



TWO MISSIONARY ACCOUNTS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A TRANSLATION AND CRITICAL EDITION OF GUY
TACHARD'S *RELATION DE VOYAGE AUX INDES* (1690–99)
AND NICOLA CIMA'S *RELATIONE DISTINTA DELLI REGNI
DI SIAM, CHINA, TUNCHINO, E COCINCINA* (1697–1706)

Edited and translated by

STEFAN HALIKOWSKI SMITH

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For nautical matters, it was a revelation to follow the Association Tourville in their efforts to reconstruct a seventeenth-century French navy vessel of the *premier rang*, the *Jean Bart*, in Gravelines (www.tourville.asso.fr). I am grateful to the *Lexique de Navigation Maritime* available at www.cs.stir.ac.uk/~kjt/sailing/fr-ang.html for nautical technology, and to Humberto Leitão and J. V. Lopes's *Dicionário da Linguagem da Marinha Antiga e Actual* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1974), which revealed the confusions in linguistic transference. A good example of this is the Portuguese *chalupa*, which was a two-masted ship (a clear development of the English/Dutch sloop, which originally had only one mast and one jib sail to the fore) and the French *chaloupe* or launch, which was powered by oars (in English, a shallop). Illustrations from William Falconer's *Dictionary of the Marine* (London: Cadell, 1769) and definitions from his *A New Universal Dictionary of the Marine, Improved and Enlarged by Dr. William Burney* (London: Cadell and Davies, 1815) helped. There is a fine eighteenth-century glossary of nautical terms provided by Nicholas Rodger in his book *The Wooden World: The Wooden World. An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy* (London: Collins, 1986), 423–30, although not exhaustive, particularly as far as techniques of handling the sails is concerned. Alain Demerliac's *Nomenclature des Vaisseaux du Roi-Soleil de 1661 à 1715* (Nice: Omega, 1995) is a comprehensive list of the various grades of shipping commissioned by *Le Roi Soleil*. It has been interesting to follow the project to build a full-size replica eighty-four-gun two-decker of the Louis XIV era.

Vongsuravatana's "Dictionnaire des Personnages" was very useful, if not exhaustive, which I supplemented where necessary from the eighty-two volume nineteenth-century *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*. Linguistically, Popin and Deloffre's

Lexique served as a key to eighteenth-century French.¹ Otherwise, where possible, I used Furetière's *Dictionnaire universel*.² For Italian, the twenty-one volumes of the *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Turin, 1961–2002) were used. For other linguistic and orthographic difficulties, I owe a debt of thanks to the adept senior members on the www.wordreference.com forums for coming to the aid of a junior member. There are many spelling variations, which I have tried to update wherever possible, and sometimes provide a more common English transliteration where relevant (Joanna for Anjouan, for example).

I had a few problems with the calculation of distances but stuck to the post-1674 definition of the league (*lieu de Paris*) as two thousand *toises* or 3,898 metres, which is still not the same as *lieues marines* (5,556 m).

Works cited on multiple occasions in the notes are listed in the bibliography at the end, and only in shortened forms in the notes.

1 Vongsuravatana, *Un Jésuite à la Cour de Siam*, 251–328; Robert Challe, *Journal du Voyage des Indes Orientales*, 397–419.

2 Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel*.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF THE LIVES AND MOVEMENTS OF GUY TACHARD S.J. (1651–1712) AND NICOLA AGUSTIN CIMA O.E.S.A. (1650–1722)

1650:	Nicola Agustín Cima is born in Rimini, Italy
1651: April 7	Guy Tachard is born in Angoulême, Charente
1680–1684:	Tachard participates in one or more expeditions to the Antilles, under Jean II d'Estrées; worked with Père Bouhours on the <i>Dictionnaire nouveau François–Latin</i> (Paris: Pralard, 1689)
1684: August 15	Tachard professes in the Jesuit Order
Late 1684	Tachard is selected as one of six mathematicians to join the Chaumont Embassy to Siam
1685: March 3 to September 24	Departure of the Chaumont embassy to Siam, and the Jesuit scientific expedition to China. Tachard's "first" voyage
1685–1686: December 22 to June 18	Tachard's return to Paris
1686: September 1	solemn audience of the Siamese ambassadors at Versailles
1686	Tachard publishes <i>Voyage de Siam des Pères Jésuites</i> (1686)
1687: March 1 to September 26	departure of the Vaudricourt Squadron, including the return of the Siamese Embassy and the mission to establish a new French Jesuit province in Siam. This is Tachard's second voyage
1688: January 3 to July 26	Tachard's return to France
May 17	Phra Phetracha's successful coup against King Narai, Phaulkon and their French allies
June 24	Under fire, the French abandon Mergui
November	French forces abandon Bangkok
1689:	Tachard publishes his second book to some acclaim, the <i>Voyage du Père Tachard et des Jésuites envoyez par le Roy au Royaume de Siam. Contenant diverses remarques d'Histoire, de Physique, de Géographie, & d'Astronomie</i> (Paris: Horthemels, 1689)
1690: End February	Tachard sets out on his third voyage to Siam, with the Duquesne-Guitton fleet — the largest ever Indies fleet assembled by France
August	Tachard arrives in Pondicherry with the fleet. An attack on the British at Fort St George (Madras) fails; the fleet winters on an island off Ava in 1690, and returns to Pondicherry via Balasore in Bengal where Tachard met M. Deslandes and Father Duchast

