

Ines G. Županov, CNRS, Paris
Portugal Índico
Brown University
2003

+ Jesus

Most Reverend Father

From the general letter which is written from here, Your Paternity will be informed about the fruit that has been made both on the Fishery Coast and on the island of Mannar.¹ Through the goodness of our Lord it progresses with a lot of consolation for the Fathers, especially by way of confessions, and with the help of certain native Christians who are like our coadjutors and to whom God has given grace to influence people to live well, and by way of spiritual exercises (given) to male and female devotees.

At present, we are ten on the (Fishery) Coast and on (the island of) Mannar, that is, seven Fathers, two deacons and one Malabar Brother. The Brother Francisco Durão who knows the language (Tamil) went to Goa to deal with some matters of the Christians. I wrote also to the Provincial to see if this Father could learn some Latin in order to be ordained. One of the deacons is very advanced in (Tamil) language which he has studied for the past eight months. The other (deacon) is not so advanced because both his abilities and health are weak. The one who is advanced could have been already ordained and doing confessions, if he did not have other duties but learning the language. [...]

Although we feel that there is a lot of fruit done, when we see how few we are, mostly confessors who know the language, and how many places (to visit) and the material at hand, a little is done and could be done more if we had necessary workers.

The Provincial shows willingness to supply (with missionaries) this Coast and among the others that he has now sent, he decided also to send Father Pero Vaz, a man of letters and virtues, who is called from Bassein to come here. However, although he is willing, there are so many places that require (missionaries) that he

¹ The reference to spiritual "fruit" (i.e. conversion) is a standard topos in Jesuit letters.

cannot and will not be able to send all those needed for the Coast. May it please God that there will be (enough) in ten or twenty years [...].

I wrote last year before the promulgation (or the canons) of the Council (of Trent) that because there are many places and very few ministers, we had permission from the prelates by which not only Brothers but also the native Christians, who are like hermits, that is, who teach prayers, could perform marriage rites. This permission is given only to those whom we trust and they had to inquire about the impediments beforehand. Also, they had to find witnesses who guaranteed that there were no impediments. They inform us later about what happened. Then, we send them a message to receive them (to wed them) in the house. When there was a Father, we told them to receive (wed) them at the door of the church. After the promulgation of the Council (of Trent), not only all this became impossible, but also the Brothers could not perform marriage rites. Now they wrote from Goa that it will be decided at the Provincial Council that the Brothers could perform marriage rites [...].

I also wrote last year about the tithes that these Christians of the Fishery Coast are asked to pay. They are not yet capable of paying them because they are weak, poor and tyrannized by the kings in whose territories they live and because they are insufficiently taken care of. That is, they do not have enough ministers to take care of their soul.

The King is here the Master of the Order of Christ and he receives tithes by the decision of the pope. The people are greatly scandalized when they see the Captain collecting (the tithes) for the King. The people of India are not yet capable of tithes.

What can be done is that the Christians who are here sustain the Fathers who take care of them. Even the Gentiles are scandalized when they see that they (the Portuguese) demand and take tithes from the Christians. A Brother Francisco Durão went to Goa with two honorable men from the Coast, because of the tithes among other things. When the Christians saw the pressure rising, they sent a message that they would give all the necessary to the Fathers who take care of them regardless of successful or unsuccessful pearl fishing season.

It is certain that this would put them in trouble, that is, during the bad pearl fishing season, because of the poverty that follows such a bad season. They also wrote that during the time of a good pearl fishing season, they would give a gift to the bishop.

May it please God that all this be successfully dealt with. It seems to me that if the King were properly informed, such a thing would not be demanded. Neither did he expressly demand the tithes. This is done here because they (the Portuguese) want to have money by all means in order to sustain the island of Mannar.

The majority of the Christians of India need to be given rather than give. Since the Christians of Japan are considered better than those in India, the Fathers (in Japan) sustain themselves without asking for anything and I heard that they received from the prelate the permission to trade in order to complement that what is given by the King.

