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Jesuit Orientalism;
Correspondence between Tomás Pereira and Fernão de Queiros

Jesuit early modern Orientalism continues to be dismissed as unworthy of the name and generally insignificant in terms of its epistemic and heuristic achievements. The self-congratulating and heroic genealogies of the disciplines such as Indology, Sinology and Buddhology, inaugurated in the 19th-century European capitals with endowed university chairs of classical oriental languages (Sanskrit, Pali, Chinese, Manchu, etc.), tend to omit or only reluctantly include Orientalist texts written by the Jesuit missionaries such as Roberto Nobili, Matteo Ricci, Giuseppe Beschi, Ippolito Desideri and many others.[1]

One of the reasons for their exclusion from the history of the modern arena of knowledge production is the fact that the Jesuits belonged to intellectual networks that became weak, discredited and even (almost) annihilated by the end of the 18th and in the 19th century. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, has identified a related exclusionary move by the "Protestant", "Enlightenment" and predominantly Anglophone scholarship concerning the contribution of the Iberian and Catholic early modern networks, which in his words, "created a culture of empirical, experimental and utilitarian knowledge-gathering of massive proportions"[2]. Just as he rightfully demands that Iberia be brought "back into the narratives of the origins of modernity", it seems imperative as well to re-appraise the contribution of Jesuit

[1] On the development of Buddhist studies see, Stephen Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West: The Encounter of Buddhism and Western Culture*, London, Aquarian Press, 1994. Philip Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988. Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion, Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1999, Donald Lopez, (ed.), *Curators of the Buddha, the Study of Buddhism under Colonialism*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995.

[2] Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, "Iberian Science in the Renaissance: Ignored How Much Longer?", *Perspectives on Science*, vol. 12, no.1, 2004, p.86. See also his *Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006.

and Portuguese intellectual networks in the construction of the modern Orientalist scholarship. Since the nineteenth-century imperial economic and political institutions provided crucial material support to institutions in charge of gathering and producing knowledge, the balance of power was tipped decisively in favour of British and Anglophone scholarship. In a word, the operational field of western historiography was expanded but also limited to excavating the mountain heap of British imperial knowledge and its chosen peripheries.

The non-West, particularly South Asia, secured and appropriated for the British imperial laboratory was tested and quarried for various purposes. The quest of origins of the humankind and the confirmation of the Mosaic ethnology was one of them. From the late 18th century, it was closely connected with the Orientalist scholarship of Sir William Jones and his Kolkata network. This Christian theological and historical framework proved to be an enduring feature of the Orientalist representations (even when its producers were not Christian) precisely because it was neatly hidden behind the "scientific" and secular authority claims that came in vogue from the middle of the 19th century.[3] If Edward Said's *Orientalism* has unmasked the complicity of scientific representation with the workings of power and politics of location, it has also, by omission, reinforced the idea that Jesuit and Catholic Orientalist texts from the early modern period were simply insignificant.[4]

Jesuit sources have been rediscovered in the past two decades as rich and important documents by various historiographical families, from those working on "early modern science" to cultural and intellectual historians, interested in both microhistorical, capillary processes and planetary, macro historical connectivities.[5] Just as Jesuit studies have contributed to the debate challenging the commonly accepted narrative of the "Scientific

[3] Trautmann, Thomas, *Aryans and British India*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 1997.

[4] Edward W. Said, Orientalism, *Orientalism*, New York and Toronto: Random House, 1978.

[5]Luce Giard and Louis de Vaucelles (eds.)*, Les jésuites à l'âge baroque, 1540-1640*, Grenobel, Jerome Millon, 1995, Dhruv Raina, "French Jesuit Scientists in India: Historical Astronomy in the Discourse on India (1670-1770)", *Economic and Political Weekly***,** vol. XXXIV, January 1999, pp. 30-38. Catherine Jami, "For whose greater glory? Jesuit strategies and the sciences during the Kangxi reign (1662-1722)", in Wu, Xiaoxin ed., *Dialogues and Encounters: Changing Perspectives on the Chinese-Western Exchanges from the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*. Sankt Augustin, Steyler Verlag, 2005, 211-226.

Revolution", the quarrying of the Jesuit historical archives may also be useful for revising the old working model that squarely located Orientalism, a subgenre in the historical narrative of Western Modernity, within the long nineteenth-century time line.[6]

By looking into a letter written by Tomás Pereira, a Jesuit in Beijing in the second half of the 17th century, on Chinese Buddhism and addressed to a fellow Jesuit in Goa, Fernão de Queiros, who inserted it into his bulky treatise *Conquista temporal, e spiritual de Ceylão (The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon)* completed in 1688, my aim in this essay is to analyze some of the key concepts, representational and epistemic strategies constitutive of Jesuit "Orientalism". My claim is that the Jesuit classificatory procedures (accumulation, comparison, authentification and refutation) were easily built into (and harmonized with) the scholarly interests and disciplines from universal history, comparative theology and world religion to anthropology and social sciences. In the last decades of the 17th century, when Queiros and Pereira corresponded from their two, geographically distant Asian missions, we can glimpse at an increasingly systematized and historicized ethnographic framework under which Jesuit missionaries tried to make sense of their experience and the data collected in the non-Western world. Not only did the Jesuits master many of the Asian vernacular and a few classical languages, they also became almost painfully aware of the complexities and the diversity of the Asian societies and cultures.[7]

Jesuit ethnological observations, their linguistic capacities, their emphasis on philological approach to texts, and the consequent growing sense of historicism, were the basic foundations for comparing religions.[8] As elsewhere, the term religion was not yet widely used in its contemporary meaning and the Jesuit targets were mostly the observed ritual

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[6] Steven Shapin, *The Scientific Revolution*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996. Mordechai Feingold, ed, *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*. (Transformations: Studies in the History of Science and Technology.) Cambridge: MIT Press. 2003.

[7] Thomas Worcester (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008. See also *A Companhia de Jesus e a missionação no Oriente*, actas do colóquio internacional promovido pela Fundação Oriente e pela revista *Brotéria*, Lisboa, 21 a 23 de Abril de 1997, Lisbon, 2000.

[8] On the impact of the encounters with the Amerindian societies and the Spanish late scholasticism on the notion of religion see Carmen Bernand and Serge Gruzinski, *De l'idolatrie. Une archeologie des sciences religieuse*, Paris: Seuil, 1988

practices, branded as superstitions, idolatry and witchcraft rather than the questions of belief. [9] Even if the early modern taxonomy, deeply ingrained in Christian European discourse, divided the nations of the world into Christians, Jews, Mohammedans and the Gentiles and thus *nollens vollens* limited the official semantic scope in which to develop ideas on religious plurality, the concepts such as "sects" opened the space for specific distinctions. However, from the Jesuit (and Christian) point of view there was only one "true" religion or law and all others were thus compared with it negatively and by degrees of falsity, inadequacy, monstrosity, diabolic imitation and so on.

Pereira's letter, preserved in a bulky treatise is interesting because it enabled Queiros who was more of a historian then an Orientalist (in the primary sense of the world of possessing sufficient knowledge of an Oriental language) to come up with one of the best seventeenth century description of the "sect of Buddha" and its transnational diffusion. Behind the material that went into Queiros's dense historical and ethnographic narrative was a century-long Jesuit research into the subject. In China, in particular, the Jesuit involvement in the sect of Buddha was not merely ethnographic, since it provided their first accommodationist model through which they tried to introduce the True God and the Christian Doctrine.[10]

Providential history; the historical background

[9] For an excellent study of Jesuit-Dominican controversies regarding Chinese rituals see, Eugenio Menegon, "European and Chinese Controversies over Rituals: A Seventeenth-Century Genealogy of Chinese Religion" in Bruno Boute and Thomas Småberg eds., *Devising Order. Socio-religious Models, Rituals, and the Performativity of Practice (*provisional title), Leiden, Brill, forthcoming. For Indian case, see Will Sweetman, "Unity and Plurality; Hinduism and the Religions of India in Early European Scholarship", *Religion*, 2001, no. 31, pp. 209-224. See also David N. Lorenzen, "Gentile Religion in South India, China, and Tibet: Studies by Three Jesuit Missionaries*", Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East,*Volume 27, Number 1, 2007, pp. 203-213.

[10] See Nicolas Standaert, ed., *Handbook of Christianity in China*, volume 1:635-1800, Leiden:Brill, 2001. See Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Ines G. Županov, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism", The *Cambridge History of Christianity; Reform and Expansion, 1500-1600*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 577-597.

Pereira's letter, inserted as chapters 17, 18 and 19 of the Book 1 is not a centerpiece of the Queiros's *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão,* a text (in six Books) that he took four years to write between 1684 and the early 1688.[11] By the end of 1688, Queiros died in Goa, while Pereira continued to live and work at the Imperial Court in Beijing for another twenty years. Pereira's letter is rather a small piece of a puzzle in Queiros's enormous canvas and it served more as a rich detailed confirmation of what was already known on a particular "heathen" sect that the Jesuits suspected of having spread throughout Asia around the time of the birth of Christ or even earlier. This sect, which was variously called the *"seyta dos ganezes"*, "*Buddherorum secta*", "*nove ceitas… dos bomzos*" would graduate into a full-fledged "world religion" sometime after 1827 when the term Buddhism was first used to designate it and by the end of the 19th century when a philologically pure and "authentic" texts of its foundation were deciphered by the European Orientalists.[12]

Queiros's *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão* was a combination of chronologically stringed historical narratives dealing mostly with political events in a manner of "*crónica dos feitos*" and ethnological and antiquarian descriptions. For this Jesuit and

[11] Although ready for printing in 1688, Queiros's treatise quickly fell into oblivion until the end of the 19th century when a copy of it was made in Brazil, where the original manuscript arrived with João VI and his Royal Library early in the century. In the early 20th century, the historians of Sri Lanka fought over it for a decade or two, some plagiarized it and finally it was published in 1916 in Colombo. *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão,* ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queyroz, da Companhia de Jesus da Provincia de Goa, Colombo, 1916 (henceforth: Queiros). English translation: S. G. Perera, ed., *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon,* Colombo, 1930. Ever since, it became the most important source for the Portuguese period in Sri Lankan history.