1691–1693	Tachard refuses to accompany the Vincent Pinheiro mission back to Siam to “liquidate the outstanding debts of the French towards the keepers of the royal stores,” and remains in Pondicherry
1693: August	Pondicherry falls to the Dutch, and Tachard is deported to Batavia. At the end of December he sails for France on a Dutch convoy
1694: End October	After a long journey, Tachard returns to Paris
1695:	Tachard given the title of Vice-Provincial of the Jesuits in India
March 27	Tachard’s fourth journey to Siam with the squadron commanded by M. de Serquigny
December 21	Serquigny’s fleet calls at the Portuguese capital of Goa, and then Surat on 16 January 16, 1696. Tachard makes his own way on a Portuguese ship to Chandernagore where he stays from July to January 1697
1697: January	Tachard attempts another mission to Siam, but is rebuffed, and returns to Bengal by mid-May
February 2	Cima departs for the East Indies from Rome
1698: Late	Tachard lands in Mergui to travel overland to Siam, delivering his royal letter to the Thai monarch on January 29, 1699. He returns from Mergui to Pondicherry aboard the <i>Castricum</i> between March 2 and May 20
October 16	Cima arrives in Amoy (Emoij) after shipwreck
1699:	Cima is given a place in the Dongtang (East Church). He travels around Nanking and Chekian provinces in the imperial retinue
September 14	Tachard sets out on his return to France, arriving in May 1700 after a stopover (<i>escale</i>) in Martinique. He arrives at the court of Versailles on June 12
December 3	Cima takes possession of the cathedral of Peking in the name of the Bishop of Argolis, O.F.M.
1700:	Tachard offers two memoranda to Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain, Secretary of State for the Marine, urging re-establishment of a fort at Mergui, delivered with the letter from the King of Siam. It is during this time (presumably?) that Tachard writes his <i>Relation</i> , which he then decides not to publish
Mid-1700	After problems in Peking, and having failed to win the Emperor’s favour as court medic, Cima returns to Fukien/Fujian province and leaves for Manila
1701:	Tachard departs on his final journey to the Indies, aboard the <i>Princesse de Savoie</i> , in the Faucher fleet alongside Monseigneur de Ciccé, the Bishop of Sabula, the Abbé de Montigny, who accompanied Ciccé, and De Villedor. Stopovers in Surat and Calicut

1701? to prior to February 1703	Cima's return voyage to Europe via Acheh (Sumatra) and Siam
1702: January	Tachard sets himself up at Pondicherry, now officially seat of the French Indies
1703:	Cima liaises with Captain Meyer, sent to Mergui to redeem Danish EIC ship, <i>Elephanten</i>
1704–1705:	Cima spends twenty months among the Capuchin community in Pondicherry
1706: October 24	Cima departs from Tranquebar for Europe with Captain Meyer. My supposition is that he writes his <i>Relazione Distinta delli Regni di Siam, China, Tunchino, e Cocincina</i> on this long sea journey, although the date at the end of this text is given as June 28, 1709
1707:	Cima sends (presents?) his <i>Relazione Distinta</i> to the Venetian Senate
October 8	Leibniz writes about encounter with Cima from Hildesheim (Lower Saxony)
December 13	Having planned to meet Frederick I of Prussia in Berlin, but robbed en route, Cima proceeds via Regensburg, then Munich, to Rome
1708–1710:	Tachard clashes with the Governor of Pondicherry, Guillaume André d'Hébert, amongst other things in the so-called Naniapa Affair
1709	Cima writes a treatise on longitudes, <i>Oedipus Sphingi</i> , dedicated to Pope Clement XI
1710: September 9	Tachard has to leave Pondicherry for Chandernagore
1712: October 21	Tachard dies of fever in Chandernagore
1722:	Cima lives out his days in Venice

INTRODUCTION

MISSIONARY ACCOUNTS OF the East Indies come thick and fast over the course of the seventeenth century, an era in which the successes of exploration and the opening of new trade routes gave way to the “harvesting of souls” for the Catholic church. The papal congregation for propagating the faith or “Propaganda Fide” had been founded in 1622 in the Tridentine spirit of centralization and reassertion of papal authority and was established to coordinate jurisdictional and sacramental authority for missionary work. Apostolic Colleges like that at San Pietro in Montorio in Trastevere or Saint Bonaventure and John Capistran in Mexico City were purposefully set up to recruit and train outgoing or incoming missionaries, amongst other things, in foreign languages, whether Nahuatl or Arabic.¹ Regular clergy (from the Latin *regula*, living under a “rule”) had of course been sent out in considerable numbers over the sixteenth century alongside secular priests, especially after “the propagation of the Faith and progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine” via ministries detailed in the second papal bull *Exposcit debitum* had been incited by the Jesuits in 1550.² Now other orders like the Capuchins, the Carmelites, the Theatines, Barnabites and—somewhat laggard, the Augustinians—also took it upon themselves to send professed members *ad partes infidelium*.³ The whole concept of *missio*, it has been argued, took on a new meaning, one of association with a specific body of clergy, precisely at this time.⁴ Apostolic provinces overseas were created under titular bishops for the purposes of administering these different orders, although they did not necessarily map contiguously on to the pre-existing structure of episcopal dioceses of the Portuguese Padroado (Crown Patronage), centred first on Funchal and then from 1534 on Goa, or indeed match other orders’ apostolic provinces. Thus, for example, the Dominican province of Santo Rosario, founded in 1587, encompassed the Philippines, Japan, and China but not—unlike the Franciscan province of San Gregorio Magno, founded in 1591—Siam. Many of these provinces, shaped around their order’s houses, anyway needed modification according to circumstance. The loss of Melaka to the Dutch in 1641, for example, necessitated that that bishop’s flock, spread between Makassar, Timor, Solor, Siam, and Cochinchina, join the Cochin bishopric in western India, an incredible administrative proposition! What is more, the Pope refused to renew the bishopric on account of Portugal’s secession from the Union of the Two

1 Arduino Kleinhaus, *Historia studii linguae arabicae et collegii missionum o.f.m. in conventu ad S. Petrum in Monte Aureo Romae Erecti* (Firenze: Quaracchi, 1930); more generally Kieran McCarty, “Apostolic Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith—Old and New World Background,” *The Americas* 19, no. 1 (July 1962): 50–58.

