



7. ORIENTALIST MUSEUM¹

ROMAN MISSIONARY COLLECTIONS AND PRINTS (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)

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When Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo arrived in Pondicherry aboard *Lamaible Nannette* on 25 July 1776, the scene was set for another missionary life in south India. As he described two decades later in his *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, for thirteen years, he worked hard in his mission among the Syrian or St Thomas Christians, travelled in the Malabar region, met people from the lowest fishermen to Dutch administrators and the kings of Travancore.² Written with hindsight, of course, *Viaggio* documents as much Paulinus' achievements as his desires and deceptions. The choice of Italian, instead of a scholarly Latin of his numerous books written and published upon return to Europe, is undoubtedly a sign that he tried to reach a wider audience. In the same way, the title he chose pointed to a particular genre of writing—a travelogue—developed in the course of almost three centuries during which Italians and other Europeans travelled to and came back with stories about the Orient.

A missionary life, if one studies prosopographies and hagiographies of the Catholic missionaries in the early modern period, consisted of two or three stages. The first is the stage before entering the order or leaving for a mission. In the hagiographies it is a time of evangelical preparation endowed with premonitions, miracles and prophetic dreams, and the visions of future. The life in the mission is a heroic period of intense social interaction, politics, learning languages, a holy fatigue and an eventual martyrdom. For some, but not all, there is a third stage of return back to Europe or to some quiet place with a possibility of writing down the recollections and reflecting on the mission fieldwork.

Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo returned to Europe via Brest only to find that after a difficult transoceanic passage he had to deal with another 'evil' the French Revolution. In his opinion, it was at that point, while travelling through the devastation in France during the Revolution that he started 'thinking about countries and nations that [he] saw and comparing them with Europeans, my dear compatriots'.³ In a melancholic statement, Paulinus both condemned and extolled Europe's achievements. For him, China and India were regions with gentile and gentle people governed by simple laws. With stable governments, their religion and customs remained unchanged. Europe on the other hand was 'inconstant' and politically volatile, part of which he attributed to the influx of the ferocious Scythians from the cold climates.⁴ The originary inconstancy was responsible for multiplication of laws and the fact that 'people are easily duped' by novelties (*novità*) and liberty (*libertà*), 'the two new idols'.⁵ One of the consequences of this unbound mobility of the Europeans who also became conquerors of the rest of the world, and thus developed excellent armies, was that they acquired 'one little advantage' compared to Asia. 'This advantage lies in arts and sciences'.⁶ And yet, Paulinus tried to prove in all his texts that these arts and sciences came originally from India.⁷ The Europeans only perfected them. His mission was, therefore, to rescue the ancient wisdom of the Indian arts and sciences from the forces of historical corruption (and oblivion) and to save the Indians from the 'darkness of ignorance' in which they continue to live without the Christian message.

Paulinus' predicament lies right here. In what follows I will try to show that, from what we can discern in his published books written upon return to Rome, Paulinus was torn between two opposing tasks. On the one hand, he was a professional missionary even when he worked as a professor of oriental languages at the mission seminary of the Propaganda Fide (Collegio Urbano) in Rome and published books for the use of the future missionaries.⁸ In addition, he also considered himself a scholar and an Orientalist. The problem was that he felt, and rightly so, that his expertise was not taken all that seriously by his peers, especially by the British and French students of Indian languages and culture. In a way, he was at the end of the line of a series of the Catholic 'missionary Orientalists', from the learned Jesuits who arrived in the sixteenth century to the Discalced Carmelites,

Capuchins, and the French of the Société des Missions-Étrangères in the eighteenth century.

By the early nineteenth century a new kind of professional, the colonial scholar-administrator, entered the Orientalist scene and captured it for the next century and a half. The formation of the Asiatic Society in 1784 that organized scientific discussions and lectures, which were then quickly published in the *Asiatic Researches* became the arenas in which one's scholarly worth was measured and evaluated. The founding of the College of Fort William in 1800 gave a new educational dimension to the study of Indian languages and culture. Thomas Trautmann called it a 'titanic shift of authority'.⁹

As all scientific societies and institutions, especially those on the rise, the Asiatic Society and its members were exclusionary and filtered out everything and everybody who did not comply with the established or imagined rules, paradigms, and norms of 'scientificity'. Paulinus, obviously, did not fit and knew it. He did not fit because he was a Catholic missionary and because his 'Indological' sources were from South India. Upon return to Europe, through publication of his books and in his ample correspondence, Paulinus fought against the British Orientalists and their authority in the field of Orientalist studies. He was in particular angry with William Jones who was, he must have sensed, his scholarly doppelgänger.¹⁰ It has been remarked that he never mentioned Jones by name in any of his works, although he quoted liberally from his texts, until 1795.¹¹ For example, in *Systema Brahmanicum*, he quoted Govardhan Caul (Kaul) and failed to mention that it was Jones who 'officially' translated the text from Sanskrit.¹² However, after Jones's death in 1794, Paulinus miraculously resurrected his name and it gained in honorific titles with each of Paulinus' new publications. By 1799, Jones was extolled as 'famous' and as the 'President of the Calcutta Academy'.¹³ Paulinus was himself quite keen on displaying his own scholarly titles. They appear on the front page of all his printed books. On the *Monumenti indici del museo Naniano*, printed in Padua in 1799, we read that in addition to being *Carmelitano Scalzo*, he was *Professore di Lingue Orientali, sindaco delle Missioni Asiatiche et Socio Academico di Velletri, e di Napoli*.¹⁴

In Rome, his incredible erudition and expertise in Indian languages did not sit all too well with the fact that he was a monk and a former missionary. From a letter written by the Secretary of the



Propaganda in 1790, Paulinus was described as a very learned man, but a bad character and even bad 'religious' character. The Secretary (Giulio de Carpineo) decided not to send him back to India, in spite of Paulinus's ardent desire, but to let him publish his works all the while keeping him under surveillance.¹⁵ It was, nevertheless, a former secretary of the Propaganda, Cardinal Stefano Borgia, who provided the best possible venue for Paulinus's scholarly ambitions. He was invited to organize the Indian collection in Borgia's Museum in Velletri.¹⁶ As an editor, archivist and museum curator, Paulinus single-handedly invented and practiced his own Orientalist 'sciences'. Without learned Brahmins to sit by his side, as they did sit by the side of the Calcutta Orientalists, Paulinus listened to his museum archives full of manuscripts and objects brought from India by his missionary predecessors and by himself. These codices and objects were the authorities on which he relied and this is why he spent a great amount of time and energy on trying to preserve, describe, classify and publish them.

COLLECTING *NECESSE EST*

Arrival in India was for most of the missionaries, Paulinus included, a breaking point in their life and in their life narratives (autobiographies and hagiographies). Besides cultivating the mission field, collecting curious objects and manuscripts, taking notes and writing letters were also considered an important part of their missionary tasks. Paulinus was from the beginning a diligent collector and writer.¹⁷ In the department of rare manuscripts of the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome there are numerous boxes and folders (*scatole* and *buste*) of Paulinus's various letters and notes. Some are written in his own hand, some are by anonymous scribes, and there are cut-outs from printed books or other manuscripts. These notes are in various languages. Some are exercise notebooks of Chaldean, Armenian, Arabic, Tamil, Malayalam, and Grantha alphabets. Some of these documents were written for the local use and consumption such as Christian catechetical and pious texts in Malayalam or Manipravalam for his parishioners and charges as well as, perhaps, to convert local literate castes. He also wrote a grammar-manual for learning English through Malayalam and Portuguese. Paulinus was commissioned to write it by the king of Travancore, Rama Varma.¹⁸

Good relations with the kings of Travancore Martanda Varma and his son Rama Varma, and with the Dutch in Kochi were crucial for the survival of the Verapoly (Varapuzha) mission of the Propaganda Fide and the Discalced Carmelites. Until the seventeenth century all Catholic missions in India were part of the Portuguese royal patronage network (*padroado*).¹⁹ However, with the establishment of the Congregation for the Propagation of Faith (Propaganda Fide) in 1622, the Papacy took over under its own wing all the territories *in partibus infidelium* left uncovered by the Portuguese *padroado*. Since the missionaries sent by the Propaganda Fide were recruited in Rome and from missionary orders that had no allegiance to the Portuguese king, the Estado da Índia and the Portuguese authorities in Goa often treated them as enemies.²⁰ The Discalced Carmelites came to India in order to replace the Jesuits who were the first missionaries sent to work on the reformation of what was considered as schismatic liturgy and customs of the St Thomas or Syrian Christians in Kerala.²¹ When the Dutch captured Kochi in 1662, all Catholic missionaries were expelled and even the first Carmelite Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani had to leave after appointing as his successor a Syrian Christian priest, Parambil Chandy alias Alexander de Campo. Upon return to Rome, Sebastiani inaugurated the first in a series of publications by the missionaries of his order in Kerala.²² In addition, the Propaganda Fide supported all missionary projects by way of its polyglot printing-office.²³ The access to the printing press is a crucial element in Paulinus's Orientalist enterprise in Rome.