It is doubtful that if the Christians were obliged to give one tenth to the King, they would not loose willingness to, if they have it, come to baptism? Your Paternity should recommend this matter to God and if it seems (important) to you to write to Portugal about it, please, do.

For some years I feel in me a talent for composing grammars of any language if I have one of two good interpreters and a scribe of the same language. Two years ago when I spoke with the Provincial about that in Kochi, he said that I should try that. I told him that it should be good to do one (grammar) of the *canarim* (Konkani language) because there are people in Goa who would like to examine it.² After that, with occupations I had, and since I do not live in the place where there are any canarins, I was not able to do it so quickly. I did some work on and off, and around four months ago I brought from Mannar (island) one or two canarins who speak Portuguese. With them I worked during my free time without allowing others to help me with my duties, as I did before. With the help of God I learnt many things so that if I were in a place where it is spoken, in a month or two, more or less, I would be able to hear confession. I have also written a major part of the *Arte* (Grammar), although it is not finished, because I lack one or two canarim scribes in order to perfect it. A deacon who is learning Tamil language saw some of the things I have written and affirmed that it is better than the one (grammar) that was written in Goa, because there they also collected some rules for the *Arte*. This Brother was one of those who were learning (Konkani) at that time.

(The *Arte*) was composed by one or two canarins who knew Latin.³ I hope that this *Arte* would be improved to the level of that which is made for Tamil and on

² Canarim (Plural - canarins) is used here alternately as Konkani language and as a person whose mother tongue it is. Konkani is spoken primarily in and around Goa.

³ The Jesuit sources do not mention the name of the author of this first Konkani grammar. A Jesuit,

which we worked for many years. Few words are similar in both languages, but the (structure of the) sentence is very similar. Canarim is, nevertheless, more difficult. I hope to send soon this Arte to Goa in order to examine it and to see whether I can do the same for other languages. The truth is that at this point I was not able to improve it as I would have done if I had more time and a few canarim scribes.

As for my disposition, for some months I am better than before. Pray to Lord to give us grace to fulfill perfectly his most holy will.

From this Punicayle (Punnaikayal) on the last day of Decemeber of Our Lord's Nativity of the year 1568.

+Anrrique Anrriquez +

Source:

Original autograph of the letter is in Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Goa 8, III, ff. 667r-668v.

Published version in Joseph Wicki, S.I., (editor), Rome: *Documenta Indica*, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, vol. 7, 1970, pp. 437-443.

Lourenço Peres, mentioned in a letter written in 1563 that a Goan man who "graduated" from the Jesuit college in Goa excelled in preaching in Konakani. He also taught Konkani and wrote a grammar. Wicki, Joseph, S.I., (editor), *Documenta Indica* (henceforth DI), Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, vol. 7, 1970, p. 111. The first known grammar of Konkani, written by an English Jesuit, Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) had been published posthumously in the Jesuit college of Rachol in 1640.

Language and Conversion

When in 1548, Henrique Henriques (or Anrique Anriquez), a Jesuit missionary on the Fishery Coast in South India wrote about his first efforts at writing a grammar of the local vernacular, which he called Malabar [i.e. Tamil] he was quite proud of himself.⁴ The reason why he was forced to learn the language quickly, he explained in a letter to Ignatius of Loyola, was that his interpreter suddenly left to tend to some other business and left him on his own in the mission. In his determination to learn the language that even his predecessor Francis Xavier judged extremely difficult, Henriques studied it day and night and finally managed to discover conjugations and tenses (preterit, future, subjunctive, infinitive, etc.) of the verbs and cases for the nouns. Hence, his *Arte* (Grammar) was to be used in the same way as the Latin grammar. Within five months he had learnt enough to preach in the church and soon, he hoped, he would have no use of interpreters.