[12] Rajamanickam, S., S.J., *Roberto de Nobili on Indian Customs (Informatio),* De Nobili Research Institute, Palayamkottai, 1972, p. 24. Xaverii, S. Francisci, *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta,*Tomus II (1549-1552), Monumenta Historica Soc. Iesu, Romae, 1996, pp. 256-279. King, Richard, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and the 'Mystic East',* Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, p. 243. According to Almond, the term Buddhism ("Boodhists") was first used in 1827 account of Michael Symes, which documents an embassy to the kingdom of Ava in 1795. The first English book to use the term in its title was Edward Upham's 1829 work *The History and Doctrine of Budhism.* Almond, *The British Discovery of Buddhism,* p. 10.

Portuguese patriot, two early encounters marked his literary career as well as his Catholic political commitments. The first took place during the maritime passage to India in 1635. Queiros was the youngest of the thirty-three handpicked missionaries who accompanied Marcello Mastrilli, a famous Italian Jesuit visionary and a later martyr in Japan (1637).[13] Mastrilli, a Jesuit from Naples, was called to India in his much publicized and written about vision of St. Francis Xavier during the convalescence from an accidental head wound. By the time he arrived to Lisbon, after a fundraising journey through Italy and Spain, and before embarking for Goa, Mastrilli was already a living legend. The story of his divine visions and premonitions were coming out as printed booklets in Europe. In 1636 there was one printed in the Rachol Jesuit Seminary printing press in Salcete. When he met Mastrilli, Queiros was eighteen years old, admitted to the Society of Jesus only three years earlier. He subsequently completed his education in Goa in the College of St. Paul between 1635 and 1641.[14]

In fact, his entire Jesuit career was spent in the Goan Jesuit Province. Although he was nominated Patriarch of Ethiopia by the king of Portugal in 1664, the political situation was such that he never left India. His personal experience was therefore Goan-centred. He taught Humaniora and Theology in St. Paul's College in Goa, was Prefect (*Prepositus*) of the Professed House and Provincial (1677-80), besides serving as Vice-rector in Diu, Rector in Thana and Bassein and a parish priest in Salcete. His commitment to the Society of Jesus is easy to discern in the *Conquista temporal, e espirutal de Ceylão* where he defended it against accusations of the day concerning land properties and wealth of the religious orders in general. One after another, the viceroys ordered investigations into the finances of the religious institutions in Portuguese India amid other complaints by the settlers and royal officials. [15] One of them was that the religious orders siphoned off the able young men away

[13] Josef Wicki, S. J. "Liste der Jeuiten-Indienfahrer 1541-1758", in *Sonderdruck aus Portugiesische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft Herausgegeben von Hans Flasche*, Erste Reihe: Aufätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte, 7. Band, Munster Westfalen, 1967, p. 295. See also Ines G. Županov, " 'A História do Futuro'. Profecias jesuítas móveis de Nápoles para a Índia e para o Brasil (sécolo XVI)", *Cultura; Revista de História e Teoria das Ideas*, 24, 2007, pp.119-154.

[14] Georg Schurhammer, "Unpublished Manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J.", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, University of London, vol. 5, no. 2, 1929, pp. 209-227.

[15] The list of the total value of Jesuit possessions (Goa, Bassein, Bandora, Sri Lanka and Japan) established during the time of the Viceroy Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de

from secular activities such as army and trade. Queiros's work was, therefore, partly oriented at pointing to the importance of the spiritual conquest and the maintenance of the Portuguese overseas possession, and a merciless attack on the corruption and the misuse by the secular authorities.

His convictions were, moreover, nurtured and confirmed by the second encounter. His ship arrived to Cochin in 1635 and Queiros had a chance to meet, albeit briefly, another Jesuit visionary, a humble, temporal coadjutor Pedro de Basto. The older Jesuit impressed profoundly the young novice from Lisbon, but it was not until his death in 1645 and the separation of Portugal from the Catholic Spanish Monarchy that Queiros started reordering his political ideas along Basto's prophetic axis. The climate of prophetic predictions, culminating in expectations of the Quinto Império was gaining momentum from the death of Dom Sebastião in the battle of Alcácer-Quibir (Ksar el Kebir in Morocco) and reached its apogee after the restoration of the Portuguese dynasty in the late 17th century.[16]

The subsequent loss of prized South Indian trade marts such as Cochin (1663) and of the coastal possessions in Sri Lanka in 1653 came as a confirmation, in Queiros's view, of the divine wrath and punishment for the secular mismanagement of the Portuguese colonies.[17] Those who lost Sri Lanka for the Crown were captains an merchants, claimed Queiros, because the superintendents of revenue (*vedores da fazenda*) were "perfect rogues" and "thieves" who deserved nothing less than to be hanged for defrauding the royal treasury.[18]

Against the background that can be painted as an increasing struggle between religious and secular actors, the progressive loss of territory and political nerve of the *Estado da Índia*, and with Brazil on the other side of the hemisphere becoming the fulcrum of the metropolitan desires, Queiros's work is an effort at salvaging the pieces of the Portuguese Asian empire. The *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão* opens the space of prophetic utopia, in which past historical deeds punctually meet their consequent or future fulfilment. Just like his

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Linhares (1629-1635) came up to 216,500 *padrãos.* Abeyasinghe, T.B.G, "History as Polemics and Propagangda: Some Aspects of Fernão de Queirós' Conquista," Instituto de Investigação scientifica tropical, Lisboa, 1985, p.792

[16] Lucette Valensi, *Fables de la memoire. La glorieuse bataille des trois rois*, Paris: Seuil, 1992.

[17] For other similar prophecies see Jorge Manuel Flores, O*s Olhos do Rei, Desenhos e Descrições Portuguesas da Ilha de Ceilão (1624,1638)*, Lisboa, 2001, p. 57.

[18] Queiros, pp. 604, 861-862.

famous Jesuit contemporary in Lisbon António Vieira, and confirmed in numerous prophecies emitted by Pedro de Basto whose biography Queiros wrote in 1671, he was convinced that Portugal had a decisive role to play in the oncoming Quinto Império with which the God's world would come to its close.[19] Recapturing Sri Lanka, after having lost it because of the greed and sins of the secular Portuguese officials, was, for Queiros an item writ large on the list of the divinely ordained events. [20]

It is after finishing the biography of Pedro de Basto that Queiros decided to write the *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão,* although he had himself never travelled to the island. At the time, he was already an erudite man of letters who worked on many different literary projects, some of which were lost in the 1664 fire in the St. Paul's College, while others, such as *Theological and Philosophical Treatise* and the unfinished *Perfeito Missionário* have not been located in the archives. The *Informação succinta sobre a reducção do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros* remains still in manuscript in the Biblioteca de Ajuda in Lisbon.[21]

Accummulation: library of sources, witness accounts, antiquities

Jesuit histories and information concerning mission territories, often entitled as *Sumário, Relação, Informatio, Apologia,* etc., were an integral part of what is usually called Jesuit "ministries of the word", defined broadly as preaching, teaching, sacred conversation, confession, and writing and publishing edifying and pastoral literature. *Conquista temporal, e*

[19] On Vieira see António Vasconcellos de Saldanha, "Mitos, impérios e sentimento de prestígio histórico, algumas considerações sobre as ideias politicas de António Vieira", *A Companhia de Jesus e a missionação no Oriente,* actas do colóquio internacional promovido pela Fundação Oriente e pela revista *Brotéria*, Lisboa, 21 a 23 de Abril de 1997, Lisbon, 2000, pp. 459-478. Fernão de Queyros, *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor temporal da Companhia de IESUS, e da variedade de sucessos que Deos lhe manifestou,* ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queyros da Companhia de Jeusus, em Lisboa, Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, Impressor da Sua Magestade, 1689.

[20] "Captains and merchants lost it", Queiros, p. x.