For their passage to India, the Propaganda missionaries used French carriers and this is why Paulinus's *Viaggio* starts in Pondicherry, the capital of the French colonies in India and ends in the French harbour of Brest thirteen years later.²⁴ Although he never travelled to Goa, Paulinus did have contacts with the rival *padroado* missionaries and collected manuscripts and notes written by the Jesuits who were the first 'missionary Orientalists' in India. His most precious manuscript was the Sanskrit grammar written by a Jesuit, Johann Ernst Hanxleden.²⁵ When it was suggested that he had plagiarized Hanxleden's work, he responded in his *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis* printed in Vienna in 1799, that they both used the same Sanskrit sources.²⁶

Most of the early Propaganda Fide missionaries in Kerala were keen students and collectors of manuscripts and of natural objects.²⁷

Possessing and collecting nature was part and parcel of the late Renaissance and Baroque culture that defined the civil space of the Italian elite. The members of the religious orders in Rome participated in this common enterprise of unveiling the secrets of natural history.²⁸ Before ending on display or in the drawers, chests, and boxes of the cabinet of curiosities, the objects had to be collected through travel, exchange or purchase. The missionaries were among the agents employed in this enterprise. Besides objects themselves, what they often brought were their representations (pictures, descriptions) or remains and traces of the natural objects (*horti secchi*, dried plant or flower specimens, for example).

Vicenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (alias Antonio Murchio) wrote a travelogue called *Il Viaggio all'Indie Orientali* with a long excursus in the Book IV on the Malabar plants.²⁹ Another missionary Matteo di San Giuseppe who remained in Malabar until his death in 1691, collected during his life time in India information on plants, seeds, and medicinal remedies.³⁰ His expertise must have been well known in Kochi and it attracted attention of a Dutch amateur natural scientist and a Commissioner General of the VOC (the Dutch East India Company) in Malabar, Hendrik Adriaan van Rheedee tot Drakenstein (1637–91). The result of their collaboration was Van Rheedee's monumental *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* published in Amsterdam between 1678 and 1703, and a grant of a church in Chathiath (Vaduthala) for the Carmelites.³¹

Just like Jesuits before them, Discalced Carmelites were sent into their missionary field as general experts in 'conversion' and pastoral care. However, some of them cultivated on the side other type of skills. For example Matteo di San Giuseppe was an Arabist, botanist, and a good draughtsman. Before his arrival to Kerala, Paulinus studied oriental languages in Rome. That the study of nature and of languages in India was an important part of the Carmelite mission enterprise in Kerala is evident from the titles of the books the missionaries printed upon return to Europe and from the manuscripts they left unpublished in the archives. In this respect they were not unique, since most of the Orientalists in the eighteenth century were interested both in botany and in languages. Moreover, the study of nature and the study of languages followed the same line of reasoning at least in terms of understanding morphological and etymological structures.³² William

Carey, a Baptist missionary, Orientalist, and a professor of Oriental languages in the Fort William College in Calcutta was also an amateur botanist who edited and published William Roxburgh's *Flora Indica; or Descriptions of Indian Plants*.³³

William Jones was also interested in botany, which was his 'principal amusement' together with 'the conversation with the pundits, with whom I talk fluently in the language of the Gods'.³⁴ The two contemporaries—Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, a Catholic missionary in Kerala and William Jones, an enlightened Orientalist in Calcutta—each within their own cultural milieu, were therefore chasing the same scientific paradigm and the same Christian teleology. They both tried to preserve their vision of the Christian world guaranteed by the Bible and the structure of the Mosaic ethnology.³⁵

One of the crucial differences between these two early scholars of India was the manner in which they handled and organized their 'research' data and material evidence, and in the cultural and social context in which the constituted data were available for scholarly consumption. For Jones and the other Orientalists, the newly conquered Bengal and its capital Calcutta provided a fertile space for setting up all the institutions indispensable for scholarly activities—a learned society, a journal, a college and an informal, ever growing pool of local literati ready to be employed.³⁶

Paulinus a Sancto Bartolomaeo, on the other hand, rarely had the opportunity of enjoying and profiting from a closely-knit scientific community during his stay in India. Residing in India resembled more a fieldwork period in which he collected materials rather than studying them in depth. In a way, he was collecting specimens for his future museum, presumably somewhere in the European Catholic world. Knowledge of India was, therefore, to be constituted outside of its borders. In Paulinus's case—in a fixed and framed public space of the Papal court.

MUSEUM IN PRINT

It was upon return to Europe in 1789 that Paulinus had a chance to put his notes in order and think about a larger picture for his scholarly ambitions. For the next seventeen years he published twenty-six (or more) books and articles on a wide variety of topics, from catalogues

of various museum collections, learned treatises and grammars to short polemical papers in comparative linguistics.

Paulinus sifted through, classified, pruned, and prepared for print documents and materials from his prodigious manuscript collection, including his fieldwork diaries. Within the five years that he spent in Rome as a Professor of Oriental Languages at the Propaganda Fide Mission seminary, he had managed to publish eight books: a Sanskrit grammar, *Sidharubam seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* (1790), a synthetic treatise on religious and civil organization in Brahmanic India, *Systema Brahmanicum Liturgicum, Mythologicum, Civile, ex Monumentis Indicis Musei Borgiani Velitris, Dissertationibus historico-criticis* (1791), a history of Christianity in India *India Orientalis Christiana* (1794), a few works on various South Asian alphabets and proverbs, and two catalogues/inventories of Oriental manuscripts and objects, one for the Propaganda Fide and the other for the Museum in Velletri.

What used to be scattered, though copious notes from the mission took shape under various titles and topics. *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* was not simply an effort at capturing a larger public, but also a way of quickly storing information that Paulinus probably knew he would not have enough time to organize in the near future and that may thus be forgotten in the archives. Publishing *Viaggio* was also a way of inscribing himself onto a long list of travelogue writers about India, and to remind his readers of his first-hand authority in things Indian.

Describing the Indian climate, illnesses, plants, and remedies was an authenticating topos in most of the travel literature on India. The hot and humid 'torrid zone' had a reputation, often copied from one printed book to another, of crushing Europeans under its weight. At the same time, it was also considered as extremely rich in remedies and medicinal plants. Just like his predecessors, Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena, Matteo di San Giuseppe, and others, Paulinus collected a huge amount of medical and botanical information and included only a part of it in his *Viaggio*, a museum in print.

In one of the most dramatic opening scenes of the *Viaggio*, the readers are compelled to witness and ponder over a somewhat ironic episode in which printed books, dangers of Indian climate, and the utility of Indian remedies are brought together in an exemplary fashion. When he was still in Pondicherry before reaching his mission in Kerala, Paulinus encountered the famous white ants or termites

responsible for the widespread and indiscriminate destruction of wood, textile and paper:

I kept my stuff in my room in a chest. One day after lunch I opened it to take a book that I wanted to read, and as soon as it was open, I saw an infinite throng of small white animals that the Tamils, that is the inhabitants of *Cidlamandala* call *Carea* and the Malabars *Cedel*.³⁷

Not without a tinge of amusement, Paulinus admitted that among the things he had lost to the ants were some of his clothes and a theological book by Padre Gazzaniga.³⁸ The story of white ants called immediately another story, a story of earwig or millipede (*una centipeda o centogambe*). While the ants attacked things, the earwig menaced human beings by getting into the ear and 'biting its way out, and without finding one, heading straight in'. The servant attacked by the insect was so much in pain that he 'hit his head and his feet against the floor, screamed, and went around in frenzy'.