2 George Ganss, ed., *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 66–67.

3 Costa, “A diaspora missionária,” in *Dicionário de História religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Azevedo, 2:255–313. A four-day conference entitled “Os Carmelitas no mundo português” was held at the Biblioteca Nacional in Lisbon between July 19 and 22, 2017.

4 David Bosch, *Dynamique de la mission chrétienne: Histoire et avenir des modèles missionnaires* (Lomé: Haho, 1995).

Crowns with Spain; only in 1671 was a new bishop finally consecrated.⁵ These provinces were subject to regular inspections or visitations by appointed clerics, or Visitors, most famously Alessandro Valignano, S.J., who was sent from Macao to the Vice-Province of Japan between 1579 and 1582. He oversaw the establishment of important mis-siological orthodoxy, adaptationism, requested the separation of the Japan and China missions from the control of the Province of India, published *Catechismus Christianae fidei* (Lisbon, 1586), a textbook which served generations of missionaries, as well as entrenching the Jesuit practice of regular letter-writing and seeing those letters into print (*Letterae Annuae*).⁶

Whole regions in this era prior to systematic state-led colonization became dominated by specific orders: Bengal, for example, where the Augustinians founded at least sixteen parishes and set to constructing a number of churches; or Burma (Ava), where the “teaching order” of the Barnabites held sway in the eighteenth century.⁷ Nor were the old thirteenth-century mendicant orders like the Dominicans, the Order of Preachers (O.P.), or the Franciscans, the Order of Friars Minor (O.F.M.), an order split asunder into different traditions (Observants and Conventuals) and national congregations back home in Europe (for example, the Pasqualini in Spain), content to be left out of the picture. Dominicans, for example, ran the missions in Timor and the Lesser Sunda Islands, although here prone to laxity, while Franciscans remained supremely important in New Spain and in the Philippines.⁸ What had at the beginning of the sixteenth century been a situation of dire scarcity of bishops and diocesan clergy in Asia was a hundred and

5 R. Cardon, *Catholicism in the East and the Diocese of Malacca, 1511–1888* (Singapore: Malaya Catholic Leader, 1938).

6 Josef Franz Schütte S.J., *Valignano’s Mission Principles for Japan* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980); John Correia Afonso, *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542–1733* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); Liam Brockey, *The Visitor: André Palmeiro and the Jesuits in Asia* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 2014).

7 *Brevilogio de notícias das cousas e dos Sujeitos da Congregação da Índia Oriental dos Eremitas Agostinhos e de várias cousas da Ordem dos mesmos eremitas acomodados ao intento dedicado a D. Luis da Costa por Frei Faustino da Graça, religioso da mesma congregação, filho de Goa* (Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda, MS 49–I–51); Filippo M. Lovison, *La missione dei chierici regolari di S. Paolo nei regni di Ava e Pegù (1722–1832)* (Rome: Pontificia universitas gregoriana, 2000).

8 João Diogo Alarcão, “A Ordem de S. Domingos e as origens de Timor,” *Independência* 5 (1987): 35–47. Some illustrative examples are encapsulated in the impressions of the governor sent out from Goa in 1702, António de Albuquerque Coelho, set down in Paulo M. Martins, *Percorrendo o Oriente. A Vida de António de Albuquerque Coelho (1682–1745)* (Lisbon: Horizonte, 1998), 71–83. A starting point for the Franciscan presence in New Spain remains John Leddy Phelan, *The Millennial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World: A Study of the Writings of Gerónimo de Mendieta (1525–1604)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956) and Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico. An Essay on the Apostolate and Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523–72*, trans. Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966). Nestor Impelido’s Ph.D. dissertation, “The Religious Conditions of the Philippine Church in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century” would be a good place to begin to understand the Philippine church, although access to his thesis is made almost impossible by the university, which does not allow any notes to be taken and a maximum of one hour consultation! Private letter from Renato Bernacchia, September 9, 2016.

fifty years later reversed, to the point that groups of travelling clerics, like the French Ursulines, were not able to find a cloister in Pondicherry in 1740 and were forced to beg for repatriation.⁹ The traveller Jean-Baptiste Tavernier could report as many as eighty different churches and monasteries in Goa alone at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁰ Each order accorded its own imprint to the type of mission it established.¹¹ While the Jesuits were noted for their skill in disputations, and attention to schools and learning (the *ratio studiorum*), the Augustinians were noted for their monumental architecture, which they claimed appealed to the sensibilities of “pagans” and encouraged conversion, while Franciscans were happier with studied simplicity and modest out-of-town chapels and residences, and concentrated on pastoral activities.¹² Dominicans, the Order of Preachers, ran a busy schedule of services and night choirs, and possessed something of a mystical tinge, devoting themselves to specific cults like the Salve and a litany recited in front of statues of Our Lady, but most famously the rosary, which was thought to aid in the conversion of heretics.¹³

By 1701, the number of European missionaries in the Sinic world reached a peak of one hundred and fifty-three, though that date was reached somewhat earlier in 1614 with respect to Japan.¹⁴ Meanwhile, there were over three hundred Jesuits in the province of Goa, and around one hundred and eighty in the adjacent province of Malabar. Of course, most missionaries flocked to these places of relative safety from which Portuguese and French colonial projects were masterminded. Paulo da Costa, a church “canon and archdeacon” (fl. 1640–1665) who had overseen a diaspora of Catholics from first Makassar to Melaka and then to Cambodia sought to retire to Goa “to prepare for his death,” while fragile missionaries who had been hounded out of their own mission fields on controversial issues like the Vow of Obedience to the Vicars Apostolic of the French Missions Étrangères de Paris, like Maldonado de Mons S.J. (1634–1699), sought refuge in Pondicherry, the headquarters of the French colonial presence in the East, in 1692.¹⁵ There were far fewer missionaries on the ground in the ports and territories

9 Keller-Lapp, “Who is the Real Sovereign of the Ursulines in Pondicherry?” João Paulo Oliveira e Costa provides a good survey “A Diáspora missionária” in *Dicionário de História religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Carlos Moreira Azevedo, 4 vols. (Lisbon: Círculo dos Leitores, 2000), 2:255–313.