[21] Schurhammer, G., "Unpublished Manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz, S. J.," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studie*s, University of London, vo. 5, no. 2, 1929, p. 210.

espiritual de Ceylão may appear at fist sight as predominantly political history of Portuguese conquest, early in the 16th century, and continuous presence in Sri Lanka until the Dutch takeover in the middle of the 17th century.[22] Christian prophetic motivations, however, permeate each and every event in the four central chronologically ordered "books". The first and the last (sixth) books are constructed differently. In the last chapter, as a way of a long conclusion, Queiros argued for the new conquest of Sri Lanka, starting with the fact that it was the divine will both to loose it and to reclaim it. Based on Basto's and other prophecies, he then developed point by point the whole logistics of and profit from the future conquest, and the political reasons why it is both possible and necessary to act urgently. He even calculated that only 1700 Portuguese soldiers would suffice for the enterprise.[23]

Aware of the central role of the military history, a fact that sits uneasily with his religious vocation, in the opening address to his Portuguese readers he added that he "also gave the amplest information which [he] was able to gather regarding the native inhabitants, of that island, profitable for the one and the other conquest, spiritual and temporal, regarding the salubrity of its climate, the fertility and charm of the country, the riches of its mines, spices and drugs, the division of its provinces and the impenetrability of its interior mountains."[24] The geographical and ethnographical material is strewn all through the text, whenever he needed it to support his argument or to flesh out his chronicle. However, unlike strongly apologetic histories of the Jesuit order in Asia that always started with the life of St. Francis Xavier, Queiros followed another historical genre, often used by the "secular" authors as well; of describing exotic, still unexplored and extremely desirable (mission) territories. These types of works, no doubt, coincided with travel reports solicited from Europe on geography, cartography, customs and rites of the subject peoples in the overseas colonies.

In the 16th century, the most desired missions for the young, zealous Jesuits were those of Japan and China. Just like Valignano's *Sumario* and Ricci/Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, Queiros's opened his *Conquista* with geo-political, antiquarian and ethnographic information.[25] These constitute the whole first book in twenty three chapters and

[22] Political history is told chronologically in Books 2, 3, 4 and 5.

[23] Abeyasinghe, "History as Polemics and Propagangda", p. 794, p. 791. Queiros, pp. 949-950.

[24] Queiros, p. xii.

[25] Alejandro [Alessandro] Valigano, S. J., *Sumario de las cosas de Japon (1583)*, ed. José-Luis Alvarez-Taladriz, Monumenta Nipponica, monographe, no. 9, Tokyio: Sophia

they are based on a variety of documents, some of which required knowledge of Asian languages. The manner in which Queiros treated his sources and structured his arguments in this book reveals an elementary Orientalist method.

Because of his interest in history as a handmaiden of politics, in this case the expected Portuguese reconquest of the island, Queiros felt compelled to inquire into the past and present of Sri Lankan society as a whole. His intention was to show the fertility of the land, the complexity of the society and culture and the convertibility of their people to Christianity. History, geography and climate are made to interact in significant ways. Instead of scooping the information from the surface of his sources, which he did as well at times when it suited his political recommendations or arguments, Queiros endeavoured to penetrate deep into Sri Lankan antique history and culture.

Obsession with the past and accumulation of information is where all Orientalist knowledge begins. Both the past and the space are thus burdened with ragbag inventories of just about everything. For example, one of the permanent concerns of travel writers and missionaries was to establish a precise geographical location. The first French Jesuits (*les matematiciens du roi*) sent to Siam and China just when Queiros collated his materials and laboured on his text, measured and calculated longitudes and latitudes.[26] Without being able to acquire information of this kind, he provided distances between places and used Dutch and Portuguese logbooks and portolan charts with their network of rumb lines. Another type of pile up, relatively common and expected from any learned writer, were citations from classical authors such as Pliny, Ptolomy, Arrian, patristic fathers, etc.

"Erastothenes calls it Tapobrana… Onezicisto, captain of Alexander the Great … the Islands of Mamole…Natives give it [the name of] Lancab, which is equivalent of "odoriferous land"… the Chinese call it Simonda,… others say it was called Chinilao… Other nations in conformity with the information they had of its fruits and wealth by this word Scrilança, call

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University, 1954. Matteo Ricci and Nicolas Trigault, *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas*, Augsburg, 1615. English translation by Louis Gallagher, *China in the sixteenth Century: The Journal of Matthew Ricci, 1583-1610*, New York, 1942.

[26] Isabelle Landry-Deron, "Les mathématicians envoyés en Chine par Louis XIV en 1685", *Archive for the History of Exact Science*, 55, 2001. See also, Catherine Jami, "Pékin au début de la dynastie Qing: capitale des savoirs impériaux et relais de l'Académie royale des sciences de Paris", *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 2008/2-no. 55-2, pp. 43-69.

it Paradise…. Pliny calls it Salica, because of certain noteworthy and abundant Salt pits formed by nature. … Lastly, the Malavares instead of Ceylon, say Tranâte or Ilerane, which means Kingdom of the island, in remembrance of the ancient Rajapurê, the first Metropolis of Ceylon."[27]

The list of names is not merely intended to show the author's vain erudition, but a calculated act of Jesuit pedagogy, progressively leading the reader's discernment towards the "correct" meaning. The immediate juxtaposition of Chinese, Arab, "Chingala" and Malabar names of the island, drove home, one and the same message. This prized piece of land was naturally endowed with all possible excellent qualities – sweet smelling, fertile and rich. The names of the island were the signposts left by the visitors of its desirability.

Another list, containing genealogies of the earliest kings, tells a similar story. It was taken from a the *Crónica da Província de São Tomé* by a Franciscan Friar Francisco Negrão who not only knew Sinhala, but also consulted *ola* or palm-leaf manuscripts that contained local chronicles.[28] No names of these texts written in *Pali* language such as *Mahavamsa, Culavamsa,* or *Dipavamsa* are mentioned in *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão.*[29] Since Negrão's text seems to have vanished from the archives during the 1755 Lisbon earthquake, his first-hand "Orientalist" knowledge is now available only in Queiros's text in which he ascribed to Negrão the identification of 52 Sri Lankan kings as against "another opinion" stating that there were 90 descendents of the first settler-king "Vigia Raja". The first political foundation on the island, populated beforehand by "magicians" and sorcerers was attributed to the people coming from *Sião* and *Bengala*, around 2200 years before the "Redemption".[30] Queiros knew well, since he read Ricci/Trigault's *De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinas* that Chinese imperial annals menaced the Old Testament chronology, and consequently remained relatively mild and generous when denouncing Sri Lankan "frivolous arguments" concerning the exaggerated antiquity of their kingdom.[31]

[27] Queiros, p. 2-4.

[28] Queiros, p. 10. On Negrão and his now lost manuscript see Georg Schurhammer and E.A. Voretzsch, (ed.), *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu Und Franz Xavers, 1539-1552*, Verlag der Asia Minor, Leipzig, 1925, vol. 1, p.41-42.

[29] Flores, *Os olhos do rei*, p. 50

[30] Queiros, p. 4 and 11.

[31] Queiros, p. 8.

Mis en forme : Français (France)

"All this variety and uncertainty about the first inhabitants and of names as well of the island as of its inhabitants, is left to the consideration of the reader, for I do not undertake to make certain what is uncertain, and every one is free to give as much credit as he likes, and one must not seek for evidence in uncertain antiquities".[32]

This display of philological Pyrrhonism is somewhat disingenuous because it is, in fact, followed by another, and in Queiros's opinion, better demonstration. It was all too clear to Jesuit historians, especially those who lived in overseas colonies and missions that the textual sources and oral traditions of the non- Christians were imperfect. They gave two reasons for this. One was, as they commonly complained all through the 16th and the 17th century, because non-Christian historical accounts were easily influenced by corrupting demonic forces and often turned into "fables (*patranhas*)" and, more pragmatically, because the local literati kept hidden their authentic texts, especially when they contained religious doctrines. Genealogies and political annals were, on the other hand, scarce because subject to destruction due to military conflicts or carelessness. Already in 1606, four years after establishing a permanent mission on the island, a Jesuit, Father Eutísio was entrusted with the task of writing a history of Ceylon from local materials, but complained that many of their books were "burnt in the past wars"[33].

Queiros, who relied entirely on sources collected by other Portuguese writers, was much more trusting of "archaeological" facts. According to Father Francisco Negrão's report of his expedition through the thick Sri Lankan forests, he discovered a big antique city built by the first settler kings. The ruins of Anu-raja-pure (Anuradhapura) impressed all Portuguese 17th-century visitors. Constantino de Sá de Miranda, whom Queiros cites without acknowledgment, left his own first impressions in the manuscript entitled *Formas de todas as*

[32] Queiros, p. 9.

[33] Jorge Manuel Flores and Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, "A 'The tale of two Cities', a 'Veteran Soldier', or the Struggled for Endangered Nobilities; The Two 'Jornadas de Huva' (1633,1635)", in Jorge Manuel Flores, *Re-exploring the Links; History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, Calouste Gulbenkian and Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007, p. 97.

fortalezas de Ceilão written in 1638.[34] These two ocular witnesses were impressed by 1600 pillars in two rows, measuring 15 *palms.* They also found "a hundred pyramids of fifty and sixty and hundred fathoms (*braças*) in diameter, if so they can be called, for the top is of the same size, made of brick like those of Egypt, dedicated to their gods for their sepulchres."[35] In Constantino de Sá de Miranda's addition, these were correctly identified as edifices built to encapsulate Buddha's relics in the centre.[36]

Archaeology was useful and it helped Queiros with his next important argument: the connections and commerce between the Romans and the inhabitants of Sri Lanka. The findings of Roman and Greek coins in various places along the coast of India seemed to prove the classical texts and here, in another case, Queiros was a first hand witness.

