started to realise that Indians believed in a different sort of religion from themselves. But the Portuguese did not employ oppressive policies towards local Indians at that time. This did not happen until Catholic missionaries landed on the sub-continent, and the Jesuits inaugurated a fervent mission among Indians for conversion, which was followed by the introduction of the Inquisition in Goa. At this point, representations of Indians were increasingly transformed into 'heretics' whose beliefs were possible threats to Christianity. The Inquisition, which was transplanted to India by the Portuguese, originally came into being in Spain in order to judge *conversos* (converts from Judaism). The Spanish Inquisition made attributes of Jews clearer by pointing out alleged Jewish customs which *conversos* engaged in. It can be assumed that 'heresy' of Indians was understood partly in relation to several attributes of Jews which had been made clear in the Spanish Inquisition. Furthermore, we can find a picture of 'heretical' Hindus in the Jesuit missionaries' attitudes towards local Indians. They strongly believed that the beliefs and practices of local Indians was completely wrong, and advocated that they should be saved in the light of the Christian faith (such practices were somehow acknowledges as a set of beliefs and could be considered as a nascent form of a distinctive

religion, 'Hinduism', whose important elements were, for example, the worship of idols, an admiration for cows and an idea of transmigration of souls). This idea of the Christian versus heretics dichotomy had a strong influence on the European way of understanding India and Indians. In the seventeenth century, along with the progress of scientific ways of thinking about the world, images of India and Indians began undergoing another transformation into a more concrete body of knowledge, and 'Hinduism' became a religion, which would become an object of study for Indologists from the late eighteenth century onwards. In this movement towards the foundation of the academic discipline of Indology, the Christian way of understanding the world continued to be influential in various ways. The Portuguese and missionary conception of 'Hinduism' and its believers was inherited by the English and the Dutch, the new powers in India, through printed texts. Thus in records written by English and Dutch travellers we can find the same predisposition to see Indians as 'heretics' as was detected in the writings of the Jesuit missionaries. Even the founding Indologist, William Jones, was not free from a tendency to see the world from a Christianity-oriented point of view. In fact, Jones philologist observed Hinduism in a rather more objective way, and did not just accuse it of being 'heretical'. However, when exploring the ethnological origin of Indians, he resorted to Mosaic history and assumed that Indians descended from Ham, one of Noah's sons.

From this examination of European images of India over two centuries, it can be argued that in order to comprehend India, Indians and their beliefs and practices, Europeans had always depended on a cluster of ideas closely linked to Christianity. Mann points out that Europe has kept its identity of 'being Christendom' and explained this partly by the fact that the Church was massively influential in European society.

Until the thirteenth century it monopolized education and written communication and provided the lingua franca: Latin. Thus state bureaucracies, manorial estates and trading associations had access to generally useful knowledge through Church infrastructures. The network of churches, abbeys, monasteries and shrines also provided the major staging-posts of extensive communication and many of the most technologically advanced agrarian economies (Mann 1988:14).

Of course, the word 'Christianity' encompasses an incredibly wide range

from theological interpretation of the Bible by scholars to more popular beliefs about Jesus Christ and the saints. Thus Christianity is a vast and diverse phenomenon, but it can at least be said that it was the most important cultural influence on the production of European images of India.

The second argument in this paper is to show the rather complicated nature of how Indolotists' way of seeing 'the Other' came to emerge. Said says:

In a sense Orientalism was a library or archive of information commonly and, in some of its aspects, unanimously held. What bound the archive together was a family of ideas and a unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective. These ideas explained the behaviour of Orientals; they supplied Orientals with a mentality, a genealogy, an atmosphere; most important, they allowed Europeans to deal with and even to see Orientals as a phenomenon possessing regular characteristics (Said 1995(1978): 41-2).