10 Tavernier, *Travels in India*, trans. Ball, 1:248 (1925 ed.).

11 A useful point of departure remains Agnès Gerhards, *Dictionnaire historique des ordres religieux* (Paris: Fayard, 1998).

12 The vault of the Santo Agostinho church in Goa collapsed in 1842, but M. T. Chicó has used old photographs to reconstruct its appearance in a drawing; “A igreja dos Agostinhos de Goa e a arquitectura da Índia portuguesa,” *Garcia de Orta* 2, no. 2 (1954): 233–40.

13 Giovanni Pizzorusso, “Una controversia sul Rosario. Domenicani i Gesuiti nelle Antille francesi, 1659–1688,” *Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica* 2 (1994): 202–15; see also Joan Meznar, “Our Lady of the Rosary, African Slaves and the Struggle against Heretics in Brazil, 1550–1660,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 9, nos. 3–4 (2005): 371–97.

14 Claudia von Collani has compiled the relevant Chinese statistics in *Handbook of Christianity in China*, vol. 1, 635–1800, 307–8; also Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 321.

15 *Relazione delle missioni de’ vescovi vicarii apostolici*, 105; Halikowski Smith, “Jean-Baptiste Maldonado,” 46.

administered by the North European Protestant powers where, as we shall see, they were either sent packing, as was the case in Melaka and Bombay after the handover to the English in 1663, sometimes passively tolerated and engaged to minister to the inherited mixed-race populations in places like Madras, or—as in Tranquebar—welcomed by governors like Johann Sigismund Hassius in a bid to improve the general moral rectitude of the colony.¹⁶ The Japan mission inspired many Jesuits after Xavier's encouraging letters; at its zenith in 1608 there were two hundred and thirty-three priests.¹⁷ For much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially after Japan started to close itself to Catholic missionaries from 1614 and definitively in the 1630s, China was the apogee of a missionary career, the dessert (*el postre*) as described by one (of many) zealots, Fray Pedro de Ayala, O.F.M.¹⁸ Not only was the "Great Chan" seen as the preeminent Asian potentate (albeit in Giovan Battista Morelli's classification a tie with the "Great Mughal"), but the Chinese people were regarded as numerous, upright, white, and industrious.¹⁹ But entry into this chosen mission-field was tightly controlled in order not to destabilize the sensitive politics of outsiders' entry into what was effectively a closed world; Standaert has calculated that a maximum of only forty-five Jesuits ministered in the Vice-Province of China in the mid-1750s. Macao became effectively a holding station, a city full of seminaries and thwarted priests true to its name "Cidade do Nome de Deus."²⁰

Meanwhile, a small minority, like Morelli, dreamt of the heroics of devil exorcisms in Pegu, or even sought a fate as martyrs for their cause in challenging mission fields outside the European sphere of influence. The most famous of these martyrs was João de Brito, later St. John of Brito, the second "Francis Xavier," who died on the Madurai mission in 1693 as an example of apostolic devotion in the footsteps of the early Christian martyrs in Roman times.²¹ The historian, Roscioni, has unearthed the petitions of those

16 For Bombay, see Ernest Hull S.J., *Bombay Mission—History with a Special Study of the Padroado Question*, 2 vols. (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1927–30).

17 Xavier's first letter from Kagoshima, dated November 5, 1549, is reproduced in Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, 401–5.

18 Cited in Beckmann, "China im Blickfeld der mexicanischen Bettelorden," 81–92, 195–214.

19 G.-B. Morelli, "Della grandezza, e magnificenza del Re di Siam," Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Filza 1606, unnumbered letter following on Lettera 276. The Enlightenment view of China was spread by Philippe Couplet subject of a biography: *Philippe Couplet, The Man who Brought China to Europe*, ed. Jerome Heyndrickx, Monumenta Serica Monograph Series 22 (London: Routledge, 1990), and later armchair compilers like Jean-Baptiste du Halde, *Description de l'Empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise* (Den Haag: Scheurlee, 1736).

20 Eusébio Arnaiz Alvarez, *Macau, Mãe das Missões no Extremo Oriente* (Macau: Salesiana, 1957); António M. Martins do Vale, "Macau: porta da China," in *Além Mar. Revista Missionária* 44, no. 477 (December 1999): 15–18.

21 Halikowski Smith, "'Floating' European Clergy in Siam." There is little recent literature on Brito, and plenty of older hagiographies, but James Brodrick's essay, "The Significance of St. John de Britto," *The Month* 184 (1947): 205–15 can be recommended. Other significant martyrdoms in the East include five Jesuits in Salcete, Goa in 1583, the "martyrs of Cuncolim," see Angela Barreto Xavier, *A invenção de Goa: poder imperial e conversões culturais nos séculos XVI e XVII* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 2008), chap. 6; the eight martyrs of Ethiopia including famously

young men who sought to go to India (*petebant Indias*) in the Archivio della Compagnia di Gesù in Rome, from which we can learn much about their motivations. The formulation “inflamed with desire to be there for him, in the guise of another martyred Lawrence” was, however, in the eyes of the church authorities, exactly the reason to refuse such a passionate candidate, in this case the nobleman Giulio Orsini.²² Other would-be missionaries were deflected to less glamorous but equally worthwhile missions closer to home like the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth, which they were reminded constituted *le Indie d'Europa*.²³ A recent strand of research has suggested many Jewish *conversos* were drawn to the missionary orders, amongst them men to be considered the very pillars of orthodoxy: men like Antonio Possevino (1533–1611), author of an influential encyclopaedia of the Counter-Reformation. Perhaps they thought their marginality, which saw New Christians particularly along the Malabar coast vigorously rooted out by the Inquisition, was less exposed from within ranks.²⁴