At the same time in Goa, the Portuguese administrators and religious specialists showed very little enthusiasm for learning vernacular languages. To speed the pace of conversion, the local converts and catechists were made to translate the basic prayers into Konkani and teach them to the neophytes. In the Santa Fee seminary for the native boys in Goa, the seminarians who were gathered from all over Asia and Africa were encouraged to cultivate their native tongues as a vehicle of proselytism which they would use after finishing their education and being sent back home. The ideal, however was not to Christianize the pagan tongues - this was just a temporary measure - but to replace them with Portuguese and, for appropriate solemn occasion with Latin.

A view from the metropolitan Lisbon, even by a learned apologist of the Portuguese empire such as João de Barros, who was farsighted enough to be skeptical about imperialism in general, saw the future of the Portuguese territorial conquests as subdued by Portuguese language. In his of *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa com os Mandamentos da Santa Madre Igreja*, one of the first of the kind published in Lisbon in 1539-40, Barros predicted that, "the Portuguese arms and memorial stones (*padrões*), planted in Africa and in Asia, and on thousands of islands beyond the three

⁴ Wicki, DI I, p. 285-6.

parts of the world, are material, and time may spoil them, but it will not spoil the doctrine, customs and language that the Portuguese will have left in those parts."⁵

Therefore, when the Jesuit missionaries arrived in India in the early 1540s sent by the Portuguese royal house and under the protection of the royal *padroado*, their overall impression was that the missionary lingua franca was Portuguese. Francis Xavier, the first Jesuit in India wrote in one his letters that if not before, the missionaries were to learn Portuguese on the ships during the long journey from Europe in order to be effective in the Asian field.⁶ It did not take long, however, before Xavier changed his mind. After having traveled to places ever more distant from Goa - from Kochi to the Fishery Coast, to São Tomé de Meliapor on the Coromandel Coast to Melaka, and the Molucca islands in Southeast Asia and to Japan - he became aware of a veritable Babel of languages. Not knowing these languages was an obstacle to his conversion efforts. Christianity was primarily the religion of the Word and choosing the right language to incarnate its meaning became imperative.

Xavier himself invented, as he traveled and opened new mission territories, new creolized Christian languages. One of his contemporaries described his catechetical method as going through "the town with a bell and bring with him all the boys and girls and blacks (*negros e negras*) whom he could [gather] into our church and [...] would teach them the doctrine, speaking half black and half Portuguese".⁷ In Goa the mixture of "black" and "Portuguese" referred to a particular mix of Portuguese in basic syntax and variously garnished with Konkani vocabulary. Elsewhere it was a mixture of Portuguese and another vernacular. The mixture of linguistic registers produced multiple and changing versions of *crioulos* (Creole Asian dialects based on Portuguese), some of which have survived into the 20th century. When the Dutch wrested control of most of South-East Asia, Creole or Portuguese remained in use among the new communities of indigenous converts to Protestantism in some places, like Batavia, in spite of official Dutch concerns and protests.⁸

⁵ Barros, João de, *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa; Cartinha, Gramática, Diálogo em Louvor da Nossa Linguagem e diálogo da Viciosa Vergonha*, ed. by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, Lisbon: Publicações da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 1971, p.405

⁶ Schurhammer, G. et Wicki, J., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii* (hereafter EX), Rome, reprint 1996, I, p. 94.

⁷ DI, III, p. 336.

⁸ Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, "Slaves and Tyrants: Dutch Tribulations in Seventeenth-century Mrauk-U", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1,3, Leiden, 1997, pp. 201-253; and Lopes, David, *A Expansão da língua portuguesa no Oriente durante os séculos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, (second ed.) Porto, 1969. pp.162-3.

Linguistic creolization is in many ways an ideal colonial situation in which the language of the masters is never completely the language of the slaves or subjects. The problem was that it did not work on all occasion and in all places. In fact, it worked only in the Portuguese enclaves scattered along the Asian littoral where the administrative and military presence of the *Estado da Índia* was strong enough to dictate the choice of language. In the mission among the Parava pearl-fishers on the Fishery Coast in South India from which in 1567 Henrique Henriques addressed the letter translated herewith, using Portuguese was instantly recognized as inefficient and impossible. With no more than ten Jesuit missionaries to minister to the population of at least 20.000 to 30.000 Tamil speaking converts and a handful of Portuguese merchants and soldiers, the choice of the language was obvious.