"Some years ago on digging some foundations near the custom house of Diu there was found among others, a gold coin like the one mentioned by Father Cerda in his Commentary on the Eclogues of Virgil explaining these hemistichs - *Inscripti nomina regum nascuntur flores.* I saw it, it was thicker in the middle with a fleur-de-lis on one side and around it the inscription Tiberius Caesar Imperator et Ponfex Maximus". [37]

On the basis of rumours ("they say"), Queiros went even further to conjecture that in Anuradhapura there are traces of Roman buildings. These ideas were not entirely new since from the time of João de Castro and Garcia da Orta who saw the magnificent rock hewn temples of Kanheri and Elephanta, the touch of the Roman architectural genius in India was suspected and greatly desired.[38] Establishing the ancient connection between the

[34] Publishded in Jorge Flores, *Os Olhos do rei.* See also Flores "A 'The Tale of Two Cities' ", p. 98

[35] Queiros, p. 10.

[36] Flores, *Os Olhos do rei*, p. 171 These are called *stupa*. He also described the irrigation wells and canals, found in the vicinity, which reminded Queiros of those on the river Kavery in India and on Ebro in Valencia. These are contrived (or borrowed) comparisons, since he left them without further explanation and from his biography it is clear that he never saw any of them.

[37] Queiros, pp.11-12.

[38] Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters, A History of European Reactions to Indian Ar*t, Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1977, pp.34-37

Mediterranean and the Asian "barbarous" cultures had not only important political implications, exploited for various ends, but it also provided comparative bedrock for all sorts of Orientalist propositions. The late 18th century discovery of linguistic links between Sanskrit and Greek came as a felicitous confirmation of, though not in quite the same way, some of these European intuitions and fantasies.

Looking at the present-day "heathenism" through a prism of Roman history and religion was a hermeneutic strategy used throughout the newly discovered and conquered world from the 16th century onwards. To explain events in Asia in light of Roman precedents was a way of incorporating, according to Sabine MacCormack who studied in depth the Andean case, the new phenomena into "human experience across the space and time".[39] Romans and Greeks, in Queiros's rendering of the Sri Lanka's past, proved that "in all centuries was this Island coveted, since men came to know what God had deposited therein".[40] The presence of white men, called "*Hudos*" and the existence of a huge cave with inscriptions in faded Greek characters is again offered without, unfortunately, specific mentioning of the sources.[41]

Another inscription in "ancient characters of the Chingala" was found on the stone after dismantling a temple in Triquimale (Trincomalee). The passage was deciphered, according to Queiros, as meaning that "there will come a nation called Francos who will demolish it [this temple] and there will be no King in this Island to rebuild it anew."[42] Since it was Dom Constantino de Sá de Noronha who demolished the temple in order to build a fortress, the meaning of the inscription revealed itself, wrote Queiros, as a "prophecy, of which we cannot know the author because of the obscurity of the traditions of India". [43]

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[39] Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time; Rome, the Incas, Spain and Peru*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007, p. XVII. For the ambiguity inherent in the Roman model in the conquest of the Indies, see David A. Lupher, *Romans in a New World; Classical Models in Sixteenth-Century Spanish America*, Ann Arbor: Universtity of Michigan Press, 2003.

[40] Queiros, p. 12.

[41] Queiros, p. 12.

[42] Queiros, p. 51.

[43] Queiros, p.51. In the *História do Futuro*, António Vieira makes a similar statement about gentiles who have no ability to interpret the prophecies because they lack divine inspiration. António Vieira, *História do Futuro*, Maria Leonor Carvalhao Buescu, ed., 2nd ed. (Lisbon: Casa da Moeda, 1992), 340-345. See also María V. Jordán ,"The Empire of the Future and the

In the hands of Jesuit writers, prophetic and providential time is, therefore, an organizing principle of all history and it necessaryly becomes an undergirding value (and *raison d'être*) in Orientalist accumulation and quest for sources**.** In millenarian thinking in which prophecy is a linchpin between the present, past and future, supernatural anger and recurrent calamities create a pattern of destructive moments or punishments. Thus the Portuguese, according to Pedro de Basto, lost Sri Lanka because of their sins, but so did all the other peoples who built monuments such as Anuradhapura. "All human property has its limits, and great riches become an incentive to great vices", mulled over Queiros, before painting a quick demise of the great ancient city and the scattering of its inhabitants throughout the island. Those who were not able to follow the court to a new location disappeared in the forests and became "altogether wild barbarians and they are called Bedas".[44] Prophecy is always connected to a perceived loss (and future recovery) of civilization and of its documents. The Orientalist method is, therefore, always embedded in the acts of salvaging sources that are, obviously, never wholesome and completely trustworthy. Queiros is aware that it was what he was doing – collecting and collating information that is getting scarce ever since the Dutch invaded the Sri Lankan lowlands and barred the Portuguese from the access to the island. "I have no hopes of discovering any further information in India", he concluded the paragraph on his historical sources. [45]

Authenticity

What was at stake, finally, for Queiros, was Portuguese history in Sri Lanka. However, given the providential framework in which he couched his narrative, it was important to find traces of the divine will in the ancient native texts. In India, it was commonly believed that the local literati, the Brahmans and other non-Christian religious specialists deliberately concealed their ancient books. By the end of the 17th century, those Jesuit missionaries and writers who managed to get a glimpse, or so they said, of some of these texts were persuaded that they were a mixed bag of monstrous idolatry grown over some basic Christian messages. The

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Chosen People: Father António Vieira and the Prophetic Tradition in the Hispanic World", *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 40, No. 1, Special Issue: António Vieira and the Luso- Brazilian Baroque (Summer, 2003), pp. 45-57.

[44] Queiros, p. 13.

[45] Queiros, p. xx.

corruptions were usually attributed to the work of the Devil and to the "perfidy" of the Brahmans. This kind of approach, based on a neo-scholastic Aristotelian grid, led to a permanent mistrust of indigenous texts. Even those Jesuits who were Orientalist in the primary meaning of the word, that is, those who were proficient in Asian languages used more often their erudition and analysis to refute concepts and meanings rather than to explain them.

The wealth of accumulated knowledge, however, enabled the Jesuit writers to compare and collate data, even when they were dismissed as unreliable. Queiros's wobbly description of Sri Lankan heathenism is full of fictitious renditions of myths and events, and yet, at least in fragments, we can identify religious practices attested by anthropologists and contemporary students of Sri Lankan culture. Queiros's most important "ethnographic" achievement is his effort at piecing together the origin, the diffusion and the founding myths of what he calls the "sect of Buddum". Just because Buddhism was propelled, after Orientalist scholars watermarked its "authentic" textual sources in the 19th century, into the category of a "world" religion, it is quite erroneous to say that "Buddhism had only recently [early 19th c.] been recognized as 'the same' tradition existing in diverse regions of South, Southeast, East and Central Asia".[46] Queiros knew well that Buddhism was a transnational "sect", extending over most of the known Asian countries.[47]

"And it has been observed that the Ganêzes of Ceylon, the Talpoys of Arracan, Pegu, Siam and other neighboring Realms, as well as the Lamazes of Tartry agree with the Bonzes of China and Japan in the essentials of their sect and profession, it is easy to understand that the Buddum of Ceylon, the Fô of Kina, the Xaka of Japan is the same as the Xekia of India, for the word Buddum is only an adapted name, and in the Ceylon it means Saint by antonomasia."[48]

Buddhism was, in fact, quite early identified as a particular sect with relatively well defined founder that seemed to have migrated from the west into China and then to Japan. This is the story told by Anjiro, Francis Xavier's first Japanese convert whose summary description of Buddhism made it into Nicolò Lancilotto's report, used widely by Guillome Postel in *Des*

[46] Tomako, Masuzawa,*The Invention of World Religions*, Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 2005, p. 122.

[47] Queiros, pp. 89-90.

[48] Queiros, p. 110.

Merveilles du Monde (1552).[49] Luís Fróis and Valignano confirmed that the "religion y sectas" of the Japanese are all based on Xaca's books that were brought to Japan from China.[50] According to Fróis, there were thirteen Buddhist sects and they all differed in prayers and rituals.[51]

It was from the Chinese missionary field that the Jesuits studied Buddhism with interest and some depth. As is well know, Ruggeri and Ricci first fashioned their accommodated personas on a model of a Buddhist monk and consequently tried very hard to change it into that of Confucian literati by the end of the 16th century. It is a matter of speculation how much of Buddhist sutras they actually read, but, according to Ricci's diary, they were certain that Sciequia's code of law came from the "West, in the year sixty-five of the Christian era" and that it was imported from the region of Thiencio, also called Shinto, which was formerly two kingdoms but today is known by the single title of Hindustan, lying between the rivers Indus and Ganges".[52] Moreover, he traced the passage of the doctrine into Japan, although some Japanese Buddhists, he noted with surprise, saw the kingdom of Siam

[49] For Lancilotto's letter see Schurhammer, Georg, S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life, His Times - Volume III: Indonesia (1545-1549)*, translated by M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J., The Jesuit Historical Institute, Rome, 1980, pp. 571-575. For Postel's borrowing see Jeff Persels, "A Curious Case of Ethnographic Cleansing: The First French Interpretations of the Japanese, 1552-1555", *L'Esprit Créateur* - Volume 48, Number 1, Spring 2008, pp. 45-57.

[50] Alessandro Valignanno, *Historia del Principio y Progresso de la Compañía de Jesús en las Indias Orientales*, ed. J. Wicki, S.J., Roma, 1944 p. 252.

[51] Luís Fróis, *Traité de Luís Fróis, S. J., (1585) sur les contradictions de mœurs entre Européens et Japonais*, traduction en français par Xavier de Castro, Paris : Editions Chandaigne, 1993, p. 66.