Over the last few pages we have attempted in broad brush strokes a phenomenology of the early modern missionary orders. While there have been brilliant attempts recently to probe the Jesuit “cosmo-vision,” the deeply-held beliefs of truth, time, and space that animated the order’s activities worldwide, other recent conferences and books dedicate themselves to “Clero y cultura escrita.”²⁵ We are reminded as historians of the broad range of representative source material: spiritual and devotional literature, chronicles, spiritual autobiographies, hagiographies, aphorisms, disquisitions on canon law, *agonías* (or guides to dying), catechisms, Church histories, a specific genre of female religious literature, as well as personal diaries, collections of letters, and even plays

Macciadus and Pereira in 1625, *Mortes illustres et gesta eorum de societate Jesu, qui in odium fidei, pietatis et ab Ethnicis, Haereticis etc. sunt occisi*, ed. Philippe Alegambe and János Nádasí (Rome: Varesij, 1659); more than two hundred and fifty Christians, the “martyrs of Japan” (日本の殉教者) were put to death in pre-*sakoku* Japan. Maria Cristina Osswald has published on martyrdom’s artistic representations: “A Iconografia do Martírio na Companhia de Jesus entre os sécs. xvi e xviii,” *Revista Portuguesa de Filosofia* 65, no. 1 (2009): 1301–13. Martyrdom was seized upon by the Jesuits to describe *confrères* lost at sea, see for example Jerónimo de Jesús, “Relación del glorioso martirio de seis frailes descalços [1600],” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 18 (1925): 90–113, 559–84.

²² Gian Carlo Roscioni, *Il desiderio delle Indie. Storie, sogni e fughe di giovani gesuiti italiani* (Torino: Einaudi, 2001).

²³ Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2012).

²⁴ Robert Maryks, “The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 78 (2009): 339–416; James Bernauer and Robert Maryks, *The Tragic Couple. Encounters between Jews and Jesuits* (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

²⁵ Luke Clossey, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Federico Palomo del Barrio, ed., “Introducción: Clero y cultura escrita en el mundo ibérico de la Edad Moderna,” in *La Memoria del mundo: clero, erudición y cultura escrita en el mundo ibérico (siglos xvi–xviii)*, ed. Federico Palomo del Barrio, Cuadernos de Historia Moderna, Anejo 13 (Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 2014), 11–26, accessed January 28, 2015, <http://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CHMO/issue/view/2628/showToc>.

(which we can divide into short mystery plays or *farsas* and *autos sacramentales*, one-act plays celebrating the Eucharist). At one extreme, *religiosos* produced imaginative literature, while on the other they produced scientific literature.²⁶ Clerics were literate men and women with time on their hands for reflection, and writing seemed to be a practice of validating their lives. At the same time, it was men of the cloth who manned the various boards of censorship which approved or forbade the entire process of publication in Catholic countries, and we might be reminded that even the devotional works of Francis Borja were proscribed until after he became General of the Jesuits in 1565.²⁷ Only a minority continued to insist that writing itself was to be considered vain and profane and contrary to the obligatory humility characterizing Christian life.²⁸

The two texts presented here: the Jesuit Guy Tachard's *Relation de Voyage aux Indes, 1690–99* and the Augustinian Nicolò Cima's *Relazione Distinta delli Regni di Siam, China, Tunchino, e Cocincina* (ca. 1707) are both, however, examples of profane literature. If Cima's is a *tour d'horizon* of the market opportunities across the East Indies amounting to a business proposition to the secular authorities to revive Eurasian trade, Tachard's might best be characterized as a personalized early modern travel account, which I would define as literature generated from the experience of travelling. Such travel literature was many things. It was not only popular (it has been estimated that John Locke, for example, owned at least one hundred and ninety-five of these books, out of a library of around 3,650 volumes), but also important, in the analysis of Joan-Pau Rubiés, acting as the "structuring agency" for the very rationalist transformations during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which created the Enlightenment.²⁹ This choice of genre perhaps marked a deliberate ploy in the case of Ayutthaya to move away from traditional exhortations or assurances of the imminent conversion of the Thai ruler;³⁰ a recognition as Ruangsilp has recently put it that the French Roman Catholic missionaries, who had arrived in the early 1660s, "had gained almost no following among the indigenous

26 For a comprehensive study of the Spanish case, see Alison Weber, "Religious literature in early modern Spain," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David T. Gies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 2004), 149–58 and otherwise general surveys of literary production like Roger Chartier and Henri-Jean Martin, eds., *Histoire de l'édition française*, 4 vols. (Paris: Fayard, 1989–91).

27 Pedro Guibovich Pérez, *Lecturas prohibidas. La censura inquisitorial en el Perú tardío colonial* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2013).

28 The analysis of the books they wrote is, of course, closely connected to the books they kept. For this, see Bernard Dompnier and Marie-Hélène Froeschlé-Chopard, *Les Religieux et leurs livres à l'époque moderne* (Clermont-Ferrand: Presses Universitaires Blaise Pascal, 2000).

29 Ann Talbot, "*The Great Ocean of Knowledge*": the influence of travel literature on the work of John Locke (Leiden: Brill, 2010); Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*, 398. Rubiés and Ollé make the assumption that 195 is "more than 10%" of 3650! ("The Comparative History of a Genre," 15).