From 1560s onwards a new stimulus to learn Asian languages came also from the Jesuit Curia in Rome which took seriously the decrees of the Council of Trent concerning instruction in vernacular languages. Two Generals of the Society of Jesus in succession, Francis Borgia (1565-1572) and Everard Mercurian (1573-1580) actively encouraged Jesuit linguistic efforts. They ordered that the dictionaries and the grammars of the Asian languages be sent to Rome for the instruction of the future missionaries. At the same time, the basic Christian literature such as the catechism, the life of saints and confession manuals were to be translated for the Asian Christians.

In 1567, Henrique Henriques was the most accomplished "proto-Orientalist", an expert in many Indian languages. He wrote the first European grammar of the Tamil language (*Arte Malauar*) which circulated widely in the mission, and was later borrowed and improved upon by the generations of various Catholic missionaries in the Tamil country, long after the name of its author fell into oblivion. He had already prepared a dictionary and translated into Tamil a collection of the basic prayers and tenets of the Christian doctrine. From 1552, Henriques boasted on various occasions about his ability to "extract from any language" the basic declensions and conjugations with a help of one or two good interpreters.⁹ In the course of the time he would try his hand at Malayalam (*maleame*), which he compared to Tamil by way of comparison between Portuguese and Spanish, and at Telugu (*badaga*).¹⁰ In this letter he reports his progress on the grammar of Konkani (*canarim*), a language spoken on

⁹ DI II, p. 305.

¹⁰ DI V, p. 688,

the islands of Goa.¹¹ He was also persuaded that he could do the same for the Japanese, Ethiopian, Chinese or any other language on the face of the earth.¹²

What he was lacking, Henrique complained, was time to work on his grammars and his translations. With the arrival of Alessandro Valignano in 1575, Henriques's linguistic energies were redirected towards translations and publications of Christian literature in Tamil. Tamil characters were made for this occasion by a Jesuit lay brother and for the next twenty years, Henriques produced four printed books. A small catechism *Doctrina Christam* or *tampirān vaṇakkam* printed in Kollam in 1578, *Doctrina Christam* or *kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam*, printed in Kochi in 1579, *Confessionairo* printed in Cochin in 1580 and the *Flos Sanctorum* in 1586 (Goa).¹³ A detailed history surrounding the material production of these printing masterpieces needs further research, for the sources have lead historians in various directions.¹⁴

Although these books were printed under Henriques's name, he was not able to, as he hoped, get rid of local interpreters. For at least one of the *Doctrinas* we do know that he was helped by a certain native priest Manuel de São Pedro. On the other hand, the printing of the second *Doctrina* (*kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam*) in Kochi had been entirely in the hands of Pero Luís Bramane, the only Indian Jesuit admitted into the Society of Jesus in the sixteenth century.¹⁵ During the final decades of the 16th century, a new breed of Indian interpreters with increasing sophistication in the matters of Christian doctrine appeared and replaced former *topazes* or *linguas* (some of whom were non-Christian). The new type of interpreters-cum-catechists came out of missionary schools in Kochi, Goa and even Lisbon and Coimbra.¹⁶ Henriques's printed texts were, therefore, no simple translations from Latin or Portuguese into Tamil, they contained the already tested, negotiated and appropriated "eloquence" of the Parava Christian community. Just as the stone churches replaced earlier mud and

¹¹ DI VII, p. 442

¹² DI III, p. 598 .

¹³ *Arte Malauar* remains in manuscript in Reservados, ms. No.3141, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon.