[52] Gallagher, *China in the sixteenth Century: The Journal of Matthew Ricci*, p. 98.

as the place of origin. [53] Ricci's early work became a solid trunk of a tree of Jesuit comments on Chinese Buddhism in the 17th century.[54]

What prompted Queiros to ask an additional first-hand report from Tomas Pereira in spite of the available Jesuit knowledge of and from the China mission, and from "secular" printed sources such as Diogo do Couto, Faria y Souza?[55] One possible answer is because of his friendly ties with Tomás Pereira, a former student in the St. Paul's College before becoming a missionary in Beijing. We also don't know when Queiros approached him and how he worded his demand. All there is is Pereira's response though not in an autograph version, but only the one quoted in Queiros's text. Moreover, of the two extant manuscripts, it does not appear in the Ajuda manuscript, but only in the one in Rio de Janeiro.[56]

What is significant about Pereira's response is that in stead of remixing the old material, as most of the Jesuit writers often did, he provided a very detailed paraphrase of a Chinese text. From Ricci onwards, the Jesuits rarely wrote about Buddhists sutras and never quoted from them since they contained "a Babylon of doctrines so intricate that no one can understand or explain it well".[57] The *Lotus Sutra* was mentioned by title in Ricci's "The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven" as a lifeless prop in his fierce attack on Buddhists doctrines and practices. Rather then reading carefully canonical scriptures of the "pagans", Jesuits who were always busy with different missionary tasks, often relied on translations, interpretations

[53] The Siamese origin hypothesis was also accepted by some other European writers. Frey Casimiro Diaz, *Conquistas de la Islas Filipinas*, Manilla, 1694. The manuscript from the 17th c. was published in Valladolid in 1890. Henri Bernard, « Hinayana Indien et Mahayana japonais. Comment l'Occident a-t-il découvert le bouddhisme? » *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 4, no. 1 , Jan. 1941, p.287.

[54] See Alvaro Semedo, *Relatione della grande Monarchia della Cina*, Roma 1643, Gabriel de Magelhães, *Nouvelle Relation de la Chine, contenant la description des particularités les plus considérables de ce grand Empire, composée en l'année 1668, par le RP Gabriel de Magaillans... et traduite du portugais en français par le Sieur Pernou*, Paris, 1688, António de Gouvea, *Asia Extrema entra nella a Fé, promulga-se a Ley de Deos pelos padres da Companhia de Jesus*, primeria parte, na China dentro,1664, published by Fundação Oriente, Lisbon, 1995.

[55] Manuel de Faria y Sousa, *Ásia Portugueza*, Lisbon, 1666-1675, 3 vols.

[56] Bibioteca de Ajuda, Lisbonne, 51-VIII-40.

[57] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Ines G. Županov, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism", p. 595

Mis en forme : Français (France)

and abridgments provided by their converts in China and elsewhere.[58] They were, as many writers are, diagonal readers, ransacking texts in order to find points that could be immediately used in their catechetical and polemical works.

Pereira's letter is a sign of a change in Jesuit approach to their sources, already visible from the early 17th century when indigenous sources and voices surfaced, in fragmented form and when Jesuit Orientalist scholars came up with the first translations from and to their chosen Asian language. The search for "authentic" and antique texts became possible with the linguistic expertise required, and acquired by the missionaries. Queiros, who never learnt any Indian language, thought, however, that it was absolutely imperative to learn them. "It is necessary to learn many [languages], or the Superiors must make up their minds not to make changes and the subjects [missionaries] to sacrifice their lives in fixed missions (*certas missões*) for a man cannot always like little children be learning barbarous languages".[59] As he saw it, it was easy to do so in the Malabar and Chinese province where Tamil and Chinese were the two dominant languages, while it was quite another problem in the Goan province that spreads through many different geographic and linguistic regions, including Africa.[60] Sri Lanka was, in addition, a territory completely cut off from the Portuguese, and the access to any sort of information was fading. It is possible, therefore, that Queiros solicited from Pereira an "authentic" Chinese version of Buddha's life precisely because he was frustrated in his effort to acquire a Sri Lankan version.

"And if those who had read the documents of Ceylon had been more curious and had not been weary of giving us more detailed information, we could have shown more clearly from what they relate of his life the additions made by Chinese malice".[61]

The problem with Jesuit Orientalist penchant was the fact that no pagan text, no matter how ancient it was thought to be, could ever be elevated to the pedestal of "authenticity". Without the guarantee of the divine grace, historical events were in danger of corrupting

[58] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Ines G. Županov, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism", p. 587.

[59] Queiros, p. 90-91.

[60] His understanding of linguistic situation in Sri Lanka is confused. He thinks that they all speak Tamil and does not know that the religious texts were written in Pali. Queiros, p. 90.

[61] Queiros, 111.

interpretations and shriveled into myths and lies. Various methods of reading them were already in vogue, from analogical juxtaposition of Christian and pagan forms to Kircher's Neoplatonic readings in which mystical genealogies reduced all difference into the cipher of the Same.[62]

Since Queiros predecessors had already identified "Buddhism" as a particular all-Asian sect, what he was interested in was its diffusion and its obvious success. This is where the method of comparison is crucial. Thus, even if the original story is mired in myth and corruption, by comparing derivative plots across the regions, one could, perhaps, come to a true knowledge. As we can see from Pereira's letter, one should not look for authentic stories in Chinese scriptures.

"By comparing fables , many of them invented by those people, with the notices which Your Reverence will find [here], many of them would be found to be conflicting, and you would be able by comparison to discover falsity of the - for them – incontestable Scriptures."[63]

The comparison appears to be here a method of killing two (or more) flies with one stone. To put it differently, Pereira is telling Queiros to use his little treatise in order to compare Chinese "false" texts with his Sinhalese, or other "false" texts. Behind this strange hermeneutic alchemy, we can see why Jesuit Orientalist project remained problematic. Surely, the amount of energy spent by the Jesuit missionaries on translation and study of "false" doctrines was never considered a waste of time. The accommodationist method applied, not without controversy, in India and China was a result of the same underlying certainty – that paganism veiled the true Christian message. Comparison, therefore, as handled by Queiros and Pereira was an Orientalist method capable of overwriting (and thus eliminating) another Orientalist axiom – the identification of an authentic text.

Refutation

And yet, Pereira's letter is reproduced verbatim precisely because it "posed" as an authentic native text. Although Queiros thought of himself as an expert on Indian idolatry and knew the

[62] See Alain Strathern, "Fernão de Queirós: History and Theology", in *Anais de História de Além-mar*, 6 (2005), pp. 47-88, p. 61.

[63] Queiros, p. 95.

"general opinion of the missionaries that Buddu of Ceylon is the same as the Fo or Foe as others write from China", he was unhappy with the lack of exemplary textual sources to back his ethnographic enterprise.[64] Portuguese loss of Sri Lanka and the consequent scarcity of documents was one reason. Another was due to the fact that "this sect has disappeared from many parts of India wherein it began".[65] Taken together, Queiros's and Pereira's general grasp of geographical distribution of Buddhism is accurate, but it is interesting how Jesuit accumulation of knowledge fatally failed to cohere along the lines of already established and verified data. For example, Queiros concluded on the basis of Pereira's letter that "in their practices they do not differ greatly from what we have said of the Chingalas, and that their Ganezes regarding esteem and nobility resemble rather the Bonzes of Japan…it has been observed that Ganezes of Ceylon, the Talpoys of Arracão, Pegu, Siam and other neighboring Kingdoms, as well as the Lamazes of Tartaria agree with the Bonzes of Kina and Japão in the essential of their sect and profession".[66] Content with establishing the unity of this sect, Queiros passed in silence the well known accounts by the Japanese and Chinese missionaries, from Fróis to Ricci about the sectarian subdivisions and the animosity between Buddhist sects and monasteries. There is no reason to presume that, given his erudition and access to sources, he was uninformed, it is just that a Jesuit choice is always economical, political and pedagogical. Although in his sprawling text one can find repetitions and a characteristic obsession with piling and additions, as a good Jesuit writer he restrained from complicating discourses.

Comparing information, however, necessarily introduced information discrepancies in which case Queiros usually provided two or three opinions without taking sides. "Muturance of Arracão, who is their Supreme Pontiff, or at least patriarch or Primate, [while] some say that the head of all is the great Lamaz of Tartaria."[67] At times, also, as Alan Strathern pointed out, Queiros deliberately ignored his sources and "replaced [them] with fictional speeches".[68] This technique was commonly used by the Jesuits whose reports from their missionary fields

[64] Queiros, pp. 94-5.

[65] Queiros, p. 111.

[66] Queirros, p. 110

[67] Queiros, p. 89.

[68] Strathern, "Fernão de Queirós", p. 72.

swarm with dialogues and disputations with their religious opponents and converts. [69] If it was considered acceptable to finesse a theological disputation with the pagan interlocutors, quoting other Jesuits, especially one's contemporaries, required more circumspection. In addition, Jesuit texts were often cut and pasted in Lisbon and Rome in preparation for printing or recopying, and individual missionaries, from the 16th century onwards, bitterly complained about plagiarism and misquotations.

Pereira's letter appears to have been incorporated by Queiros *verbatim*. First of all, it was not controversial in any way. Secondly, it is mostly a paraphrase of a Chinese text. Thirdly, it contains at least one important point on which Queiros and Pereira did not agree. And last, the letter was already garnished with the theological or common sense refutations that this kind of direct representation of pagan doctrines and history required. The Chinese text was, in a word, sanitized and retailored for the edification of the Christian audience before it reached Goa.