This dramatic scene, however, ends happily since a certain Signor Jallaber applied a small spoonful of *droga amara* (bitter drug) and cured the servant. Paulinus is obsessed with recording and collecting factual information. Thus he gives the exact contents of the preparation with measures in ounces. 'For one pitcher of 24 French bottles, it is necessary to take 24 ounces of *Resina*, or *Calafonia*, 12 ounces of incense, 4 ounces of aloe, 4 ounces of *Mirra*, and 4 ounces of *Calumba*'. The mixture, according to Paulinus was an excellent remedy for all kinds of illnesses that come from corruption such as indigestion, wounds, labor pains, ulcers, worms, scurvy, et cetera.³⁹

However, properly assembled and condensed data on Indian botany and medicine is gathered in one place at the end of the book, in chapter eleven of the Second Part. While the first part of the book resembles, at least in the beginning, a travel narrative, the second part is mostly structured as a museum credenza or a filing cabinet. Thus we find eleven chapters discussing birth and education, marriage customs, laws, classes and tribes, ministries and tribunals, languages, religion and gods, Indian 'hieroglyphs', division of time, calendar and festivals, music, poetry, architecture, and finally climate, botany, and remedies.

There is nothing surprising in this particular division of topics since it has been worked out in detail and with variations during the two centuries of missionary writings about the manners and customs

of the peoples they encountered in the whole world. Within each category of phenomena there were further subdivisions in more or less pronounced order of importance. In between his direct comments, anecdotes, and opinions, we find long lists of various things that can be listed. Paulinus's favourite game throughout the *Viaggio* as well as in his other printed works and in his correspondence was to castigate careless, imprecise, and ignorant authors writing about India. His belligerent and self-righteous tone antagonized some of his readers, especially those whom he mercilessly ridiculed. It is no wonder that the Orientalists, especially the British, returned fire with the same scornful words. Thus, J.R. Forster, who translated into German two of Paulinus's books—*Systema Brahmanicum* and *Viaggio*—mentioned that he had to correct some unclear Latin sentences in the first and factual errors in the second book. Knowledge about India was, obviously contested and with each new publication, new mastery over Indian *realia* and *spiritualia* was claimed from various Orientalist camps. As long as one was a target of such scholarly attacks, one counted for something in the Orientalist circles. The end of the line for Paulinus was probably the publication of the French translation of his *Viaggio*. Translated from Italian by a mysterious Mr M., the text also contained comments by J.R. Forster, by Anquetil Duperron who died before completing the annotation of the manuscript, and by Antoine Isaac Silvestre de Sacy who had a final word on all authors.⁴⁰ By the time the *Voyage aux Indes orientales* appeared in 1808, Paulinus had been dead for two years.⁴¹

Although Paulinus rooted his authority, as most missionaries did, in his direct experience of what he saw 'with his own eyes' during his travels and residence (1776–89) in South Asia, in the chapter on Indian botany and medicine he makes a special mention of the manuscripts and books that he consulted or had in his possession. It is this material on paper, either manuscripts or 'many paintings from Malabar made by a Malabar physician', that Paulinus proudly puts forward as the ultimate basis and a guarantee of his narrative. 'I have [a text of the] Brahmanical Medicine translated from Sanskrit by Father *Giovanni Alvarez* and enlarged by Father *G. Ernesto Hanxleden*, a Jesuit.'⁴²

In one of the *scatole* (boxes) full of Paulinus' manuscripts preserved today in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele (Rome), there is a folder (*busta*) called *Botanica Malabar*. The largest and the best preserved document in the folder is a notebook in Portuguese

describing Indian plants and their medicinal properties.⁴³ The entire text (*ca.* 60 pages) is written in one hand with corrections in another ink. The corrections were only made for names in Malayalam script. It is possible that this was the manuscript Paulinus referred to in the *Viaggio*. But next to it in the same folder, there are his chaotic notes, clippings from books or printed sheets, a crude drawing of a palm tree on a transparent white paper. The pieces are of all sizes and some of them bear signs of earlier calamities such as water, humidity, and fire. A printed sheet in French reads, ‘Les Vértus d’une eau de mélisse composée...., par le carme dechaussé de Paris, ... contre l’apopleisie et les vapeurs.’⁴⁴ Another printed page in Italian is entitled, ‘*Balsamo Samaritano*’. There is also a handwritten recipe for preparing the droga amara concoction. We can glimpse from the contents of this folder—and it is only one folder in one of the numerous boxes—at the insatiable interest in knowing and collecting. What he really and passionately collected were not things, nor medico-botanical specimens, but words, especially words that could take one back in history to the very source of human civilization.

SANSKRIT

Sanskrit, the scholarly language (*la lingua dottà*) of the Indians became Paulinus’s obsession, as it became for most of the Orientalists and Indologists in the nineteenth century. By the time he returned to Europe, he was already an accomplished Sanskritist in spite of unfriendly and unfair remarks by some British Orientalists who denounced him as a fraud. Alexander Hamilton thought that Paulinus’s Sanskrit dictionary was ‘a dictionary of the Malabar idiom, which bears the same relation to the Sanscrit that Italian does to Latin’.⁴⁵ It is clear today that the misunderstanding came from the fact that Paulinus transcribed Sanskrit words from the Grantha script and under the influence of Dravidian phonology, and into the Italian orthography. As for the British Sanskritists in Calcutta, they were taught by the Bengali pundits and transliterated Sanskrit into English.⁴⁶

Paulinus was perfectly aware that the transcription and transliteration of Indian languages remained a problem.

The Europeans, Arabs, Persians, Greeks who do not understand Indian language, try to pronounce or write Indian words with the same

corruption as dictated by their spirit (*genio*) and secondly according to the pronunciation of their country (*patria*) which leads to another corruption that changes and transforms and corrupts in everything and in part the true native Indian name.⁴⁷

Paulinus, of course, intended to correct all the names bastardized by the foreigners (*stranieri*) and travellers (*viaggiatori*) and to standardize their pronunciation according to the Italian orthography. Thus, he claimed *Coromandel* should be spelled *Cidlamandala*. Taking up William Jones's opinion that '[our] English alphabet and orthography are disgracefully, and almost ridiculously, imperfect', Paulinus adds his own more devastating appraisal.⁴⁸ 'The English alphabet is not only imperfect but plainly ridiculous when it comes to expressing Indian nouns, they horribly corrupt them when writing them in that alphabet.'⁴⁹ But, of course, the way history unfolded, these linguistic decisions were not left to the Italians.

In his Sanskrit grammar, *Sidharuban seu Grammatica Samscrdamica* printed only a year after his return to Rome in 1790, Paulinus wrote a veritable panegyric to 'this language of the ancient sages of India'. For Paulinus, Sanskrit was a kind of *omnimedium* for storing and generating culture. First of all, it 'possessed all conceivable words', it had 'unlimited abundance of nouns and verbs' and it was 'the most adequate medium for discussing any subject whatsoever'.⁵⁰ He was not the fist Catholic missionary who admired Sanskrit and dreamt of making it a perfect receptacle for Christian message, often called a 'local Latin'.⁵¹ In south India, Roberto Nobile (1577–1656) in the early seventeenth century started writing Christian literature in Sanskrit and in Sanskritized Tamil.⁵² Independently, Heinrich Roth (1620–68), a Jesuit missionary at the Mughal court, was equally enthusiastic and tried to enlist to the cause of Sanskrit the famous Jesuit polyhistor Athanasius Kircher in Rome. Kircher received bundles and bundles of information from all over the world and some made it into his printed works. While he included five plates with Sanskrit alphabet into his *China Illustrata*, the main text of Roth's Sanskrit grammar remained lost in the archives of the Collegio Romano.⁵³ William Jones, who looked down on Catholic missionaries and their conversion methods, unknowingly agreed with them when he stated that the *Muselmans* and *Hindus* could be easily converted if

certain biblical chapters such as the Prophets, ‘particularly of Isaiah’ and one of the Gospels were translated into Sanskrit and Persian. Such translations may cause ‘a great revolution [read conversion]’.⁵⁴

