First Encounter: the Christian-Hindu Confusion When the Portuguese Reached India

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Abstract. It is well known that Vasco da Gama and the men in his fleet thought the Hindus they met in Calicut were Christians and so reported their opinions to D. Manuel on their return. Early historians tried to explain this mistake away, and Camões simply erased it. It is not so well known that the confusion was mutual, for the Hindus thought the Portuguese were Hindus. I try to explain why this massive confusion occurred and then draw some reflections from the event including a discussion of Camões's very negative description of the temple outside Calicut where Gama and his associates worshipped.

In *Marvelous Possessions* Stephen Greenblatt discusses the first encounter between Spaniards and the Indians of Mesoamerica. He uses for this purpose probably the most famous of the chroniclers, Bernal Diáz, who shows the wonder the Spanish explorers felt, climbing their first Mayan temple in the Yucatan:

> They led us to some large houses very well built of masonry which were the Temples of their Idols, and on the walls were figured the bodies of many great serpents and snakes and other pictures of evil-looking Idols. These walls surrounded a sort of Altar covered with clotted blood. On the other side of the Idols were symbols like crosses, and all were coloured. At all this we stood wondering, as they were things never seen or heard of before. (*The True History of the Conquest of New Spain* 1.19)[1]

Greenblatt goes on to argue that the wonder Bernal Diaz stresses covers over a disturbing resemblance to his own religion: "temple, high altar, cult of holy blood, statues before which offerings are made, 'symbols like crosses.'"[2] Wonder breaks the sense of recognition and allows the future conqueror to dismiss the Mayan temple as alien. In contrast the Portuguese in their first encounter with Hindus at Calicut or Kozhikode did not wonder because they made almost a complete religious identification of themselves with the Hindus. They never realized the Hindus were not Christians, nor during their visit of some months was the illusion ever dispelled. On their return to Lisbon the leaders of the expedition still identified Hindus as Christians, and King Manuel believed them.[3] He informed the Cardinal Protector and, therefore, the Pope that the ruler of Calicut and the greater part of his people held themselves Christians. He did have some reservations, which he expressed to the rulers of Castile, Isabella and Ferdinand. He wrote that the Indians were not so confirmed in faith nor did they have a complete understanding of Christianity. In fact, they really did no more than most infidels, nor did they follow even what they understood by their tradition. The king believed then that Da Gama had found defective Christians, but Christians nonetheless, who must be purified.[4] One wants to ask how such a massive confusion could occur and why, but the facts must come first.

The Portuguese had known beforehand that Christians lived in India. A steady trickle of medieval reports, some like that of Marco Polo widely disseminated, attested to the presence of Nestorian Christians on the subcontinent.[5] The Portuguese themselves had recent information about India. Fra Mauro of Murano, who made a map for them (1456-60), incorporated into it the narrative of Nicolo Conti, who had visited India earlier in the century and had reached Vijayanagar, the Hindu capital of the South. Then the Portuguese sent east their own agent, Pero da Covilhã (1487-91), who reached Goa and later had a Jew in Cairo carry back his report to the Portuguese king. It is doubtful, however, that the report reached the king.[6] Reasonably well informed, nevertheless, the Portuguese sailed east, looking for Christians, but went to the wrong places like Calicut and misidentified the people they met. In Da Gama's case one could say that previous information led to misinformation.

For the voyage itself the man who kept a journal provides the evidence, and he shows that the confusion was mutual. The Hindus thought the Portuguese were Hindus.[7] The confusion began on the east coast of Africa, the *contracosta*.

The first time the Portuguese were skeptical. At Mombasa, a port city now in Kenya, the ruler sent two messengers to Da Gama with gifts. They were almost white and claimed to be Christians. The Portuguese then sent two of their own into town to visit the house of these Christian merchants, who had a paper sketch of the Holy Spirit. The explorer, Richard Burton, suggested that they saw the pigeon god-goddess Kapot-eshwar, an incarnation of Shiva and Parvati, his wife.[8] The author of the *Roteiro* decided, however, that it was a lie. The Portuguese saw many people in irons there and concluded these were the real Christians (*Roteiro* 45-48; *Journal* 6, 38-39). They had been accustomed to Christian prisoners held for ransom in Morocco and had found some previously at Mozambique, the island port to the south.[9]

They changed their minds in Malindi, the port immediately north of Mombasa, and here the confusion involved both sides (*Roteiro* 48, 51-52; *Journal* 40, 44-45). They were told four Christian Indian vessels were in harbor that could provide pilots.[10] The people who visited Paolo da Gama's ship prayed before an altarpiece of Mary, embracing Christ at the foot of the cross, surrounded by apostles.[11] The visitors prostrated themselves and offered cloves, pepper, and other spices. The author of the *Roteiro*, who was present on the ship, noted that they ate no beef. Next, when Vasco da Gama went towards town, the sailors on the four vessels shot guns and cried "Christ!" Burton thinks they actually shouted "Krishna!"[12] This attitude of the Indians, perhaps, helps to explain the initial reception the Portuguese had at Calicut.