¹⁴ As to who cut the "Malabar" types, where the books were printed – see Jeffery, Gregory, *Tamil Lexicography*, Tuebingen, 1991. See also Schurhammer, Georg, S.J., "The First printing in Indic characters", *Orientalia*, Rome – Lisbon, 1963, pp. 317-327, Thani Nayagam, Xavier S., "The First Book Printed in Tamil", in *Tamil Culture* 7, 1958, pp. 288-308, Thani Nayagam, Xavier S., "Tamil Manuscripts in European ", in *Tamil Culture*, 3 1954, pp. 219-228.

¹⁵ Schurhammer, "The First printing in Indic characters", p 321.

¹⁶ DI IV, pp. 27-28.

palm leaf structures, printed books replaced paper manuscripts and *olai* (palm leaf strips).¹⁷

Tampirān vaṇakkam and even more so *kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam* remain, nevertheless, tied to the Portuguese and Latin "originals"; but, at the same time, the end result of the translational move is the creation of spaces in-between, imperceptible and secret at first, in which newly planted words ripen and assume meanings of their own. According to Loyola's spiritual vocabulary, the convert, that is, the Tamil language in this case, begins a "new" life of its own in translation. This is precisely the moment in which paradoxically the Jesuits won the battle and lost the war. Although in his 1567 letter, Henriques portrays the Paravas as poor and in need of Portuguese subsidy, it was the Paravas themselves who contributed money directly for the upkeep of the Jesuit mission. They paid the salaries of the church employees, bought new "ornaments" for the altars and finally financed themselves the printing of at least some of the Henriques's books.¹⁸ In the preface to the *kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam* an interesting (and symptomatic) circle of spiritual and secular (i.e. financial) involvement between the missionaries and their converts is disclosed: "You have desired to have several books which will teach you and your descendants the path to heaven and therefore you have contributed large sums of money towards the press. Therefore we are giving you this book as a gift".¹⁹ The *Confessionairo* and the *Flos Sanctorum* were offered, therefore, to the audience of devoted Parava Christians who fervently demanded fortifying pious literature, and probably also paid the printing costs. Resounding with the convert's desires for "explanation", "consolation", "method", these texts contain "standard" doctrinal Tamil vocabulary established and fixed earlier. And while untranslatable words from Portuguese and Latin and proper names appear between diamond-shaped marks, the rich worlds of cultural adaptation open on the pages of these two exceptional books – they are the two longest printed texts in a non-European language (and script) to have come out of the 16th-century European printing presses in Asia.

The *Confessionairo* and *Flos Sanctorum* in Tamil are, in fact, both witnesses and instruments of a "second" conversion, that is, the conversion that occurs when the

¹⁷ The first stone church was built on the island of Mannar in 1571. Thekkadath, Joseph, *History of Christianity in India*, Bangalore, 1982, p. 166.

¹⁸ DI V, p. 14-21.

¹⁹ *Doctrina Christam* or *kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam* (padre nosso), Bodeleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Department, Oxford, Vet. or Tam f. 1.

"translated" utterance is made to act on and discipline the mind and the body of the converts. Christian Tamil in print is, therefore, made to "do what it says".²⁰ In *Confessionairo* it digs in and probes forcefully into the convert's mind in order to test and purify his/her inner will or intention. A whole new theater of affects opens and is revealed in Henriques's text, affects to be played out, simulated, condemned publicly, tuned up and ultimately assisted from above – by a vigilant confessor. Besides the psychological dislocations that it operates, *Confessionairo* also functions as a regulatory document, containing "laws" and defining penal, legal and moral jurisdiction within the Parava caste organization. In this respect it is perfectly complementary to the *Flos sanctorum* in which ethical, theological, and community principles pose as accomplished narrative events, as over-inflated exempla of correct behavior, righteous thinking and spiritual edification. Through these in the Christian West universally known figures, plots and legends, Henriques, and through him his Parava informants, told stories about their own local Christian (or not) world.