Sanskrit was, therefore, a repository and a witness of the Brahmanical high ‘learning, cultivation of sciences and arts ... multiplicity of philosophic and religious sects, a variety of castes and trades, a refinement of life, and a most intensive study of logic and metaphysics’.⁵⁵ It is also a mother language of all Indian vernaculars such as, according to Paulinus, *Ceilanica, Tamulica, Malabarica, Canara, Maràshda, Telinga, Bengalina, Devanagirca, Guzaratica, Nepalese* and of two languages that migrated out of India such as *Zendica* (in Persia) and the *Gypsy* vernacular (in Europe).⁵⁶ In the same way, Paulinus continued, Latin is the mother of Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese. In addition, Paulinus proved in numerous convoluted etymological derivations that Sanskrit had also at one point or another penetrated ‘Greece and Latium’.⁵⁷ Here again, Paulinus takes a combative stand, in spite of the fact that his own conclusions that India, not Egypt or Greece, was the most antique civilization was not so different from, neither irreconcilable with, other scholars and writers such as William Jones whose texts he knew well. By 1798, Paulinus’s comparative method produced one of the first studies on the kinship of Indo-European languages.⁵⁸ In his *De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae, Samscrdamicae et Germanicae dissertatio*, Paulinus juxtaposes linguistic forms in Sanskrit, Avestan, and German in order to prove the existence of kinship between these languages.⁵⁹ In fact, Paulinus set out to prove with examples the famous claim made by Jones in 1786 of the common origin of Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, but it was not until 1802 before he finally came up with decisive pronouncement on the issue. Thus, he wrote in his *De latini sermonis*, both Sanskrit, Zend, and Latin possess between them ‘an intimate affinity’ and resemble as ‘one egg to another’.⁶⁰

Sanskrit was as most of the learned Orientalists would agree with Paulinus on this—a language-museum in which all true meanings were contained and often hidden behind ‘fables’ and ‘corruption’. In particular, the origin and the truth of Indian religious and philosophical ideas were to be obtained by carefully learning Sanskrit and reading ancient books. In *Sidharubam*, Paulinus presented Brahmanical view

of the origin of Sanskrit, simultaneous with the creation of the world. According to the story, the supreme power *Ishvara* became inflamed by the power of his own imagination, and a woman he longed for, *Shakti*, came out of his back. As he proceeded to create all the things in the world he said to Shakti, '*Hum*, i.e., the interrogative 'Will you?' to which the Goddess replies: *Om*, or *ām*, both of which means: 'Indeed, definitely, I do, so be it, amen'.⁶¹ From these two 'particles or vowels', insisted Paulinus, the Brahmans explained the creation of all things and the twenty-five characters ('basic ones') of the Sanskrit alphabet.⁶²

Paulinus compiled this particular creation story from the works of two of his Carmelite predecessors in the Verapoly mission, Clemens a Iesu (Peanio) and Ildephonsus a Praesentatione B. Mariae Virginis.⁶³ What he did not know is that the story was taken from an anonymous manuscript, which has been later attributed to a Jesuit Jacome Fenicio, written in the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁶⁴ What is interesting is that Fenicio's text portrayed the fable of the divine creation as a kind of divine debauchery and fornication. Thus, Ixora (*Īsvara*) grew a long lingam, 'which is a male member (*membro uiril*)', because of his desire for woman, and ploughed the world with it and created mountains and seas. The same desire then grew into a form of a woman on his back. To his question '*om*, which means do you desire (*queréis*) ... the woman responded *am*, which means I desire (*quero*)'.⁶⁵

However, in Paulinus' text there is not a trace of the divine pornography so dear to Fenicio. It is possible that the obscenities were already ironed out by his source Ildephonsus a Praesentatione B. Mariae Virginis.⁶⁶ Whatever the case, Paulinus was after proofs of Sanskrit antiquity and the first conversation between *Ishvara* and *Shakti* reminded him of something other than sex. The particles *Hum* and *Om* 'entirely correspond to the text of Genesis: God said: let there be..., and so it was, and ... it is this text which has been corrupted, deformed and mixed up with fables'.⁶⁷ Having thus connected Christianity and Brahmanism at the very source of the divine revelation, Paulinus tried to prove that Indian gods were nothing but natural phenomena: Brahma is earth, Vishnu water, and Shiva fire.⁶⁸

In spite of his missionary duties, it is these relics of the past that Paulinus tried to preserve, if only in his books and in his museum. In fact, the preservation of the ancient Indian life and wisdom was the

prime task of the Brahmans. They were ready to give life in this effort.⁶⁹ In a way similar to some of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century, Paulinus also strove to replace the Brahmans. The first stage in this process was to take control of their learned language and their books.

REPLACING BRAHMANS

The first to take professional interest in Indian 'pagan' books were Jesuits. They were also the first to learn and teach vernacular languages. It became clear very early to the Portuguese in Goa that books considered sacred were kept by the Brahmans who treasured them and kept them hidden from all intruders. The way to procure such books was usually by theft, plunder, or by converting the Brahmans. A well-known Jesuit writer Luís Fróis, famous for his *História de Japam*, wrote of one such incident while he was still in Goa in 1559.⁷⁰ A learned young Brahman not only converted to Christianity, but he led the Viceroy's army to a house of a Sanskrit pundit who had a whole library of old books. With these books in his possession, the converted Brahman who took a Portuguese name of Manuel d'Oliveira, translated 'in a few days all the main things'. This particular pattern of acquiring Indian 'sacred' books was quite common in Goa in the sixteenth century. It was not until the end of the seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries that Europeans noticed that these books were also for sale.⁷¹ Paulinus bought manuscripts from a person who was entrusted with safekeeping a library left by a Brahman fleeing the army of the Tipu Sultan.⁷² That books and manuscripts were a cherished booty is seen from a letter by Charles Wilkins who hoped that that library of the Tipu Sultan defeated by the British in 1799, would be given to the Orientalists in Calcutta.⁷³ Catholic missionaries in Pondicherry and Chandernagor were encouraged to acquire and send manuscripts, paintings, books, and other curious objects for the Royal Library in Paris. The Propaganda Fide missionaries were also supposed to collect texts and objects for the display in Rome. With the rise in demand and good amounts of money offered in cash for such commodities, more books, paintings, and other objects became available for sale. Anybody with money and interest could buy and sell in, what Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi call, the 'oriental book

bazaar' of the eighteenth-century north India.⁷⁴ This bazaar was not merely about commercial transactions. It was a space of intellectual sociability in which pandits and Persianate scholars came into direct contact with European and, most importantly, British administrators. With the collapse of indigenous patrons, various kinds of oriental literati offered their services and books to the English Company and its new breed of Orientalist administrators.

While the local literati could move to Calcutta or to other centers of learning set up by the British, many books and material objects moved directly to Europe. Sometimes even without being read or copied in India. In one of the comments printed in the Paulinus' French edition of *Viaggio*, Anquetil Duperron provides an interesting history of a large collection of the Zend Avesta manuscripts, 'hundred and thirty-seven volumes in all', purchased by Samuel Guise from the widow of a Parsi scholar Destour Darab who was Anquetil Duperron's Persian and Zend Avesta teacher in Surat.⁷⁵ Paulinus may have met Samuel Guise who was a surgeon in Anjengo, the first English East India Company settlement in Travancore, between 1783 and 1784.⁷⁶ In his *Examen Historico-criticum*, Paulinus listed Guise's collection of oriental manuscripts among one of the four most important collections in Europe (that he knew of).⁷⁷ This led Anquetil Duperron to exclaim with some indignation and a lot of irony, 'it is England now rich in Zend and Pahlavi works'.

All European merchants, collectors and Orientalists dreamt of nothing else but repatriating Asian riches to Europe. William Jones desired to 'transfer to Europe all the sciences, arts, and literature of Asia'.⁷⁸ He also deplored the fact that his official duties of a court judge in Calcutta prevented him from working in leisure on his translations and research. A missionary in India was not less busy with his everyday duties and obligations, but, of course, could not complain about it. Even when Paulinus came back to Rome, he was certainly not a 'leisured gentleman' scholar. He was teaching, preparing various books for print, compiling catalogues and participating in an ever-complicated political life in Rome.⁷⁹ He could not even dream, as William Jones did, of retiring to a quiet life of an independent scholar in England.⁸⁰ Paulinus was certainly in agreement with Jones that time was, indeed, in short supply⁸¹ if one were to invest it in learning Indian sciences, but he also presumed that what was needed were

‘subjects (*Soggetti*) who know the language’ and money.⁸² The missionaries were chronically lacking money and technically did not have ‘subjects (*soggetti*)’ but pastoral ‘charges’. In addition, Paulinus’s ‘learned charges’ were not necessarily Sanskrit scholars since they were St Thomas Christians.