The first thing Vasco da Gama and his party were asked to do and did as they entered Calicut was to worship in two Hindu temples. The *Roteiro* provides an eyewitness account and gives a detailed description of the first temple (*Roteiro* 58-59; *Journal* 52-55). The author says the body of the "church" was as large as a monastery, built of stone and covered with tiles. Two pillars stood at the main entrance. One was of bronze as high as a mast with a cock on the top, which was for Christians a familiar symbol of the resurrection.[13] The other pillar was shorter, a man's height,[14] and along the outside walls hung seven small bells.[15] Painted on the walls inside were saints, wearing crowns, and there was a chapel in the center with a spire on top.[16] The chapel, like the church, was of stone and raised on a platform, approached by steps, and had a bronze door. The Hindus said it contained a statue of Our Lady or Mary, and Goes later claimed that four priests entered the chapel and said "Maria."[17] These priests, actually Brahmans, alone might enter the shrine. The Portuguese knelt and said their prayers, while the Hindus pros-

trated themselves.[18] The priest sprinkled them with holy water and gave them white earth, which the Hindus put on their foreheads, breasts, and around their necks and forearms. Vasco gave his earth to another, saying he would put it on later.[19]

The Portuguese stayed in Calicut more than two months, and all the quarreling with its ruler, the Samorim,[20] did not dispel this initial confusion. When the Portuguese discovered that their agents in town had been taken hostage, the author of the *Roteiro* lamented such treatment from a Christian king but blamed the Muslim traders, who had bribed him (*Roteiro* 73-74; *Journal* 71-72). Nor did the Portuguese journey up the coast afterward change their minds. On some islets, which they called Santa Maria,[21] they wanted to erect a pillar of Santa Maria, and the locals, who had come to sell fish, approved the action, saying that it proved the Portuguese were Christians like them (*Roteiro* 81; *Journal* 80).[22] The illusion continued to be mutual. Nor did the five persons kidnapped at Calicut and brought to Lisbon ever dispel it.[23]

Two factors account for this massive confusion: restricted contact between the parties and the problem of go-betweens. The first of these grew out of Portuguese weakness. Sailing ships carried small crews. In their little fleet of three ships the Portuguese had initially but 150-170 men, little more than a single Mediterranean galley carried.[24] When they reached Mozambique, they had just lost thirty to scurvy, and most of the crew was ill. Few men were active even at Mombasa, their next stop (*Roteiro* 34, 45; *Journal* 20-21, 34-35). The clash at Mozambique had alienated the Muslim trading communities along the coast, and the Portuguese dared not take any chances. At Mombasa Da Gama learned that the Muslims intended to ambush them, once the ships entered the harbor (*Roteiro* 47; *Journal* 37). Consequently Da Gama took precautions before he entered a harbor for all his time in the Indian Ocean.

Malindi, their last stop on the African coast, was an affair of mutual distrust. The Portuguese anchored outside the harbor, but no one would approach their ships. The people at Malindi had heard that the Portuguese had captured a boat and imprisoned its people. Da Gama had to make the first gesture, and only after a peaceful reply did he move his ships closer. The meeting between the regent and Da Gama took place in long boats. Da Gama refused to go on land, and the regent did not board a Portuguese ship. Da Gama nevertheless released his prisoners and so won the guarded good-

will of the regent (*Roteiro* 48-50; *Journal* 39-42).[25] This was the friendliest reception the Portuguese found in the trading zone of the Indian Ocean.

At Calicut the Portuguese anchored again outside the harbor and initially allowed one sailor per ship to visit town, hence three altogether, where they were fed and put up, if they needed it (*Roteiro* 72; *Journal* 69). The people, in fact, were friendly, but once the Samorim turned against the Portuguese, they left but two factors with their goods in town. They were under much pressure to bring their ships into port, in which case they would have had to surrender their sails and rudders (*Roteiro* 69; *Journal* 64-66) and so would have been at the mercy of the Samorim. His agent, the *balé* or *catual*, demanded payment of harbor dues, even though the ships had not entered the harbor. At the same time the *balé* detained Da Gama and other Portuguese, beginning a game of kidnapping which marked the rest of their stay (*Roteiro* 66-68; *Journal* 64-67). Under such conditions neither side could have learned much about the other.