Unfortunately, there is no way to know what motivated a busy missionary, musician, and a courtier of the Chinese emperor, Tomas Pereira to accept to write this long letter. Did he owe anything more than a usual respect to his former professor in Goa? When did he find time to read and painstakingly paraphrase the whole Life of Buddha? Especially at the time when the Jesuit encounter with Buddhism reached a point of indifference, as Ronnie Po-chia Hsia defined it.[70] Was this letter a standard, prefabricated response? Before, proposing a few hypotheses as a way of preliminary answers, it is necessary to read closely Pereira's letter.

Pereira paints a sorry state of Buddhist monks and monasteries in the Quing period. The monasteries, "serve as inns for wayfarers" against the payment while the monks were "not esteemed as they were in Japan". According to Gabriel de Magelhães, there were 350,000 monks in China and 480 Buddhist temples in 1668, but their fortunes were in decline.[71] Not only were they, according to Pereira, poor, wicked and corrupt they were also ignorant: "Even when they dispute with us, which is rare, they grant whatever we want".[72]

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[69] Županov, Ines G., *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-century India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999.

[70] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Ines G. Zupanov, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism", p. 596.

[71] Ronnie Po-chia Hsia and Ines G. Zupanov, "Reception of Hinduism and Buddhism", p. 593

[72] Queiros, p. 110.

From Pereira's letter, nevertheless, we can sense that the Jesuit interest in studying and refuting Buddhism was not completely folded away. Buddhist books were, according to Queiros in the Jesuit hands, by way of a converted monk "who had been a prelate among [Bonzes]".[73] How rich was Jesuit library in Buddhist books, may be difficult to assess. Pereira described the *Life of Buddha* he summarized for Queiros as "printed with great authority and engraved in the palace in large-sized letters, figures and engravings, which illustrate what is related in the chapter."[74]

Right from the start Pereira discloses his basic translation-cum-editorial policy. He summarized the three volumes of the original into short chapters and took "what is to the purpose, and leaving out what is useless, with all fidelity. I have also omitted some chapters, fruitless to our purpose, inverting the order of others by placing them where they are more to the purpose, pointing out however on the margin the number of the Chinese chapter".[75] And he does just that. The first part containing the biography of "Xequio (or Fô)" from the conception, childhood until his Enlightenment under the "Pagoda tree" at the age of thirty is told with references to 28 chapters. He specifically refers to why he omitted chapters 2 to 7 and then 45, 49, 52, 55 and 59. These were the "sterile (*estereys*)" chapters full of "prodigies and nonsensical things" such as Pythagorean transmigration and the portrayal of Heaven and Hell.[76]

Buddha's teachings and actions in the world until old age are told in at least 116 chapters of the second part, of which Pereira directly mentions only 30 chapters in all. And finally, the third part following Buddha into nirvana and his afterlife mentions only 25 chapters of which Pereira abridged 18. While some of the chapters are long, such as the one describing the birth of Buddha that takes more than half of the page in the printed edition, others can be but a single sentence. From chapter numbers, we can also see that Pereira rearranged the order of some of the chapters, just as he explained in the cover letter. "[I pointed out] on the margin the number of the Chinese chapter which contains the statement and [gave] it almost always in their very words".[77]

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[73] Queiros, p. 95.

[74] Queiros, p. 109.

[75] Queiros, p. 95-6.

[76] Queiros, p. 95 and p. 100.

[77] Queiros, p.95.

It is obvious that the text was presented - truncated as it was and finally only a translation of a Chinese text that was not included – as if it encapsulated an objective transposition of pagan ideas and even its wording. It was the "style" that Pereira reportedly changed to avoid "confusion" because, in his opinion, in spite of their "many thousand letters, they do not go further than our students of Rhetoric" and "they end where Europeans begin".[78]

The attack on Buddhist "scriptures" by diagnosing its rhetorical feebleness provides an epistemic diversion away from Pereira's main method of coating the paraphrase into relentless refutation operated by way of comparison.[79] While comparison with European Christian texts and institutions was an accepted strategy of measuring the extent of and separating "false" from "true", in Jesuit pedagogical language it was commonly allowed to explore and compare different shades and degrees of the "false". In their overseas missions, Jesuits were in fact forced to compare one type of pagan tradition with another. One of the immediate results was the sharpening of Jesuit genealogical and historicist thinking.

When, in the beginning of Pereira's letter, the writer expressed his hopes that Queiros would be able "by comparison to discover the falsity" of Chinese scriptures, it is left ambiguous with what they are to be compared. Surely, he did not have to mention the fact that the ultimate measuring rod is the Christian Bible. An immediately useful comparison may have been, in Pereira's view, with Indian, more ancient, Buddhist texts.

The book he translated into Portuguese was, according to Pereira, a "translation made with great authority by Bonzes from India and by learned Chinese". [80] Who would know more about translation and its predicament than the experienced missionary linguists? Especially those in China and India working under the banner of accommodation, were familiar with the problems of transposing meanings from one cultural system into another. To what degree was Pereira ready to think about parallelism between the missionaries who introduced Buddhism to China and his own Catholic missionary goals? It is difficult to think that he did not notice it, but he had a different point to make: that Buddhism in China was a derivative religion and it was adapted to Chinese taste.

Pereira highlights some of these "adaptations": The titles and dignities of Chinese kings were given to Indian kings; Buddha is given a Chinese burial in which he is placed in a

[78] Queiros, 109.

[79] Queiros, p. 95.

[80] Queiros, p. 109.

coffin, although burnt afterwards in Indian fashion, and the trees that sheltered his catafalque turned white, a color of mourning "peculiar to China and Japan alone".[81] The Tartary, still a relatively nebulous geographical territory, also received Buddhism, according to Pereira, but Lamas ate tiger's meet, against usual vegetarian norms. A three way comparison between Sri Lankan ganezes, Chinese bonzes and Indian yogis, betrays Chinese missionary confusion about the situation in India. Pereira's statement that Sri Lankan and Chinese monks shave their heads while Indian yogis grow their hair matted received no comment from Queiros who could have known the difference between a Hindu yogi or saneaz (sannyasi) and a *bhikkhu*.[82] Finally, Pereira doubted that even their "scriptures", such as the one he translated, were left unchanged in the passage from India to China.[83]

Historicist interpretations of pagan histories abound in seventeenth-century missionary literature. Missionaries were particularly interested in rhythms and patterns of historical development, although they often concluded, just as Pereira did, that they belonged to "fiction" rather than history.[84] The difficulty in separating the chaff of the myth from the wheat of the historical truth inevitably burdened the analytical procedure. However, the Jesuits often pursued and persecuted the false more vigorously than endeavoring to piece together the true.

This Chinese narrative of Buddha's life is, therefore, relentlessly punctuated and punctured with ironical, categorical and factual comments. Pereira targeted family relations in particular and lampooned them as unpersuasive and ridiculous. Buddha's conception during his mother, Princess Moye (Maya) dream is enough for Pereira to cast doubt on the fatherhood of her husband, the king Tsimfan, "who must have been his suppositious father, if they wish to be consistent, a matter to which they pay little attention".[85] In the same way he finds inconsistencies and contradictions regarding Buddha's proclaimed continence and the fact that his wife had a child. He is also quick to point to "absurdities" that happened when

[81] Queiros, p. 108 and p. 110.

[82] The distinction between Indian penitents and Buddhist monks is blurred on occasions in both Pereira's and Queiros's texts. Queiros sometimes confuses a penitent Brahman and a bhikkhu, but not always. Queiros, p. 90. Pereira, on the other hand, makes distinction between pagan yogis, muslim fakirs and bhikkus. See Queiros, p. 101.

[83] Queiros, p. 110

[84] Queiros, p. 109.

[85] Queiros, p. 96.

Buddha died. "At the very instant of his death, his defunct Mother had horrible dreams in Heaven which led her to suspect that her son had died. (The dead person then did not go there)."[86]

To prove the impossibility of miracles and omens associated with Buddha from local sources, Pereira enlists, somewhat vaguely, the Chinese imperial chronicles. About earthquake in China announcing the birth of Buddha, "their annals, which omit nothing, make no mention of these prodigies". [87] The same with the earthquake all over the world causing the seas to be agitated and the rivers to dry out at the time of Buddha's death. "I do not know how they dared to publish such falsehoods in China where one can convict them from the very Chronicles of the Realm wherein all notable events and among them the deluge of Noe are found recorded."[88]

The obvious similarities between Buddha's and Christ's lives - immaculate conception, moral precepts, teaching the path of salvation, acquiring disciples, veneration after death, the sanctity of the relics and foundation of a religious movement – were not lost on Pereira and Queiros, but they felt no need to go into detailed comparison and refutation. For them it was a clear case of "Devil forestalling everything" and falsifying the truth even if Chinese may have, suggested Pereira, received some information about Christ.[89]

Queiros valued Pereira's account so much that he included it verbatim, but it did not stop him from coming to his own conclusions about the attributes of that particular pagan sect. Moreover, even if Pereira's account was a crucial piece in Queiros's textual puzzle, he had some other Sri Lankan sources.[90] He refers to those, without giving names, who "affirm that Fô preached the Law of Moses to this heathendom," and with whom he disagreed. At least one of the proponents of this theory was Constantino de Sá de Miranada whose work Queiros used without acknowledgement. Alan Strathern argued that Queiros's effort at distinguishing the sect of Buddha from the Brahmanical sects was, in the last instance, a way to disagree with certain tenets of accommodationist method formulated by the pro-Nobili

[86] Queiros, p. 108.