From Anquetil Duperron’s perspective of a scholar who was neither a colonial administrator nor a missionary, ‘the English have time and money’ and human resources to prepare and publish a book on Indian Botany.⁸³ He insisted in particular on the fact that there were already enough British administrator-scholars who knew Sanskrit. Paulinus was quite consistent in underestimating and ridiculing his contemporary Orientalists in Calcutta. He slashed Wilkins’s translation of *Bhagavadgita*⁸⁴ ‘How can a European have courage to translate from Sanskrit without grammar, without Sanskrit syntax that demands at least twelve years of study?’ In fact, he was suspicious of all translations from Sanskrit in particular. ‘There are so many ridiculous things printed in Europe’, he exclaimed, instead of original Indian works. Anquetil Duperron agreed to a point with Paulinus since he also thought that without Sanskrit grammars and dictionaries printed, ‘Europe will remain completely ignorant of all Indian things’.⁸⁵ What exactly Paulinus meant by ‘original Indian works’ is, however, ambiguously unclear, since he himself printed only translations, his own translations. From what follows in the text, it seems that what he meant by ‘original’ may be expressed by another epithet—authentic. Indian authenticity was its antiquity since India was, according to Paulinus, the only ‘antique’ nation that preserved ‘until today’ its old language, books, poetry, rites, and customs.

Excessive eagerness to find ancient books made Europeans vulnerable to frauds. Paulinus denounced the book, the *Ezour-Vedam*, that impressed Voltaire so much and armed him with deist arguments against the Catholic Church. He claimed as did Pierre Sonnerat in his *Voyage aux Indes Orientales et à la Chine*, published in 1782, that it was a work of a Catholic missionary, and therefore, neither ancient nor Indian.⁸⁶ If the Jesuits or one of their converts tried to dupe Europeans, the Brahmans were even more dangerous falsifiers according to Paulinus.⁸⁷ He quotes a work in Persian, *Azret hisù & Azret musa*, written by a Brahman against Christian teaching in North India that fell into the hands of the Capuchin Tibetan mission.⁸⁸ Indian reactions

to missionary presence in India in terms of written books with refutation of Christianity were, unfortunately for historians, rather rare, almost nonexistent in the sixteenth and the seventeenth-century. In the southern Jesuit missions the only pamphlets and published texts that opposed their methods and their teaching came from the Lutheran camp in Tranquebar.⁸⁹ Especially the learned Brahmins were insistently silent on Christianity that gained some ground among the lower echelons of the society.

The early Jesuit Orientalists such as Roberto Nobili whose method of conversion inaugurated the Malabar rites controversy, tried to work out a way to replace the Brahmins as the cultural, religious and intellectual leaders of society. The principle of the 'accommodation' displaced through imitation or partial strategic mimesis. Through his learning of languages (Tamil, Telugu, and Sanskrit), he wanted to change from inside—according to the famous Ignatian formula, *entrar con el otro y salir consigo*—all the books pertaining to religious and theological precepts of the Brahmins in order to bring them closer to Christian theology.⁹⁰ Missionary 'pseudo-Vedas' or the 'pseudo-puranas' were intended deliberately to replace existing 'heathen' narratives and stories. Hence, they were designed to correct certain key ideas in the Brahminical religious 'system' in order to bring out from the 'heathen material' the pristine (i.e. Christian) meanings hidden away by the cunning and avaricious religious specialists.

Compared to Nobili, Paulinus is already far from this kind of militantly corrective 'missionary Orientalism' and closer to his contemporaries, Orientalists in Calcutta. He did write, however, one major work in Malayalam, *The Life of St. Theresa (mar tresiya punyastriyude caritram)*. It is equally true that Paulinus' printed texts—such as his Sanskrit dictionary and grammar, and his *Systema Brahmanicum*—were potentially useful to future missionaries and were written for them, but they were also texts inspired by the *Asiatick Researches*, by Anquetil Duperron and by other Orientalist scholars in India and Europe. One of the characteristic practices of the new Orientalists was to dissociate the traditional keepers of the texts, the Brahmins, from the 'ancient texts' of their tradition. The 'antiquity' of the Indian literary or sacred texts dis-authorized, in Orientalist view, those who were merely their transmitters. It was often repeated

that the Brahmans who knew by heart the Vedas and were able to recite them did not understand their meanings.

THE END OF THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY ORIENTALISM, ROME, NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the nineteenth century, a purely 'ocular' authority of the travellers and missionaries was on the wane in terms of its capacity to shore up a new type of 'scientific' episteme englobing the Orient. Being there and seeing with one's own eyes was not a prerequisite for acquiring the new type of knowledge based on linguistic expertise. Paulinus is aware of this, although at times he uses this older type of authority to bash his critics. Thus he treated those who travelled through and stayed in India for years without learning even a vernacular language as 'ambulant suitcases (*bauli ambulanti*)'.⁹¹ Those who did not know Sanskrit were equally uninformed. For example, Paulinus described a ritual of *yajña*, or as he called it, *il sacrificio Yàga*, unknown to the Capuchin missionary Marco della Tomba who called it a hoax, '*impostura*'.⁹² Paulinus explained that if Marco never heard of it, the reason was that he did not know Sanskrit and never read *Amarasinha*.⁹³ Therefore, to 'discover' this major Vedic sacrifice, it was sufficient to read authentic books in original languages in Europe, without ever visiting India.

The Calcutta Orientalists were, of course, based in Bengal, but for them as well, authority was not located in being there but in reading the right type of books and in avoiding to be duped by avaricious interpreters. The production of knowledge moved further and farther away from the sites and people involved in 'data collection'. 'The centers of calculation', as far as Indological sciences were concerned, moved to the nineteenth-century Europe.⁹⁴

Well, Paulinus obviously also moved in the right direction, but not the right capital, or not quite. In terms of materials produced on India, from the Jesuit collections of letters and treatises, to manuscripts and books published by travellers and by the missionaries of the Propaganda Fide, Rome was probably one of the richest European capitals. However, many of the documents were not easily accessible for various reasons.⁹⁵ On the other hand, the latter part of the

eighteenth century was the period in which museums and collections of antiquities and curiosities came into fashion supported by patrons who were some of the richest and the most influential Papal officials.

Stefano Borgia was an emblematic figure combining in his person all qualities of an eighteenth century Roman *mecenae*. He was from a rich aristocratic family, himself an amateur antiquarian and historian as well as a talented Papal administrator. On his family property in Velletri, Borgia founded a museum of antiquities and relics of the 'ancient' civilizations such as coins, manuscripts and artwork. It was with Borgia's encouragement and protection, since he was an influential member of the Propaganda Fide that Paulinus was able to work on his publications. Paulinus's comparative perspective was further developed through the access to materials and scholars working on Coptic, Egyptian, Greeks and Roman archeology and literature. His printed books are full of references to various Velletri collections and catalogues.

Paulinus belonged, therefore, to a certain community of scholars, all of whom belonged to Stefano Borgia's patronage network. It is clear that their common interest and expertise in antiquities and classical learning defined the topics and agreed-upon set of procedures.⁹⁶ For example, the *lingua franca* of their enterprise was Latin, rather than the vernacular Italian. 'Borgia's' scholars were also often employed in cataloguing, ordering, classifying, and describing the items in the collections rather than 'speculating' about larger philosophical and theological issues of the day such as the origins of language, comparative religion, and ethnography. They were not prevented from writing scholarly articles on whatever topic they chose, but their work in the Velletri Museum was mostly antiquarian research.