Even this limited contact had further limitations. The Portuguese needed pilots and go-betweens, though they did have in their company Fernão Martins, who spoke Arabic,[26] and whom Da Gama used for interviews with the Samorim (*Roteiro* 56 & n. 205, 61, 64; *Journal* 50 & n. 2; 57 & n. 2; 62). Martins, of course, could converse only with Arabic speakers, and they were all Muslim. After Mozambique the Portuguese were suspicious of Muslim pilots and interpreters. They flogged a pilot they picked up at Mozambique when he said some islands were the mainland (*Roteiro* 43; *Journal* 32).[27] At Mombasa two pilots jumped ship, and Da Gama tortured the other two that night, so they deserted (*Roteiro* 47; *Journal* 37). By then rough treatment had lost them all their pilots. At Malindi they asked for a Christian pilot (*Roteiro* 52; *Journal* 45-46) and got instead a Muslim native of Gujarat, whom they called Malema Cana or Canaque ("sailing master").[28] They were never able to get the Christian pilot they wanted, nor could they get a Christian interpreter for the Arabic version of the letter Vasco brought from the King of Portugal to the Samorim. Da Gama asked for one, but the Hindu could speak but not read Arabic, so four Muslims between themselves read and translated the letter before Da Gama and the Samorim (*Roteiro* 65; *Journal* 62-63). Yet Muslims often gave the Portuguese reliable information. The two Da Gama tortured at Mombasa revealed the plot to capture the Portuguese fleet in harbor, information immediately confirmed at midnight when they found swimmers at the *Berrio* trying to cut its cable (*Roteiro* 47; *Journal* 37). Similarly, the last pilot guided them expertly and safely to India.

Monçaide was the most famous of the go-betweens[29] and their indispens-able ally in Calicut.[30] He came from Tunis and spoke Genoese and/or Castilian (*Roteiro* 54-55; *Journal* 48-49). Camões includes him in his epic and preserves the evidence. Monçaide went with Fernão Martins on the initial embassy to the Samorim.[31] Privy to Muslim councils, he revealed to Da Gama their intent to detain the Portuguese at Calicut till the Mecca fleet arrived (Camões 9. 5-7) and arranged the purchase of pepper, mace, nutmeg, cloves, and cinnamon, which back home would help prove Da Gama had reached India (9. 13-15). At the same time he functioned as a genuine go-between and provided the *balé* with information on the newcomers (7. 66-72). Yet, despite the fact that he sailed to Portugal with Da Gama, Monçaide never dispelled their illusion about the Hindus. He may have decided the whole attempt futile. In 1959 I tried to teach Germans baseball when I was a student in Austria, but gave up: the lack of adequate words for specific things. More likely, Monçaide may have lumped Christian and Hindu together in much the way the Arab traders along the African coast had done. If so, he then kept the Hindus misinformed as well.

Even if they had met Nestorian Christians in Calicut, the Portuguese might not have recognized them. The Nestorians had adapted to their envi-ronment and functioned as a caste. They followed Hindu regulations on food and pollution, so to the casual observer they would have been indistinguish-able from the Malayalam speakers of Kerala, who practised Hinduism and were the majority of the population.[32]

So far I have explained how the confusion between Christian and Hindu came about. The next stage of my discussion is more difficult and depends more on inference. Why did such a confusion both exist and persist through-out the Portuguese visit to East Africa and India? Style of worship may have been the main reason behind the confusion. The Muslims here are crucial, since they initiated the identification of Hindu with Christian in East Africa. They were the ones who told the Portuguese that Christians were in Mombasa and Malindi. Now the Arabic and Swahili speakers met Hindu traders on a regular or at least annual basis, as they came and went, following the rhythm of the monsoon, and Hindus lived in Mombasa and still do. East African Muslims also had some experience with Coptic Christians, more in the north at Mogadishu than further south, though the Portuguese did talk of Coptic prisoners in Mombasa and Mozambique. None of the Arab mer-chants, however, had probably ever seen a Coptic church or service. In 1498 these merchants suddenly met Latin Christians, coming to them in ships the