[87] Queiros, p. 97.

[88] Queiros, p. 108.

[89] Querios, p. 108.

[90] He does mention, however, that in work, now lost, *Perfeito Missionario*, he focused more specifically on description and refutation of the sects.

Jesuit faction.[91] Queiros felt the need, Strathern claims, to maintain a wide boundary between Christian and non-Christian religious practices that seemed to have been breached by Nobili's insistence on their "political" components.

Nobili fashioned Indian Buddhism as the most ancient atheism of natural philosophers in order to plot invasion of idolaters from the north and the conversion of Buddhist kings as historically later phenomena. Brahmanical sects and idolatry then emerged as a result of imposition of numerous "laws", most of which (if not all), Nobili argued were political and not religious.[92] This is precisely where Queiros disagreed. Neither Buddhism nor any other paganism was atheistic, he wrote, since God gave all the ability to reason and to recognize natural precepts.[93] Such is the case of the Buddhist Ten Commandments, resembling almost perfectly those from the Old Testament. This is so, Queiros believed, because "they are precepts of reason and the natural law and before they were written in the law of Moses, they were obligatory on all."[94] Here, his opinion clearly differed from Pereira who, like Nobili, thought that the Buddhists "disclose dissimulated atheism".[95]

More importantly, Nobili's historical reconstruction and definition of Brahmanical culture as hierarchically organized system rather than "paganism", encouraged the local Goan Catholic elites to claim recognition of their "natural" noble status. As Ângela Barreto Xavier showed, in the late 17th century Goa, local converted elites competed with each other, especially Brahmans and Charodos, in the process of transforming themselves into "internal" colonizers.[96] One of the arenas of competition were "identity narratives" in which they staged

[91] Strathern, "Fernão de Queirós", pp. 65-66.

[92] By defining most of the Brahmanical customs such as the wearing of the thread, the tuft of hair (*kudumi*) and similar, political and not pertaining to religious cult, Nobili called for the tolerance of purely human inventions. If Christianity, argued Nobili, incorporated customs of both Jews and ancient Mediterranean pagans, there is no reason not to allow Brahmanical purely political customs.

[93] Queiros, p. 112.

[94] Queiros, p. 142

[95] Queiros, p. 106.

[96] Ângela Barreto Xavier, " Escrita identitária e colonização interna ", *Ler História*, nr. 49, 2005. See also Ines G. Županov , "Conversion Historiography in South Asia – counter-space for

and highlighted their most noble genealogies and merits often against the claims of the other faction. Queiros vigorously attacked one such anonymous tract that circulated in Goa in which the author tried to prove that Brahmans were Indian "natural nobility" originating from a King who was also one of the Magi. Nobility based on what is written in puranas and other native stories that are all false fiction, protested Queiros, is not true nobility. "The only true [nobility] is the one that is derived from the worship of the True God and that there is only false and imaginary nobility when false Gods are concerned." [97]

It is not only the fact that some "nations of India have …high opinions of themselves" that bothered Queiros. The educated and highly articulate Goan Catholic elites were rewriting their own Christian and pre-Christian history and, along the way, asserting their role as not just informants but as Orientalists in their own right. Works such as *Aureola dos Indios* and *Defesa da Nobiliarchia Bracmana* by António João Frias (1664-1727), on the Brahman side and *Promputario de diffinições índicas* by Leonardo Paes and *Espada contra o Golias do Bramanismo* by João da Cunha Jacques for the Charodos surpassed in their Orientalist virtuosity the efforts of the Jesuits. They were able to quote with equal authority Aristotle, Plato, the fathers of the Church and modern theologians as well as Indian books (or so they claimed). The genealogies that they proposed for their lineages proposed multiple connections with Mosaic histories and the legend of St. Thomas's visit and death in India. The only problem was that their diametrically opposing "nobility" claims tended to undermine both sides. In the last decades of the 17th century, the Catholic Brahmans succeeded in constructing yet another "modern" proof of their "ecclesiastical nobility". The most learned and pious of them founded a missionary order, *Congregação do Oratório de Santa Cruz dos Milagres* that provided Catholic priests and missionaries to Sri Lanka, from 1686 until the end of the 18th century. Some of the missionaries became famous both for their exemplary missionary lives and for Orientalist studies.[98] Jacome Gonçalves learnt both Sinhala and Tamil so well that he wrote catechetical texts in those languages.

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alternative histories in 18th century Goa", *The Medieval History Journal – Theme Issue Conversions*, ed. Monica Juneja/Kim Siebenhüner, 12, 2, 2009, pp. 303-325.

[97] Queiros, p. 126.

[98] Ines. G. Županov, " Goan Brahmans in the Land of Promise: Missionaries, Spies and Gentiles in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Sri Lanka", in Jorge Manuel Flores, *Re-exploring the Links; History and Constructed Histories between Portugal and Sri Lanka*, Calouste Gulbenkian and Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007, pp. 171-210

Epilogue

It is almost a forgotten fact – ever since the postcolonial critique and Said's intervention demolished occidental epistemic complacency – that Orientalist studies were aimed at conversing with indigenous voices. William Jones could not put it more clearly when he said that with his pundits, he talked "in the language of the Gods." [99] Just like Jesuits before them, British Orientalists in Kolkata were digging backward in time to arrive at the most ancient authentic language and texts that can be found. And just like Jesuits they thought that right there in the past, the divine natural revelation had left a brilliant trace. The obsession with the pristine past was translated into obsession with the corrupted present. Even the "authentic" past was only accessible through fragmented archives.

Orientalism as science constituted itself on the basis of knowledge of what is false, corrupted, added to and obsolete in the authentic and ancient texts. This improved, tested and authentified knowledge was then appropriated by the "Orientals" themselves and used for their own urgent social and cultural tasks. Hinduism and Buddhism were thus re-appropriated by their Asian practitioners by adapting occidental textual scholarship to their orally transmitted traditions. In recent years this interpretation has been turned over and over to include and assess complicated and entangled role of native informants, their contribution often dwarfed in Orientalist scholarship. Anthropological studies have also managed to downsize or even reverse the importance of "authentic" written texts or canon when studying religion or religious formations.

Stephen Batchelor located the "birth" of Buddhism as a world religion in three sets of historically connected phenomena: "the emergence of the rationalist Enlightenment, the decline of religious authority and the consolidation of colonialism".[100] The pioneering story of the scholars themselves places the origin of Buddhology, which named and brought to life Buddhism in its universal religious framework, in the discovery of texts. A Katmandu resident of the British East India Company, Brian Hodgson came across 147 Sanskrit manuscripts and forwarded them to Asiatic Society in Calcutta, The Royal Asiatic Society in London and the

[99] Quoted in Rosane Rocher, "British Orientalism in the Eighteenth Century" in *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament; Perspectives on South Asia,* Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer, (eds.), Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993, p .232.

[100] King, *Orientalism and Religion,* p. 143, Batchelor, *The Awakening of the West*, p.231.

Société Asiatique in Paris. For some reason, only Eugène Bournouf (1801-52) took interest and produced after seven years of meticulous study his "*Introduction à l'histoire de buddhisme*" (1844).[101] As Tomako Masuzawa puts it, "the discovery of Buddhism was therefore from the beginning, in a somewhat literal and nontrivial sense, a textual construction: it was a project that put a premium on the supposed thoughts and deeds of the reputed founder and on a certain body of writing that was perceived to authorize, and in turn was authorized by, the founder figure". [102]

All these, above quoted, categorical statements by respected scholars disqualify earlier sources, especially Jesuit missionary accounts, from the 16th until the end of the 18th century, in which some of the same problems of approaching the religious alterity were spread on the analytical table. Surely, the Jesuits came up with different answers, without always agreeing with each other. The question of atheism, in which Pereira and Queiros obviously did not see eye to eye, is just one example.

Also, depending on geographical and institutional position, and the audience they were addressing, Jesuit missionaries modulated accordingly their Orientalist narratives. Those who lived and worked among non-Christian peoples, subjected to "pagan" kings or emperors, the extreme case being those like Pereira at the Beijing court, not only had more chance to develop Orientalist curiosity, but also they had better access to Chinese literate traditions and to local literati. Jesuits, erudite and intellectually agile, but who lived in predominantly colonial settler enclaves and under constant watchful eye of the Portuguese ecclesiastical and secular administration often never learnt any Asian languages. In fact, the official colonial policy in Goa from 1683 onwards pressed for abolishing the use of local vernacular (Konkani) in ecclesiastical, parochial and civil matters. The law was announced on June 27, 1684 by Viceroy Francisco de Tavora, Conde de Alvor in which it was also stipulated that the non-Christian Brahmans should not learn Portuguese.[103] This linguistic exclusion seems to have been provoked by Franciscans and, according to the nineteenth century erudite, Joaquim Heliodor da Cunha Rivara this "alvará" was not revoked *expressis verbis* in his own time. Queiros and the Jesuits in Goa in general were opposed to Franciscans on linguistic and many

[101] Lopez, *Curators of the Buddha*, p. 3. King, *Orientalism and Religion*, p. 146.

[102] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, p. 126.

[103] Rivara, Joaquim Heliodor da Cunha (1809-1879), *Ensaio histórico da lingua concani*, Nova Goa, Imp. Nacional, 1858.

other points, but, as he wrote, it was considered a "sacrifice" to stay in a fixed mission and to learn "barbaric languages".