This aspect of Said's thesis in *Orientalism* can be applied to British Orientalism in India. After the Portuguese arrival in India, the more Europeans had face-to-face experiences, the more information was obviously accumulated. Before the emergence of Indology, this accumulation of knowledge on India mainly took the form of Jesuit missionary reports of the and travel writings. The increase in publication of printed books clearly played a role in distributing the knowledge among Europeans and helped them form certain images of 'India' and its inhabitants. By the end of the seventeenth century, travel writings such as Baldaeus's work had already delineated an incipient form of 'Hinduism' which was composed of myths of Hindu gods such as Siva and Vishnu, a belief in the transmigration of souls and so on. Therefore, it is probable that a certain family of ideas about India — even though it was not so clear as in later studies by Indologists — already existed before the foundation of Indology in the late eighteenth century, and these attributes of 'Hinduism' were utilised by Indologists in order to create more concrete and scientific concepts. In addition to the rise in circulation of books, another factor lay behind the rise of British Orientalism in India. This was the Europeans' attempt to understand cultural and religious diversity in the world. Actually this attempt did not directly cause a stronger establishment of the concept of Hinduism. However, the idea emerged that culturally and religiously independent groups exist in the world, in the course of which 'savages' in Africa and the

Americas were integrated into theories of the history of mankind, such as degeneration, diffusion and environment theories. As the eighteenth century progressed, comparison of cultural and religious groups came to be employed by some scholars. For example, we can find this in the comparison of names of gods in several religions by Shuckford. The acknowledgement of plural cultures and religions brought about a need to explore the attributes of each religion, and the study of Hinduism by Indologists such as Jones was within this intellectual current.

This thesis has looked into the 'European' side of the rise of the concepts, 'India', 'Hinduism' and 'Hindus'. How about the story from the Indian side? We are naturally led to a couple of questions. What sort of roles did Indians themselves play in the European images of India being produced? And how were Indian people affected by these images in their understanding of themselves?

In order to acquire knowledge of beliefs and customs in India, Europeans always had to make use of Indians, especially Brahmans, as sources. For instance, while the Portuguese were setting up an administrative system, they employed Brahmans as collectors of taxes, and the Jesuit missionaries Jacobo Fenicio and Roberto de Nobili both had Brahman priests as their interlocutors to gain access to the core of Hinduism. Of course, there were significant exceptions, especially in Delhi and other Muslim centres. However, images of India were always produced in collaboration with Brahmans or other Indians, not just by Europeans alone. In which parts of the European understanding of India, then, can we find reflections of the Indians' apprehension of themselves, and their beliefs and practices? Because Brahmans in particular gave support to Europeans in the project of circumscribing India into certain categories, it is no wonder that the Brahmanical point of view was predominantly integrated into concepts such as 'Hinduism'. Frykenberg indicates that the term 'Hinduism' coined by European Orientalists, came to be applied especially to the high culture and religion whose origins were Aryan, Brahmanical or Vedic (Frykenberg 1991:31-2). In this way, 'Hinduism' in the European sense failed to embrace the rich diversity of Indian religions, and it is true that '(t)here is hardly a single important teaching in "Hinduism" which can be shown to be valid for all Hindus, much less a comprehensive set of teachings.' (von

Stietencron 1991:13) Nevertheless, despite this diversity of Hinduism, it came to be seen predominantly through Brahmanical eyes and can therefore be said that European comprehension of India was coloured not only by a European point of view, but also by a Brahmanical one.

To make things more complicated, images of India constructed by Europeans later came to be made use of by Indians themselves in reformist and nationalist movements. For example, in the middle of the nineteenth century, strongly influenced by the Bengal Renaissance, Hindu intellectuals such as Dayananda Sarasvati, the founder of Arya Samaj, advocated that people should go back to the pristine state of Hinduism, which can be found in the Vedas (Madan 1997). Although the authority of the Vedas had long been upheld, Dayananda's idea of Hinduism was actually very similar to the 'Hinduism' which was invented by the orientalist Indologists. Indeed, the same applies to all reformist thought about Hinduism and, moreover, the same idea can be detected in discourses of Hindu nationalist organisations in recent times such as the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh) and the VHS (Vishva Hindu Parishad).

Therefore, analysing problems of understanding 'the Other' involves the historical relation between two groups, in this case, Europeans and Indians. The ideas of 'India' were created in the interactions between these two groups. Nevertheless, much can be learned by focusing closely on one side of the relation and I have chosen the periods before the rise of the English power in India, which has been rather neglected by previous scholars discussing Orientalism. I hope that this study has shown that the early European understanding had significant effects on ideas about India at the beginning of the establishment of colonial rule, and therefore had an impact on the development of Orientalism, Indology, and even contemporary thinking about India.

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