way the Hindus did. Being Muslim and, therefore, iconoclast, they probably lumped Latin Christian and Hindu together as iconodules and would have regarded the Copts in much the same way.[33] Both Hindu and Christian used statues and painted images in their places of worship, and the Portuguese carried such images with them on their ships.[34] The Nestorian Christians of India provide a useful counter example because they allowed only a bare cross in their churches and had no other images. While they might blend easily with Hindus in their daily lives, Hindus would not have confused a Nestorian church with one of their temples. On the other hand, Muslims would not experience there the revulsion that a Latin Christian or Hindu temple might produce. In fact, the Nestorian shrine of Saint Thomas at Mailapúr (now part of Madras Chemnai), attracted Muslims as well as Christians.[35] A lamp burned perpetually before the tomb of the apostle, but in the early sixteenth century Duarte Barbosa found a Muslim fakir in charge of it.[36] There is no record of Hindus worshipping in the church. The issue then is not theology per se so much as modes of worship.

In this respect the Portuguese attitude to Hindu statues provides crucial evidence. When Da Gama and his embassy visited their first Hindu temple, the author of the *Roteiro* noted that the saints painted on the walls had long teeth and four-to-five arms (*Roteiro* 59; *Journal* 55). The fact that the images did not always preserve the human form troubled him, not the images as images. The poet Camões, who made an epic out of Da Gama's voyage, composing it fifty to sixty years later,[37] elaborated on this scene and provided a rationale for his reaction. In the epic the Portuguese see instead of paintings statues in wood or stone, some with repugnant shapes (Camões 7. 46-47). The statues seem wondrous to the Portuguese, a fact which Greenblatt would say blocks recognition and distances Hindu worship as alien. Camões, of course, was better informed than the author of the *Roteiro* yet the rationale he gives for the rejection turns on the same thing which troubled the earlier visitor. Hindus do not always preserve the human form in their statues, while the Portuguese in contrast are used to seeing God *only* in human shape. The poet thus tacitly evokes both Genesis 1:27, the priestly claim that human beings were made in the image of God, and the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. God became man to save humankind. Statues like Ganesha with a human body and the head of an elephant would make no sense to a Christian.

As iconodules then the Portuguese did not object to images as images but to the *kinds* of images they saw in Hindu temples. Hence King Manuel's

opinion that the Hindus were defective Christians.[38] One wonders whether the Hindus in turn considered the Portuguese defective Hindus.

This confusion had political implications. Muslim presence in the Deccan made tacit allies of the iconodules. Muslims in the subcontinent often did not show the partial tolerance they had for Christians and Jews on the Mediterranean coasts. In the Qur'an Muhammad did not include as inspired religions east of that zone, and the initial Muslim invaders of India, Mahmud of Ghazna and the Ghurids, had been harsh and intolerant. Their successors, of course, could not have remained in power so long if they had remained truly intolerant and been systematic in their opposition to Hinduism. What did continue, however, was the aversion to images and the religious practices that required their use. In this sense the newly arrived Portuguese would arouse the same set of reactions as did the Hindus. For the Muslims there was little difference.

The Portuguese came east with similar attitudes towards Muslims. They had a long tradition of fighting them both in Portugal during the Reconquista and more recently in Morocco. The author of the *Roteiro* twice calls them dogs,[39] and in his epic Camões celebrates Portugal's western battles with Moors. The Portuguese bombarded Mozambique, the first Muslim town they visited in the East, and Muslim traders in turn did all they could, both in Africa and India, to ruin the Portuguese.

There were about 15,000 Muslims in Calicut,[40] and they bribed Hindus there, arguing that the Portuguese were pirates and would end Hindu rule (Camões 8. 52-53).[41] Camões here preserves the evidence. The Samorim's council, the members of which had all accepted money from the Arab merchants in town, opposed a league with Portugal (8. 60, 63-64). The Muslims wished to keep the Portuguese there until the arrival of the Mecca fleet, when they could overwhelm the newcomers (9. 7), the reason why Da Gama suddenly left in August. In effect the Portuguese fought Arab traders in the Indian Ocean. They posed no real threat to the land powers in India and tried to keep out of local fights.[42]

The Portuguese originally wanted to make an alliance with Calicut, primarily a commercial agreement, but one with a military component (Camões 7. 60-63; 8. 59, 73). While they failed with the rulers and merchants, they did find the people friendly. Sailors in town were well treated, and many Tamils visited their ships, to sell fish but also to see the foreigners. Great crowds came, and many brought their children, so that the Portuguese found

themselves a tourist attraction (*Roteiro* 71; *Journal* 69). Later, when they established their commercial empire, they allowed racial mixing.[43] Camões, for example, composed *endechas* (dirges or love songs) for a "barbara escrava," probably a Hindu woman.[44] Politically, this openness to the culture of South India meant tacit alliance with Vijayanagar, the capital of the Hindu south, and a shared hostility to Muslims. Albuquerque, who did most to set up the Portuguese system in the East, cooperated with Vijayanagar.[45]