This is also the reason why even Queiros who took learning Asian languages seriously, but was unable or lacked motivation to learn any, never saw much importance in translating Indian "pagan" books. He thus stated that "there are many who are learned and inquisitive and who know perfectly the Marasta [Marthi] language and the *Guirindão* [Sanskrit] in which their writings are disseminated. No one ever found them so pleasant, nor did they inspire in anyone the desire to translate any of their works into Latin or in the vernacular".[104] Moreover, Queiros timidly expressed a view that will become a standard, though not undisputed, *topos* in the works of the French Enlightenment *philosophes* concerning the origin of "sciences": "To the Asiatics moreover our Authors attribute the principles of Arithmetic, a science which Europe, the mother of sciences, afterwards brought to perfection." [105] A Discalced Carmelite Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo, a missionary in Kerala and an Orientalist scholar in his own right, who was also a contemporary of William Jones and Anquetil Duperron tried to prove in all his texts that most of the arts and sciences came originally from India while the Europeans only perfected them.[106]

Even greater were "presumptions that the Chinese have on the subject of wise men", wrote Queiros, "and no one ever found in them any other knowledge save medicine (more experimental then theoretical) and arithmetic the most imperfect and exposed to many errors".[107] This may be so, but Chinese missionaries did translate texts from Mandarin into

[104] Queiros, p. 128.

[105] Queiros, p. 128.

[106] On the development of "indophilia" among the 18th-century Catholic Orientalists see Murr, Sylvia, "Les conditions d'émergence du discours sur l'Inde au Siècle des Lumière", *Purushartha,* 7 (1983), pp. 251-254. See Ines G. Županov, "Orientalist Museum; Roman Missionary Collections and Prints (Eighteenth Century)", in Ishita Banerjee-Dube and Saurabh Dube (eds.), *Ancient to Modern; Religion, Power, and Community in India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 207-235.

[107] Queiros, p. 128-9. On an interesting discussion on the paring of the terms "theoretica/practica" in the early modern taxonomies of knowledge see Peter Dear, "What is the History of Science the History Of? Early Modern Roots of the Ideology of Modern Science", *Isis*, 2005, 96, pp. 393-394.

Latin, such as the "best work of Confucius", although, concluded Queiros, the translation "only served to disappoint us on the subject of Asiatic sciences".[108]

From these almost cartoonish Queiros's statements, ambiguously for and against translation of the pagan authors – in the extension of the argument he tried to prove that translating the ancient Greek pagans has much more merit because they did have knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures and thus were able to "reason rightly" – what is of interest is that we can discern the differences among the Jesuit missionaries in terms of their attitudes to and practice of translation. Thus, if pagan texts were not worth translating, good summaries coming from a trusted Jesuit pen, were invaluable. The fact that Queiros included Pereira's letter *verbatim* reflects his admiration of the younger colleague's linguistic and theological expertise. Pereira's letter played a part of a primary source, in contemporary historian's jargon, and added authority to Queiros's discussion of Buddhism. An adequate paraphrase or "summary" of a book was considered almost as good as a translation in the late 17th century antiquarian research. Here the question is, if Queiros trusted Pereira, can we? Alan Strathern has persuasively argued that Queiros fabricated a disputation scene between João de Villa de Conde and a Sinhalese bhikkhu and perhaps many other conversations and speeches. So why not inventing Pereira's letter as well?

The only way to know for certain would be to identify the text Pereira used for his extended summary. A task only a scholar of Chinese language can successfully accomplish. However, even with circumstantial evidence, that is, working from other translations of Chinese *Lives of Buddha*, there are sufficient proofs that Pereira was not inventing his story. One comes from a translation of a Jesuit scholar and missionary, Léon Wieger (1856-1933) two and a half centuries later. Sinologist and author of more than thirty books, from manuals for learning Chinese to Chinese folklore studies and comparative religion, Wieger published *Les Vies chinoises du Buddha* as a second volume to his massive study on Hinayana Buddhism, *Monachisme et Discipline*. According to Wieger, he chose to translate *Récit de l'apparition sur terre , du Buddha des Sakya, compilé par Pao-tch'eng, moine chinois, au*

[108] Queiros, p. 129. Philippe Couplet, Prospero Intorcetta, Christian Herdritch, and François de Rougemont produced the first the first known Western translation of a Chinese literary work. It was published in Paris and dedicated to Louis XIV in 1687, *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus, sive scientia sinensis latine exposita ....*

temps des Ming (15-16th c.) because it was the most "complete" life of Buddha.[109]. About hundred illustrations that accompanied Wieger's text are, except one, unattributed. This enigma is solved in the review of Wieger's books by a French sinologist Edouard Chavannes. He identified the illustrations as belonging to Yu-fong's "album" of Buddha's life *Che kia jou lai ying houa che tsi*, printed in 1808. Both Yu-fong and the author of the illustrations Yong-chan were members of the imperial family and in the preface dated 1793, the illustrator acknowledges his inspiration in the choice of scenes to another work from the Ming period, *Che che yuan lieou*.[110]

At a closer inspection, Pereira's narrative corresponds quite will to the text translated by Wieger. Not only the order of chapters (stories) is more or less identical, but there are also numerous correspondences between names and even the whole sentences appear to be quotations from the same source. For example, what Pereira calls the Ten Commandments are identical and identically located in the two texts. Just as he announced, Pereira shortened and conflated certain events and omitted others, but otherwise all the events in Pereira's letter, except of course his ironical comments and refutations, are in the Wieger's translation. Where Pereira lost his nerve were numerous miraculous conversion stories in the third book. These and the self-congratulatory descriptions of how Buddha recruited disciples are paired down substantially.

There is also a curious and solitary comment Pereira makes on one of the illustrations in the book he was summarizing. "At that hour the Mother accompanied by many ladies went into a garden in which was a tree called Pelolo (as the Chinese language has no R it may even be Peroro) and catching hold of a branch of it with the right hand she gave birth to the son through the armpit, according to their pictures, though the text does not mention it". [111]

The scene of Buddha's birth in Wieger's translation is lovingly portrayed as a supernatural event, prefiguring his luminous life. "In the tenth month of pregnancy, as the

[109]Leon Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha*, (1913), Edition Dharma (no place), 2002. According to Wieger this compilation was the closest to the Burmese work Tathagata Udana, written in Pali, Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha*, p. 13. See Bigandet, Paul Ambroise, *The life, or legend, of Guadama, the Buddha of the Burmese : With annotations. The ways to neibban, and Notice on the phongyies, or Burmese monks*, London: Trübner,1880.

[110] E. Chevannes, « Les vies chinoises du Buddha by Leon Wieger », *T'oung Pao*, second series, vol. 15, no. 2, (1914), p. 287-290.

[111] Querios, p. 96.

time approached, the holy mother Maya went with her companions to the *Lang-pi-ni* parc, very auspicious place. She walked slowly, reflecting on all things. There was a big and beautiful *p'ouo-lou-tch'a* (sala) with flowering branching. At the moment in which she lifted her right hand to catch one of the branches, her son was born, so luminous that the beams coming out of his body illuminated the heavens".[112]

Pereira must have known that the canonical place from which the child and the future Buddha came out miraculously was his mother's side. He was conceived when he entered the same way on the white elephant while Queen Maya was asleep. Pereira's description of these events is consistent with the one in the Wieger's version. However, by substituting "armpit" for a "side" he added a derisive spin to the event. The elliptic language of the Chinese text and the particular style of the illustration may have helped Pereira's disbelieving and sneering imagination.

In a paradoxical sense, at least for some, the problem with Jesuit Orientalism in the texts of Queiros, Pereira and Wieger is unwillingness to refrain from "refutation" and irony, as discreet as it can be. The two late-seventeenth century Jesuits and the modern and accredited Sinologist such as Wieger defined their objects of study as fables (*patranhas*) and fiction. [113] The texts they chose to represent and unravel contained by definition a deceit, a disguise, briefly, a falsehood their audience is exhorted not to believe in.[114] Since the Jesuits always start from an authorized reality, they are tied and blinded by the preordained frames that shore up that particular construction. By chasing the false, as de Certeau remarked, one makes the assumption that its opposite is real. "Thus, for example, in the past, arguments against 'false' gods were used to induce belief in a true God".[115]

By comparing notes on Asian Buddhism, Queiros and Pereira perform common scientific operations such as accumulation, stratification, verification (of authenticity) of knowledge. In this respect they do not differ much from the accredited Orientalists of the later period. The problem is that by the end of the 18th century, their institutional and heuristic home base - the Catholic Church and the Catholic empires – had lost purchase in the period

[112] Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha* , p. 23

[113] Wieger, *Les vies chinoises du Buddha* , p. 13.

[114] On the labour of "fictionalization" see Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1988, p. 308-354.

[115] Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies; Discourse on the Other*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986 p. 201.

of “modern” and “enlightened” sciences. Everybody, starting with the Protestants, took a shot at their erudition, their theology and their historiography, while at the same time they pillaged the sources and whatever was considered redeemable under the new regime of reason and objectivity. False was again to be expurgated from real, consecrated in a ritual of forgetting. When in 1815, Antoine-Léonard de Chézy inaugurated the first formal teaching of Sanskrit literature and Abel Rémusat was called to do the same for Chinese, the work of Jesuit Orientalists such as Pereira and Queiros languished silent under already more than a century of archival dust.