Henriques's enthusiasm for deciphering and grammaticalizing of Indian Asian languages in the late 1560s clearly shows that the Portuguese empire had already lost the "linguistic" battle against the populations it purportedly controlled. The Jesuit missionaries and their accommodationist methods of conversion, which insisted on using vernacular languages for the transmission and translation of the Christian doctrine, contributed in important ways to the eclipse of the Portuguese language. The dream of João de Barros to see Indians speak Portuguese in their temples was already just a chimera of a metropolitan armchair philosopher when Henrique Henriques wrote his letter in 1567. However Barros was right in a certain sense. In Christian literature in Asia, Latin and Portuguese words continued, at least until the end of the 18th century, to function as vestiges of "the sacred" utterances - to be learnt by heart and invoked for ritual or liturgical occasions –, or as the memorial stones (*padrões*) of an imaginary linguistic possession.

²⁰ J. L. Austin's "performatives" belong to this category of linguistic acts. See, Austin, J. L., *How We do Things with Words*, Cambridge, 1962.

Bibliography

- Anselmo, António Joaquim, *Bibliografia das Obras Impressas em Portugal no Século XVI*, Lisbon, Oficinas Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 1926.
- Barros, João de, *Gramática da Língua Portuguesa; Cartinha, Gramática, Diálogo em Louvor da Nossa Linguagem e diálogo da Viciosa Vergonha*, ed. by Maria Leonor Carvalhão Buescu, Lisbon, 1971.
- Bayly, S., *Saints, Goddesses and Kings: Muslims and Christians in South Indian Society, 1700–1900*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992 (Indian ed.).
- Buescu, Maria Leonor Carvalhão, *O estudo das línguas exóticas no século XVI*, Lisbon, 1983.
- *A Galáxia das Línguas na Época da Expansão*, Lisbon: CNCDP, 1992.
- Correia-Afonso, J., S.J., *Jesuit Letters and Indian History*. Bombay: St. Xavier's College, 1955.
- Correia-Afonso, J., S.J., *Indo-Portuguese History: Sources and Problems*. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1981.
- Dalgado, Sebatião Rudolfo, *Estudos sobre os Crioulos Indo-Portugueses*, Lisbon: CNCDP, 1998.
- Debergh, M., "Premiers jalons de l'évangélisation de l'Asie," in J.-M. Mayeur, Ch. and L. Pietri, A. Vauchez, and M. Venard, eds., *Histoire du Christianisme: Le temps des confessions (1530–1620)*. Paris: Desclée, 1992.
- Ferrolli, D. S. J., *The Jesuits in Malabar*, 2 vols. Bangalore: Bangalore Press, 1939–51.
- Filliozat J., *Un catéchisme tamoul du XVIe siècle en lettres latines*, Pondichéry, EFEO, 1967.
- Gonçalves, Sebastião, S. I., *Primeira Parte da Historia dos Religiosos da Companhia de Jesus e do que fizeram com a divina graça na conversão dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reynos e provincias da India Oriental*, (ed. José Wicki S.I.) Coimbra: Atlântida, Coimbra, 1957-1962.
- Guerreiro, Fernão, S.I., *Relação Annual das Coisas que Fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas suas Missões nos anos de 1600 a 1609*, 3 vols., Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1929-1942.
- Hein, Jeanne H., "Father Henriques' Grammar of Spoken Tamil" in *Indian Church History Review* 11, 1977.
- Henriques, Henrique (Anrique Anriques), *tampirān vaṇakkam*, Kollam, 1578 (published by Rajamanikam, S., *Vaṇakkam Tūttukuṭi*, 1963. The original in possession of Harvard University).
- *Doctrina Christam or kiricittiyāni vaṇakkam*, Kochi, Bodeleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Department, Oxford, Vet. or Tam f. 1.
- *Confessionairo*, Kochi, 1580, Bodeleian Library, Reading Room, Oriental Department, Oxford, Vet. or Tam f. 1
- *Flos Sanctorum*, Goa, 1586 (published by Rajamanikam, S., *Flos sanctorum enru aṭiyār varalāru*, , Tūttukuṭi, 1967, The original (342 folios) is kept in the Vatican Library).
- *Arte Malauar*, manuscript, *Reservados*, ms. No.3141, Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon. (The manuscript was published by Vermeer, Hans J., *The First European Tamil Grammar*, Heidelberg 1982.)