30 See for example Valignano's account of the "principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús" as summarized in the work originally published in 1586, Juan González de Mendoza, *Historia del gran reino de la China*, ed. Ramon Alba (Madrid: Polifeno, 1990), 391.

population.”³¹ It is true that the Thai king’s generosity had perhaps deluded western missionaries, but hopes for more success as was true in the neighbouring Cochinchinese or Vietnamese missions, where as many as three hundred thousand souls were claimed, did not evaporate, as we can read in Cerri’s report of 1716, or the congratulatory biography of Monseigneur de Cicé, Bishop of Sabula between 1700 and 1727.³² Both of the authors presented in this book, Tachard and Cima, seem to subscribe to the idea that either successful trade or a French colonial presence would hasten the process of conversion.³³ The expression of such worldly convictions may have been a widely remarked superciliousness on the part of French and Italians to the earnest religious exhortations of Iberian *frailes idiotas*, but the degree to which both authors here diverge from pure missiology may indeed signal the end of one missionary era. The assertion of Gallicanism, the political supremacy of the French king, was already jeopardizing Rome’s hold (cf. ultramontanism) over the missionary diaspora.³⁴ Now the Protestant schoolmasters and scholars of the Tranquebar and Tanjore missions, who were starting to arrive from 1706, stole the lead, disapproving of the Jesuit policy of accommodation, criticizing their schools, amount of preaching and level of catechizing. While it is often considered that Dutch and English reformed ministers were primarily factory chaplains ministering to Europeans, we cannot overlook a missionary vanguard in the form of Quakers active in the New World, or Baptists and Pietists in the East Indies. Their attack—combined with the Catholic orders’ internal dissensions and rivalries—triggered an absolute decline in the fortunes of southern European Catholic endeavours, culminating in the expulsion and deportation of all Jesuits working in the eastern provinces (1759–1773), and the implosion of other orders like the Theatines, the Franciscans, who were closed down in France in 1784, and the suppression of convents across Eastern Habsburg lands by Joseph II.³⁵ Séan Alexander Smith has tried to show how the collapse of the Jesuits made

31 Ruangsilp, *Dutch East India Merchants at the Court of Ayutthaya*, 149. Western anthropologists also cut through the optimistic haze of religious conviction: Charles F. Keyes, “Why the Thai are not Christians: Buddhist and Christian Conversion in Thailand,” in *Conversion to Christianity. Historical and Anthropological Perspectives on a Great Transformation*, ed. Robert Hefner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 259–85.

32 Urbano Cerri and Richard Steele, *An Account of the State of the Roman-Catholick religion throughout the World* (London: Roberts, 1716), 120–21; Palys, *Un Breton en Indochine au XVIII^e siècle*.

33 “Letter of P. Pedro Martyr to Guy Tachard,” January 2, 1688, Tōyō Bunko (東洋文庫), Tokyo, Siam Dossier, 75/6.

34 Louis’s Siam embassy of 1685, which was led by six Jesuits, did not seek prior permission of the Propaganda Fide, nor did they swear the controversial vow of obedience demanded by the Pope. Père de La Chaise, Louis’s confessor, was vital to holding this line. “Mission de/à Siam,” Bibliothèque nationale de France (hereafter BnF), nouv.acq.fr. 6231, fol. 13; Georges Guitton, *Le Père de La Chaise, confesseur de Louis XIV*, 2 vols. (Paris: Beauchesne, 1959), 2:17.

35 There is a huge literature on the Pietist missions to Tranquebar and their increasing spill-over to other east coast missions, but Hugald Grafe, “Tranquebar Lutherans and Tanjore in the first half of the eighteenth century,” *Indian Church History Review* 1 (1967), 41ff. is a good introduction. For some general context, see Douglas H. Shantz, *An Introduction to German Pietism: Protestant Renewal at the Dawn of Modern Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013). Dauril

space for other groups like the Lazarists, who were now entrusted Jesuit houses in the Ottoman empire and the Jesuits' previous functions in Beijing.³⁶ But there are plenty of other indicators to show how established Roman Catholic communities in the East turned wholesale to the new Protestant church, and indeed oftentimes became its generous sponsors.³⁷

We know a lot about the individual itineraries, to parrot Catherine Jami, of western missionaries.³⁸ Indeed, lists comprising the departure of every single Jesuit heading to the China mission field have been compiled by Wicki and Dehergne, and diligent cohorts of church historians, often in a spirit of celebration, have chronicled the lives and activities of their departed *confrères*, and their specific missions, from the eighteenth century through to the present day.³⁹ Sometimes the purpose is nationalist.⁴⁰ This hagiographical tradition in missionary studies is deeply problematic. We cannot deny that missionaries are often regarded with disdain by the liberal, secular elite of today, even if as the *Correios de Portugal* reminds us from its recent first-day cover (March 18, 2016) regular clergy like the Jesuit Order were “Construtores da Globalização,” that globalization which that liberal elite very much enjoys today. Why then that disdain? If you visit the Scheutist Order on the Rue de Ninove in Brussels, there is a room bedecked with photographs of every missionary of that order going back one hundred years. Looking around, one detects the neatest of caesuras. From 1974 there are no more white, male, Belgian missionary faces—nobody desires to enter that profession any longer. It becomes exclu-

Alden, “The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Assistancy in Asia: The Fate of Survivors, 1760–77,” in *Vasco da Gama and the Linking of Europe and Asia*, ed. Anthony Disney and Emily Booth (New Delhi: Oxford University Press 2000), 361–86. The British overseas missions in the hands of the Baptists begin with Carey and Thomas’s journey to India in 1793, E. Daniel Potts, *British Baptist Missionaries in India, 1793–1837* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Stephen Neill and Owen Chadwick, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986). The Baptist missions opened ground up to women for the first time, both as missionary agents and recipients; Lisa J. Pruitt, “Possessed of a Missionary Spirit? English Baptist Women and Bengali Missions from Dorothy Carey to the Baptist Zanena Mission, 1792–1914,” *American Baptist Quarterly* 17, no. 4 (1998): 285–304.

36 Séan Alexander Smith, *Faalty and Fidelity: the Lazarists of Bourbon France, 1660–1736* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015).