Ancient, primitive, and exotic were closely linked in the eighteenth century antiquarianism, especially when applied to non-European 'antiquities'. For Paulinus the whole Brahmanical civilization was a relic of a past and thus worth studying in its entirety. In spite of excellent material provided by the Roman libraries and archives, Paulinus did not have a sufficiently numerous community of Indologists in Rome and in Italy in general. In a hostile comment, Anquetil Duperron remarked that for Paulinus 'all his science comes from the Propaganda Fide library, Museum of Cardinal Borgia, from F. Hanxleden [the Sanskrit grammar] and from *Asiatick Researches* in Calcutta, whether

he understands it or not.⁹⁷ It seems that some other scholars from Borgia's network felt the same lack of intellectual stimulation. Jakob Georg Christian Adler wrote in his *Kurze Übersicht seiner bibl.-krit. Reise nach Rom* (Hamburg-Altona 1783) that in Rome there were excellent libraries for learning Oriental languages, but that there were no scholars among the Orientals.⁹⁸

Knowledge in Rome was stored in the libraries, museums and books accessible to the scholars who had permission to use them.⁹⁹ Finally, all knowledge about the past and about other peoples was part of an 'ecumenical' and universal Catholic mission of which Borgia and some other 'enlightened' cardinals dreamt of on the eve of the French Revolution.

Paulinus's archival and comparativist work was, therefore, torn between two differently articulated projects. For Borgia and his Catholic universal mission, Paulinus was a 'conservationist' or curator of documents and objects that were to prove what the Church already knew, and to prevent theories that would argue against the basic Catholic dogmas. A wide variety of opinions was allowed within this fixed framework. Thus Paulinus could exchange punches with Father Antonio Giorgi on the meaning of Brahmanical religion or write against Anquetil Duperron, Jones and Voltaire. At the same time, as an Orientalist, Paulinus 'belonged' to an international community of scholars who worked on the same or similar texts and issues. This Orientalist community in Bengal and Europe was also Christian, but it prided itself on scientific, secular epistemologies and mistrusted in particular Catholic missionaries in India. Paulinus felt snubbed by the British and French Orientalists, but he also often agreed with their conclusions and even invited them to come and consult his books in Rome.¹⁰⁰

None of the Orientalist came to Rome, very few read his books and after his death in 1806 and the dispersal of the Borgia Museum in 1814, Paulinus's Orientalist treasures sank into oblivion. Rome became a backwater on the map of the nineteenth-century Orientalist scholars. With a loss of political autonomy through French invasion and the internal 'revolutions', the patronage network for missionary Orientalists disintegrated. A new kind of professional Orientalists such as Count Angelo de Gubernatis in the late nineteenth century

and Giuseppe Tucci in the twentieth had more in common with British, German, and French Orientalists than with their immediate Catholic missionary predecessors like Paulinus.¹⁰¹

NOTES

1. This article has been presented as paper at the conference *Misiones católicas y producción de saberes entre América y Asia en la edad moderna*, in Puebla, Mexico, 4–6 March 2005. I thank organizers—Centro de Estudios de Africa y Asia, Colegio de México, and Bibliothca Franciscana y Centro de Estudios Humanísticos Fray Bernardino de Sahagún, Universidad de las Américas in Puebla—for inviting me. For thoughtful comments my gratitude goes to all the participants, especially to David Lorenzen, Thomas Cohen, Elisabeta Corsi, Eugenio Menegon, Norma Duran, and Pedro Gil. The research on Paulinus a Sancto Bartolomaeo has been partly supported by the project ‘Kulturno-povijesne veze Hrvatske i Indije’, Ministarstvo za Znanost Republike Hrvatske. My gratitude goes to the director of the project Zdravka Matišić, professor of Sanskrit at the University of Zagreb.

2. Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, Carmelito scalzo, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, umiliato alla Santità di N.S. Papa Pio Sesto Pontefice Massimo*, Roma 1976, with 12 copperplates [henceforth *Viaggio*]. For the sake of uniformity, I will be using the Latin version of the name, which is Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo. A ‘secular’ name of this missionary born to a Croat family in Austria was Filip Vesdin.

3. *Viaggio*, p. 391–2.

4. Paulino da San Bartolomeo, *Scitismo sviluppato in risposta alla lettera del signor Conte Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico sui monumenti indici del Museo Borgiano di Velletri*, Roma, 1793, p. 24. In his response to the Count Gastone della Torre di Rezzonico Paulinus rejects the theory of the Scythian origin of the Indian civilization.

5. *Viaggio*, p. 391.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

7. On the development of ‘Indophilia’ among the eighteenth-century Catholic Orientalists see Sylvia Murr, ‘Les conditions d’émergence du discours sur l’Inde au Siècle des Lumières’, *Purusartha*, vol. 7 (1983), pp. 251–4.

8. Giovanni Pizzorusso, ‘I satelliti di Propaganda Fide: Il Collegio Urbano e la tipografia poliglotta; note di ricerca su due istituzioni culturali Romane nel XVII secolo’, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome, Italie et Méditerranée*, tome vol. 116, no. 2, 2004, pp. 471–98.

9. Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), (Henceforth, Trautmann) p. 30.

10. Just like William Jones, Paulinus left behind a whole library of printed works.

11. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Dissertation on the Sanskrit Language*, translation and introduction by Ludo Rocher, Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V, 1977, (Henceforth, Rocher) p. xiv. The dissertation is the introduction to Paulinus’ Sanskrit grammar, the first Sanskrit grammar printed in Europe. *Sidharubam seu Grammatica*

Samscrdamica, cui accedit Dissertatio historio-critica in linguam samscrdamicam, vulgo Sanscret dictam, in qua hujus linguae existentia, origo, praestantia, antiquitas, extensio, maternitas ostenditur, libri aliqui ea exarati critice recensentur, et simul aliquae antiquissimae gentilium orationes liturgicae paucis attinguntur et explicantur, 188 pp., typis S.C. de Prop. Fide, 1790 [1791].

12. Trautmann, p. 32. Rocher, p. xxiii,

13. Rocher, p. xxiii.

14. Paulino a S. Bartolomaeo, P., *Monumenti indici del museo Naniano illustrati dal P. Paulino a S. Bartolomaeo, Carmelitano Scalzo, Professore di Lingue Orientali, sindaco delle Missioni Asiatiche et Socio Academico di Velletri, e di Napoli*, XXVIII, Typ. Seminarii, Padova, 1799.

15. 'A Monsignor Luigi Mari di Gesù Vescovo Usuliense Vicario Apostolico del Malabar: Verapoli, 6 Ottobre 1790', in 'Lettere della Sacra Congregazione dell'Anno 1790, (vol. 258, ff. 697b–699a), Historical Archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples or 'De Propaganda Fide', Rome. I owe this information to David Lorenzen Sbrega who found this letter in the Propaganda archives. He presumed that the letter was written by Stefano Borgia. It seems unlikely since Borgia must have been on good terms with Paulinus, while the letter shows quite a bit of personal animosity on the part of the writer.

16. As a curator of the Indian collection for Stefano Borgia's museum in Velletri, Paulinus catalogued all the manuscripts and objects—sculptures in metal and wood representing Indian gods, paintings on paper, votive objects and two painted home 'oratories'. In *Viaggio*, he calls these oratories in the Velletri museum 'altarini mobile' in Italian or *sacelli* in Latin. See his *Musei Borgiani Velitris codices avenses, peguani, siamici, malabarici, indostani, animadversionibus historico-criticis castigati et illustrati. Accedunt monumenta inedita et Cosmogonia indico-tibetana*, auctore pp. xvii+266, 3 figures, Romae, 1793, in -4°. See articles by Rosa Maria Cimino, 'L'Italia e il collezionismo d'arte indiana', and Rossana Muzii, 'Un recupero e un restauro al Museo di Capodimonte: I disegni indiani della collezione Borgia', p. 276, in *Le quattro voci del mondo: arte, culture e saperi nella collezione di Stefano Borgia, 1731–1804*, Marco Nocca, ed. Naples: Electa Napoli, 2001, pp. 268, 276.

17. About how he collected information while he was travelling along the Coromandel Coast, Paulinus writes in this *Viaggio*, 'I wrote every evening in my diary what I have seen and what the inhabitants told me, when there was nothing else to see, I left'. *Viaggio*, p. 50.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

19. Francisco Bethencourt, 'A Igreja', in *História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Bethencourt, Francisco and Chaudhuri, Kirti, (eds), Lisbon: Circulo de Leitores, 1998, vol.1, pp. 369–86.

20. *Viaggio*, p. 50.

21. See my article 'One Civility, but Multiple Religion': Jesuit Mission among St. Thomas Christians in India (16th–17th centuries)', *Journal of Early Modern History*, vol. 9, nos 3–4, 2005, pp. 284–325.

22. Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani (1623–89), *Prima spedizione alle Indie Orientali* (Rome, 1666), *Segunda spedizione alle Indie Orientali* (1672). Technically,

the first Carmelite travel narrative on India was published by Philippe de la Très Sainte-Trinité (1603–71) in Latin, *Itinerarium Orientale* in Lyon in 1649.

23. Willi Henkel, 'The Polyglot Printing-office of the Congregation, The press apostolate as an important means for communicating the faith', in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum, 1622–1700*, (ed.) Metzler, J. vol. I, no. 1, Rome, Freiburg, Wien: Herder, 1972, pp. 335–50.

24. Paulinus's diary during the sea passage from France to Pondicherry, written in German, remains unpublished. See Ivan Slamnig, 'Ivan Filip Vesdin (1748–1806), pionir evropske indologije i komparativne filologije', *Rad, JAZU*, vol. 350 (1968).

25. Hanxleden (born near Osnabrück in Germany, 1681; died at Palayur, Kerala, 1732) is locally known as Arnos Paathiri. He was a Malayalam/ Sanskrit poet, grammarian, lexicographer, and philologist.

26. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *De manuscriptis codicibus indicis R.P. Joan. Ernesti Hanxleden epistola ad R.P. Alexium Mariam a S. Joseph Carmelitam Excalceatum, Vindobonae anno MDCCXCIX* (1799).

27. For Paulinus' naturalist writing see Ines G. Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist and Professional Orientalist; Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo in Kerala and Rome (18th–19th)', *Os viajantes europeus e o mundo natural asiático (séculos 16 a 18) I, [European travellers and the Asian natural world (16th–18th centuries)–I]*, ed. Rui Loureiro, número special de *Revista de Cultura/ Review of Culture*, 20, Macau, 2007, pp. 77–101.

28. Paula, Findlen, *Possessing Nature, Museum, Collecting, and Scientific Culture in Early Modern Italy*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1994.

29. Vincenzo Maria di Santa Caterina da Siena (alias Antonio Murchio) visited Kerala in 1657 with Giuseppe di Santa Maria Sebastiani. They were sent by the Propaganda Fide in order to take over the mission territory among the Syrian or St. Thomas Christians administered until then by the Jesuits.

30. He was a member of the first Discalced Carmelite expedition. He joined Sebastiani and Murchio in Banda, north of Goa.

31. Donald Lach, *Asia in the Making of Europe*, Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993, [henceforth, Lach], vol. III, no. 2, p. 926. Matteo di San Giuseppe wrote and sent to Europe his own botanical work entitled *Viridarium Orientale*. Županov, 'Amateur Naturalist', p. 99.

32. Paul B. Salmon, 'The Beginnings of Morphology; Linguistic Botany in the 18th century', *Historiographia Linguistica*, vol. 1, no. 3, 1974, pp. 313–39.

33. William Carey edited and published Dr William Roxburgh's *Flora Indica; or Descriptions of Indian Plants*, in the Serampore Press in 1820 (vol. 1) and in 1824 (vol. 2).

34. 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.

35. Trautmann, pp. 28–61.

36. The factors behind the success of the Orientalist scholars in inaugurating the tradition of modern Indological research compared to missionary Orientalist

failure is discussed in David Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Banaras: Missionaries, Orientalist and Indian Scholars', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 65, 2006, pp. 113–41.

37. *Viaggio*, p. 7.

38. Pietro Maria Gazzaniga (born in 1722 in Bergamo, died in 1799 in Vicenza) was a Thomist theologian. He published, among other works, the *Praelectiones theologicae habitae in Vindobonensi Universitate, nunc vero alia methodo dispositae, emendatae et auctae*, 9 vols., Bologna, 1788–93.

39. *Viaggio*, p. 8.

40. Jean Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832) mentions the name Marchena. In the copy of the French edition in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, Marchesan is added in handwriting.

41. Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy, *Voyage aux Indes orientales du père Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy*, Paris, 1808, 3 vols.

42. *Viaggio*, p. 355.

43. *Botanica Malabar*, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele, Rome, Documenti rari e manoscritti, Fondi Minori, Santa Maria della Scala, scatola 36, G.

44. 'The virtues of the lemon balm ... by a Discalced Carmelite in Paris, ... against apoplexies and vapors'. This work is quoted in *Viaggio*, p. 362.

45. Trautmann, p. 36. (Alexander Hamilton, *Review of Asiatick Researches*, vol. 6., 1802, pp. 30–310)

46. Trautmann, p. 36.

47. *Viaggio*, p. 17

48. [William Jones], 'A dissertation on the Orthography of Asiatick Words in Roman Letters by the President', *Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*, volume the First, Calcutta Printed in 1788. London Reprinted, for Vernor and Hood, No. 1, Poultry, 1798, p. 13. In Paulinus's *Examen Historico-criticum Codicum Indicorum Bibliothecae Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide*, Romae, 1792, p. 80, p. 6.

49. Rocher, p. 92.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 102–3.

51. A Jesuit dream of finding a perfect language receptacle for the Christian message made the missionaries interested in all languages cultivated by the learned non-Christian literati. The Jesuits at the Mughal court singled out Persian while those in China thought that Mandarin qualified to become the language of the Mass for the Chinese.

52. Ines G. Županov, *Disputed Mission, Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge (17th c.)*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999.

53. Roth's grammar was discovered in Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome in 1976 by Arnuld Camps, O. F. M., see Lach, III, 2, plate 129. Athanasius Kircher, *China monumentis ... illustrata*, Amsterdam, apud Jacobum à Meurs, 1667.

54. [William Jones] 'On the Gods of Greece, Italy and India, written in 1784, And since revised by the President', *Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences,*

and Literature of Asia, volume the First, Calcutta Printed, reprinted in, London for Vernor and Hood, No. 1, Poultry, 1798, p. 275.

55. Rocher, p. 103.

56. *Viaggio*, pp. 258–63.

57. Rocher, p. 113.

58. Jauk-Pinhak, Milka, 'Some notes on the pioneer indologist Filip Vesdin (Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo)', *Indologica Taurinensia*, vol. XII, 1984, Torino, p. 136

59. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *De antiquitate et affinitate linguae Zendicae, Samscr̄damicae et Germanicae dissertatio*, Typis seminarii, Padova, 1798 [1799]

60. Jauk-Pinhak, p. 136. *De latini sermonis origine et cum orintalibus linguis connectione dissertatio, Romae apud Antonium Fulgonium*, 1802. A ten page manuscript copy of the article with slight differences can be found in Rome, BNVE, Rari e manoscritti, Fondi minori, Santa Maria della Scala, box 36 (C), p. 2. The date on the manuscript is 1801. There is another copy in box 34, pp. 58–77.

61. Rocher, p. 107–9.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 109.

63. Clemens a Iesu (Peanio), (1731–82), published *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum Sive Samscr̄udonicum*, Typis S. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide, Rome, 1772. See, Ambrosius a S. Teresia OCD, *Nomenclator Missionariorum Ordinis Carmelitorum Descalceatorum, Romae*, 1944, p. 94–5. Ildephonsus a Presentatione B. Mariae Virginis (1724–90) who was a prolific writer never published any of his works. They are preserved in manuscript form in the Archives of the Discalced Carmelites in Rome. See in particular, *Collectio industriosa omnium Dogmatum et Secretorum, ex Puranis, seu libri canonicis ...*, See Ambrosius, p. 186–9.

64. For the history of the authorship attribution and the abridged published version of the text, see Jarl Charpentier, (ed. and intro.), *The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S.J.*, Uppsala, 1933 [henceforth Fenicio].

65. Fenicio, p. 8. See also, Ines G. Županov, *Missionary Tropics, Jesuit Frontier in India (16th-17th century)*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005, p. 179–180

66. Paulinus provided a short summary and a negative 'evaluation' of Ildephonsus' text in his *Examen historico-criticum*, p. 72–3. The text was written, according to Paulinus, in a bad style, with many repetitions, with frequent exclamations and digressions, and a tendency to vilify the Brahmins.

67. Rocher, p. 110.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 130.

69 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

70. Joseph S.J. Wicki, (ed.), *Documenta Indica* [henceforth DI], Rome, 1956, vol. IV, p. 334–5.

71 Dr Giuseppe Barone, *Vita, Precursori ed Opere del P. Paolino da S. Bartolommeo (Filippo Werdin)*, *Contributo all storia degli studi orientali in Europa*, Napoli, Cav. Antonio Morano, 1888, p. 18. *Sidharubam*, p. 22, *Systema Brahmanicum*, pa. XII, *Alphabetum grandonico-malabaricum*, p. 7.