- Jackson, K. David, *Cantha sen vergonya*, Macau: Fundação Macau, Comissão Territorial de Macau para a Comemoração dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1996.
- Jeffery, Gregory, *Tamil Lexicography*, Tuebingen, 1991
- Lopes, David, *A Expansão da lingua portuguesa no Oriente durante os séculos XVI, XVII, XVIII*, (second ed.) Porto, 1969.
- Melo, Tavares de, *Folclores Ceiloneses, Colectânea de Textos do Crioulo Português do Ceilão*, Lisbon: CNCDP, 1998.
- Mundadan, M., C.M.I., *History of Christianity in India. Vol. 1: From the Beginning up to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century (up to 1542)*. Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1989.
- Nayagam, X. S. T., "The First Books Printed in Tamil," *Tamil Culture*, 4, 1956.
- "The First Book Printed in Tamil," *Tamil Culture* 7, 1958.
 - "Tamil Manuscripts in European," *Tamil Culture*, 3 1954.
- Roche, P. A., *Fishermen of the Coromandel*. Manohar, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Schurhammer, G., S.J., *Francis Xavier: His Life and Times*, trans. M. J. Costelloe, S.J., 4 vols. Rome: Jesuit Historical Institute, 1973–82.
- Schurhammer, G., S.J., and Cottrell, G. W., S.J., "The First Printing in Indic Characters," *Orientalia*, Lisbon, 1963.
- Schurhammer, G. et Wicki, J., *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii (EX)*, Rome: Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu, 2 vols. reprint, 1996.
- Schütte, J. F., S.J., *Valignano's Mission Principles for Japan*, trans. John J. Coyne, S.J., 2 vols. St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1980–5.
- Silva, C. R. de, "The Portuguese and Pearl Fishing off South India and Sri Lanka," *South Asia*, 1/1 (March 1978).
- Subrahmanyam, S., *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History*. London: Longman, 1993.
- Subrahmanyam, S., ed., *Sinners and Saints: The Successors of Vasco da Gama*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Subrahmanyam, Sanjay, "Slaves and Tyrants: Dutch Tribulations in Seventeenth-century Mrauk-U", *Journal of Early Modern History*, 1,3, Leiden, 1997
- Thekkedath, J., S.D.B., *History of Christianity in India. Vol. 2: From the Middle of the Sixteenth Century to the End of the Seventeenth Century (1542–1700)*. Bangalore: Church History Association of India, 1982.
- Wicki, J., S.J., *Missionskirche im Orient*. Immensee: Neue Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft (Nouvelle Revue de Science Missionnaire), 1976.
- Wicki, Josef, S.J. and Gomes, John, S.J., eds., *Documenta Indica*, vols. 18, Rome, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1948- 1988
- Wilfred, F., S.J., "Christianity in Hindu Polytheistic Structural Mould: Converts in Southern Tamilnadu Respond to an Alien Religion During the 'Vasco da Gama Epoch,'" *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 103 (1998).
- Županov, I. G., "Prosélytisme et pluralisme religieux: Deux expériences missionnaires en Inde aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, 87 (Jul.–Sept. 1994).
- "Twisting a Pagan Tongue:Tamil Grammars, Catechisms, Confession Manuals and Lives of Saints, (16th-17th century)", *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, eds, Kenneth Mills et Anthony Grafton, Rochester, N.Y.: Rochester University Press, 2003 (in press).

15/05/2003

Ines G. Županov

Research Fellow

Centre national de la recherche scientifique

CEIAS/EHESS

54 Bd Raspail

Paris 75006

France

zupanov@ehess.fr