37 Halikowski Smith, “Languages of subalternity and collaboration,” 257–58, concerning the family histories of Willoughby da Costa and Manuel Derozio, and other individuals like the Reverend Ignatius Fernandez and Francisco de Acha.

38 The research project “Itinéraires individuels et circulation des savoirs scientifiques et techniques en Chine moderne (xvie-xxe siècles)” (Individual Itineraries and the Circulation of Scientific and Technical Knowledge in Early Modern China (16th–20th centuries), Université de Paris Diderot (SPHERE) ANR-09-SSOC-004 under the direction of Prof. Catherine Jami (2009–2012).

39 Josef Wicki, “Liste der Jesuiten-Indienfahrer 1541–1758,” *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte* 7 (1967), 252–450; Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine*. Achilles Meersman has done this job for the Franciscan order over the course of the 1960s and ’70s, nearly eight hundred and fifty of whom he can identify: *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces of India, 1500–1835* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society, 1971).

40 Duc Ha Nguyen. *Polscy misionarze na Dalekim Wschodzie w XVII–XVIII wieku* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2006).

sively contracted out to priests from the wider world: Chinese, Vietnamese, African. The “native clergy” problem, which bedevilled Christian missions over the early modern period and provides historians with one of the strongest explanations for the relative failure of the Christian conversion project, is in one stroke overturned.⁴¹ It is as if for Belgians the missionary profession ceases to exist from 1974.

This means that as Europeans of the twenty-first century we need to remind ourselves of who missionaries were, and their supreme importance in intercultural projects of translation, producing many exemplary dictionaries such as João Rodrigues’s *Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam* in 1603, or Antonio Ruiz de Montoya’s *Arte y vocabulario de la lengua guarani* in 1640.⁴² Whilst superlative linguists, missionary ethnography is more chequered. Whilst the Jesuit Acosta’s *Historia moral y natural de las Indias* (Madrid, 1590–) broke ground in its thoroughness, and choice to style itself as a history of *mores*, it was produced explicitly to aid “understanding of their affairs [for it] will encourage them to believe in ours.” Rubino’s *Relazione d’alchune cose principali del regno di Bisnagà* (1608) was primarily historical, while Athanasius Kircher’s *China illustrata* (1667) was extravagant and Lafitau’s *Moeurs des sauvages américains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps* (1724) vicarious in its idea that Indians as frozen in time by virtue of their long migrations might thus illustrate the past of the various peoples of Europe.⁴³ As mathematicians and cartographers, however, missionaries led the massive cartographic projects commissioned by the Qing emperor Kangxi (r. 1662–1723) to survey his rapidly expanding empire.⁴⁴ Adam Schall S.J. was offered the directorship of the Bureau of Astronomy at the Celestial Court following a successful prediction of the sun’s eclipse on September 1, 1644, and was followed in his post by another Jesuit, Ferdinand Verbiest, who set to building large and complex instruments for the Imperial Observatory.⁴⁵ Missionaries became architects of complex projects for urban water supply and even military fortification in cities like Kampaeng Phet in central Thailand,⁴⁶

41 Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion*, 2ff.

42 Minako Debergh, “Les débuts des contacts linguistiques entre l’Occident et le Japon (premiers dictionnaires des missionnaires chrétiens au Japon au xvie et au xviiie siècles,” *Langages*, 16, no. 68 (1982): 27–44. Montoya was discussed in a paper presented by Pedro Miguel Omar Svriz Wucherer, “The Defense of Frontier in the Spanish Empire. The Case of Guarani Militias from the Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay (17th century)” at the workshop *The Early Modern Iberian World in a Global Frame* (June 9, 2017), IAS, Warwick University.

43 I have relied on Rubiés, *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance*, chap. 9; the section “Ethnography and travel writing in early modern Europe” in Rubiés and Ollé, “The Comparative History of a Genre”; Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man. The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982), chaps. 7 and 8.

44 Theodore N. Foss, “A Western Interpretation of China: Jesuit Cartography,” in *East Meets West: The Jesuits in China, 1582–1773*, ed. Charles E. Ronan & Bonnie Oh (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988), 209–51.

45 Jonathan Spence, “Schall and Verbiest. To God through the Stars,” in *To Change China: Western Advisors in China, 1620–1960* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), 3–33.

46 Elizabeth Moore, Philip Stott, and Suriyavudh Sukhasvasti, *Ancient Capitals of Thailand* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1996), 187. More generally Denis De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications:*

and served as medics, not always so successfully, as Cima and Manucci's examples go to show,⁴⁷ as well as botanists. The Royal Society in London was quick to seize upon the Jesuit Gervaise Papin's letters relating to plants he had observed in eastern India, and their network saw to the global diffusion of quinine, which was to prove so effective in the fight against malaria, from their bases in South America.⁴⁸ Texts such as Gaetano Maria da Bergamo's *L'uomo apostolico istruito nella sua vocazione* (Venice, 1727) hold up the qualities required by "apostolic man," perhaps most importantly of all the taking of command over the conscience of others and directing that to ends connected with the triumph of the godly realm. Not all we must admit, however, were so successful. This was partly the product of the missionary enterprise which, as sociologists have explained, did not benefit from the "vertical control" of the trading companies, which owned their own ships, employed their own personnel, and generated their own profits which they encountered no obstacles in reinvesting. Missionaries were constantly obliged to negotiate patronage, passage, and protection with a lot of other institutions, alongside their central goal of proselytization. Their survival depended on their mastering the intricacies of what sociologists have called the "inter-organizational field," that is the opportunities and constraints arising from the interplay of major colonial agencies.⁴⁹ The challenge was not just experienced as a group but at a personal level. Sent out from the sheltered religious environments in which they had trained for ordination for many years across Europe, there is a wide penumbra of missionaries who now lost themselves in the immense geographic spaces and in the often hazy opportunities for furthering the cause of their Church. Some, like the two under study, became restless *trotamundos*, globe-trotters, roving somewhat unfulfilled until the end of their days.⁵⁰ In my previous work, I have tried to describe such individuals as "floating clergy," a categorization which—perhaps given its hagiographical tendencies—historiography has understandably shied away from.⁵¹ But although their personal projects were to fall short and fail, and indeed, for reasons discussed, can only appear somewhat delusional, their two authors were complex, open-minded travellers with considerable experience of life.