72. A similar story is told by Marco della Tomba. The raja of Bettiah 'consigned' four big chests of books to the Capuchin missionaries in 1762 before being taken prisoner by the army of the Nawab Casmalican [Kasim Ali Khan]. Quoted from David, Lorenzen, 'Marco della Tomba and the Brahmin from Banaras, Missionaries, Orientalists and Indian scholars', *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 65, 2006, pp. 113–41.

73. Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, *A European Experience of the Mughal Orient, The I'jāz-i Arsalānī (Persian Letters, 1773–1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 35. For the larger claims about the connection between the practice of collecting and imperial expansion see Jasanoff, Maya, *Edge of Empire; Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850*, New York: Vintage Books, 2006.

74. Alam and Alavi, *A European Experience*, p. 32.

75. Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy, *Voyage aux Indes orientales du père Paulin de Saint-Barthélémy*, Paris, 1808, vol. 3, p. 138 footnote, *Viaggio*, p. 72. *A Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts, collected in Indoostan*. By Mr Samuel Guise, Surgeon to the General Hospital at Surat, From the Year 1777 till 1792 (printed) pp. 1–32. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Rome, Borg. Lat 529, pp. 1–18.

76. Paulinus also stayed in Anjengo for two years. Anjuthengu (Anjengo) is situated 40 km, north of Thiruvananthapuram along the sea coast. It was the first settlement of the English East India Company on the Malabar Coast, established in 1764. It was a diocese belonging to the Vicariate of Verapoly in Paulinus's time.

77. The other three were in the Royal Library in Paris, the library of the Propaganda Fide and the Museo Borgiano in Velletri.

78. [William Jones], 'The Design of a Treatise on the Plants of India', *Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for Inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of Asia*, volume the Second, Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition, in Quarto. London: Printed for Vernor and Hood, in the Poultry, 1799, p. 345.

79. Slamnig, *Ivan Filip Vesdin*, p. 8.

80. His dreams did not come true. William Jones died in Calcutta in 1794. Trautmann, p. 28–9.

81. [William Jones], 'The Design of a Treatise on the Plants of India', *Asiatic Researches; or, Transactions of the Society Instituted in Bengal, for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, sciences, and literature of Asia*, volume the Second, Printed verbatim from the Calcutta Edition, in Quarto. London: Printed for Vernor and Hood, in the Poultry, 1799. Jones: 'Give me time, we may say, for our investigations, and we will transfer to Europe all the sciences, arts, and literature of Asia'. p. 345.

82. *Viaggio*, p. 365.

83. Paulin, *Voyage*, vol. 3, p. 486, (quoting page 462, line 23; Italian edition of *Viaggio*, p. 365). 'The English have promised ... that they would give us Indian Botany, but I do not have much confidence in these promises, because to do it, one needs men who know local languages, time and money'. (Paulinus quoted *Asiatic Research*, vol. II). Anquetil Duperron added his own gloss to this statement, 'Father

Paulinus's remark is easily refuted. The English have the *time* and the *money* necessary for such an enterprise : and when they will want to choose their subjects, they will have no lack of their own to learn the languages of India'. William Carey posthumously edited and published Dr William Roxburgh's *Flora Indica; or Descriptions of Indian Plants*, in the Serampore Press in 1820 (vol. 1) and in 1824 (vol. 2).

84. *Viaggio*, p. 331

85. Paulin, *Voyage*, vol. III, p. 401 (quoting p. 207, *Viaggio*, p. 263).

86. *Examen Historico-criticum*, pp. 42–50. Paulinus's most elaborate attack on *Ezourvedam* is in his *Systema Brahmanicum*, pp. 315–17.

87. According to Paulinus the Jesuits in Masulipatnam produced *Ezourvedam* in Tamil in order to refute paganism. He does not speculate as to how this manuscript in Tamil (Paulinus only thinks of a Tamil original, not Sanskrit) got into the hands of the French traveler Conte de Modave after passing through a translator in Pondicherry. Or was this the text that was translated into Tamil and Sanskrit? The Sanskrit text was found together with the French 'translation' by Sir Alexander Johnston in the Jesuit College in Pondicherry. This particular Sanskrit text was examined by Francis Whyte Ellis who decided that the work was written by Roberto Nobili. Rocher, *Ezourvedam*, p. 18. Ellis's article is published in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. 14, 1822. The Jesuit College in Pondicherry possessed many more similar catechetical works. August Wilhelm von Schlegel reviewed the *Asiatic Researches* (vol. 14) in his journal *Indische Bibliothek*, vol. 2, p. 50–6 and called *Ezourvedam* a pious fraud ('*ein frommer Betrug*'). Ludo Rocher's arguments that the *Ezourvedam* was originally written in French appears to be conclusive. Ludo Rocher, *Ezourvedam, A French Veda of the 18th century*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984.

88. He quotes a manuscript in the Museum Borgianum in Velletri, written by a Capuchin, Marco della Tomba, *Osservazioni sopra le relazioni che fa Monsieur Holwell Inglese*. Marco della Tomba himself deposited the text in the Museum before returning to India in 1775. *Examen Historico-criticum*, p. 6.

89. There were controversies between Protestant missionaries such as Bartholomaeus Ziegenbalg in Tranquebar and a Jesuit Giuseppe Constanzio Beschi in Madurai. See Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India*, Permanent Black: New Delhi, 2003, pp. 43–65.

90. See Županov, *Disputed Mission*, pp. 74, 115.

91. *Viaggio*, p. 306.

92. *Ibid.*, *Systema Brahmanicum*, p. 1. Paulinus did not indicate in which text Marco della Tomba issued this opinion. According to David Lorenzen, most of his extant writings were left in Rome before he left for India (1783) for the second time. Apart from a few letters during his second stay until his death in 1803, no other texts seemed to have survived. David N. Lorenzen, 'Europeans in Late Mughal South Asia: The Perceptions of Italian Missionaries', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. XL, no.1, Jan.-March, 2003, pp. 1–32.

93. Paulinus printed the first part of this oldest Sanskrit dictionary (6th c. AD), which he called erroneously by the name of its author Amarasinha instead of by its title, *Amarakośa*. Paulinus a S. Bartholomaeo, *Amarasinha. Sectio prima, de Coelo. Ex tribus ineditis codicibus indicis manuscriptis*, figures, Roma, 1789. See also *Amarakosa* :

With the Commentary of Mahesvara / Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar. Revised enlarged edition, New Delhi: Cosmos, 2004.

94. For the notion of 'centers of calculation' see Bruno Latour, *Science in Action*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987.

95. Jesuit documents were filtered out by the Jesuit censors and only the acceptable part was published and disseminated. With the Jesuit order abolished, many documents were either hidden by the Jesuits or taken over by other ecclesiastical agents who blocked access to them or simply neglected them.

96. Paula Findlen described a similar situation in her article on the emergence of natural history as a discipline from the perspective of community formation. 'The Formation of a Scientific Community: Natural History in Sixteenth-century Italy', Anthony Grafton and Nancy Siraisi, *Natural Particulars, Nature and the Disciplines in Renaissance Europe*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, England, The MIT Press, 1999, pp. 369–400.

97. Paulin, *Voyage*, vol. 3, p. 439.

98. Orsatti, Paola, *Il Fondo Borgia della Biblioteca Vaticana e gli Studi Orientali a Roma tra Sette e Ottocento*, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1996, p. 12

99. Stefano Borgia was known for his 'liberal' attitude towards circulation of books while he was a Prefetto della Sacra Congregazione dell'Indice, but he was a staunch opponent of revolutionary ideas, just as was Paulinus. Stefano Borgia was jailed when the Jacobites took hold of Rome. Paulinus wrote a pamphlet against the Republicans.

100. Rocher, p. 165.

101. De Gubernatis, Angelo, *Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire des études orientales en Italie*, Paris, 1876. See an interesting view of his « Italian » Orientalist predecessors. While he rejected Paulinus (whom he mistakenly and sneeringly designated as « italianised hungarian »), he extolled some other 'pure' Italian travellers-Orientalists and missionaries, such as Filippo Sassetti (16th c.) and Marco della Tomba (18th c.).