My chosen purpose here, then, has been not so much to celebrate as to bring to light: to translate, present and elucidate two unpublished missionary texts as an exercise

The Contribution of the Jesuits to Military Architecture in the Baroque Age (Brill: Leiden, 2012).

47 "Manucci, médecin malgré lui," in Van der Cruysse, *Le noble désir de courir le monde*, 347–50.

48 Gervaise Papin, "A Letter from Father Papin to Father Le Gobien"; and Sabine Anagnostou, "Jesuits in Spanish America and Their Contribution to the Exploration of the American Materia Medica," *Pharmacy in History* 47, no. 1 (2005): 3–17. See also her "Das Heilmittelversorgungssystem der Jesuiten in den Missionen Spanisch-Amerikas," *Neue Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 4 (2001): 241–59.

49 Howard E. Aldrich and Peter Marsden, "Environments of Organizations," in *Handbook of Sociology*, ed. Neil Smelser (California: Sage, 1988), 361–92; Amalya Oliver and Mark Ebers, "Networking Network Studies: An Analysis of Conceptual Configurations in the Study of Inter-Organisational Relationships," *Organization Studies* 19 (1998): 549–83.

50 I use the Iberian form *trotamundos* having identified the twenty-two individuals who circumnavigated the world during the seventeenth century. The majority were Iberians.

51 Halikowski Smith, "'Floating' European Clergy in Siam."

worthwhile in itself and for the sake of wider historical knowledge. The two texts chosen are from different authors, produced within the institutional framework of two different religious orders, are written in different languages, and indeed bring together different aspirations. Many manuscripts were published at the time, often by their respective orders, but these two manuscripts were not, and have remained to this day alongside lengthy handwritten letters to various European potentates, diaries, “histories,” and state memoranda, in a variety of seminaries, state libraries, and archives.

While the individual introductions to these two texts (pp. 15–46 and pp. 155–180) provide a history of the respective manuscripts, both texts constitute aspirations of reviving European contact with Southeast Asia, and specifically Ayutthaya, which is singled out for special treatment. As stated previously, neither of these two texts is greatly concerned with strategies for conversion but rather seem to suggest that this will follow naturally from successful colonial trade. Tachard’s is a *relation*, or account, of two journeys and adventures in the East Indies in the service of the French Crown over a nine-year period, with an eye to publication and with the underlying message that the French Crown should establish its base for the *Compagnie Royale des Indes* at Mergui rather than Pondicherry. Cima’s is a harangue to the Venetian authorities to enter into a trading alliance with the Danish East Indies Company as a first step to launching its own new trading company. One hesitates between use of the word “accounts” and “tales” in describing these texts, because they are both coloured by self-delusional aspects of missionary writing. By this I mean they are either nostalgic, as in the case of Guy Tachard, hankering after a state initiative that was shown to be before its time by the circumstances of the 1688 court revolution in Siam or, in the case of Cima, simply unrealistic, beyond the political and economic constraints of the day. Cima may have been responding to a three-month state visit made by the Danish king Frederik IV to Venice in the winter of 1708–1709 to envisage this trading partnership, but Venice in the eighteenth century was a city of *fasti*, or lavish partying and self-indulgence. Her sea empire was being whittled away: she was no longer able to keep order in the Adriatic and the sea corsairs at bay, her *terraferma* was being devastated, and none of the urgent public works projects, like the better fortification of the Isthmus of Corinth and the renovation of the Castello di Morea, were realized. In this context, to regularize an eight-month sea journey to the ends of the earth, with forced stops and frequent *invernadas*, or winterings in protected harbours en route, can only appear absurd.

My original intention was to entitle this book *Between Illusions and Reality. Two Unpublished Missionary Accounts of Southeast Asia* in order to explore the quirks of the missionary mind and their utopian delusions. Marketing priorities in an age where scholarly monographs are a hard sell, however, sadly counselled against this. Regardless of this play between realities and their perception, these are interesting, substantial texts that tell us a lot both about the Europeans who were writing them, and about Southeast Asia in a period when information was in much shorter supply than prior to 1688, and when kingdoms across Southeast Asia tended to retract from outward engagement with the world. Many, like Ava, would become what historians have christened “hermit kingdoms.” Both texts are marked out by their protagonists’ proximity to the corridors of state power, whether it be Louis XIV’s court and ministers, or Pope Clement XI and the

Venetian Senate in Europe, as much as the Kangxi Emperor in Beijing, and King Phetracha in Ayutthaya. Such privilege only drew the hostility and jealousy of others around them who saw them as pragmatic schemers, and from the perspective of their religious vows, frauds. Still, we are not yet in Enlightenment Europe with its actions to purposefully close down religious establishments and bring its constituent missionaries home, and both Cima and Tachard could successfully harp on as to the proximity of converting Asian potentates to the Faith. The value of these texts is not only the propensity for observation, which in Tachard incorporates as *Mathématicien du Roy* elements of the scientific, but also precocious ethnographic distinctions and the sheer scale of their canvas. These are no localized studies. I have tried as hard as possible to corroborate, interpret, and comment on the two writers' narratives, even where holes appear and discrepancies in, for example, Cima's homeward journey, present themselves. The two texts are preceded by extensive introductions to the authors and the respective worlds they inhabited, and contemporary images are everywhere reproduced to aid the reader in understanding the phenomena they write about.