Contrasting forms of worship then help to account for the confusion between Christian and Hindu. The iconoclast Muslims brought together the two religions which venerated images. The confusion grew out of a triangular relationship and might never have occurred without the iconoclasts. Yet for the confusion to exist so long, for all those months Da Gama's fleet stayed in India, one suspects there had to be more behind it. Here I can only speculate but have three brief suggestions.

The first is structural. Hindu and Latin Christian shared a common structural bifurcation, that between a priestly class and the laity (if I may use Western terms). Among the Latins, clerics still made up most of the learned class and used a learned language, Latin, to say the Mass and the canonical hours. Some of them had extensive education and studied theology. The Brahmans were their equivalent in India, especially those who learned Sanskrit, memorized the *Vedas*, and presided over temple services. Popular piety, on the other hand, differed noticeably from that of the learned in both places. In the West the laity favored Mary, the saints, relics, and loved the devotions introduced by the preaching friars: the rosary, the crib, the stations of the cross. In India this variance appeared and appears in the different deities honored by the two groups. The learned knew and know Vedic gods like Indra, king of the gods,[46] and Surya (the sun god), mostly ignored or forgotten in popular religion. The people loved and love rather deities and avatars like Krishna, Ganesha, or Lakshmi, the goddess of fortune. The most dramatic manifestation of this split was spatial. The sanctuary or shrine, while open to view, could not be entered by the laity, whether in India or in Europe.

Secondly, both religious groups revelled in mystery. The West had its trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and so did the Hinduism of the period with Brahma, Vishnu, and Shiva. Both religions had gods who became human or had human avatars: the Logos became Jesus and Vishnu had as avatars Rama[47] and Krishna.

Thirdly, behind this identification there may be a common, if confusing, origin. Here a slight digression is necessary. Twenty years after Da Gama returned to Lisbon, Luther began the Protestant Reformation. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries many Protestants would claim that the medieval or Latin-rite Catholicism had forgotten its origins in Judaism and instead assimilated the practices of the old Indo-European and Mediterranean paganism.[48] Henry More called Catholics paganochristian and constantly returned to the charge in his commentary on the Apocalypse.[49] Yet Westerners knew of Greco-Roman religion mostly through books as well as some archaeological sites and statues. Camões compares Hindu gods to those he read about in classical texts (Camões 7. 47-48): Roman gods and monsters of the old poetry like the Chimaera, Janus with his two or four faces, Briareus of the many arms, and Egyptian gods like Jupiter Ammon with his horned head and dog-faced Anubis.[50] Camões indicates that Greco-Roman religion had its own supply of monstrous shapes, not just the Egyptian, something the Protestant critique ignored in its equation of Catholic and pagan. Medieval Christianity had demons, of course, who appeared in a variety of monstrous shapes, decorating column capitals or participants in the great scenes of the Last Judgment over the western entrances of churches. None, however, were venerated. Janus was. Yet the Protestant critique, while hostile, helps us understand better the Portuguese confusion in India.

When the Portuguese participated in Hindu religious services, they saw preserved through a collateral tradition a paganism (to use their term) which went back to the same Indo-European ancestry that lay behind Greco-Roman worship, which they knew through books. Such a background might account for their eerie mixture of recognition and shock, for books can never finally give the experience that the living religion in its actual practices affords. Only in India and some places further east could an Indo-European have such an experience, one particularly powerful when it occurred without the prejudices that later clouded European views of Hinduism, an experience possible really only at this first encounter.

I began with a confusion, however, and really must end there, for that first encounter really was much more complicated. On the one hand, there were the Indo-Europeans from the West, who professed a religion of Semitic and iconoclastic origins, which had long since incorporated Indo-European iconic practices. On the other were Tamils, who were not Indo-European but who practised an iconic religion of Indo-European origins. The confusion was deep and had to be mutual.

Notes

[1] Greenblatt 132. Greenblatt cites from the ed. of Genaro García, trans. Alfred Maudslay, 5 vols. (London: Haklulyt Society, 1908).

[2] Greenblatt 134.

[3] *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* 54. n. 2 & Appendix A, 111-16.

[4] *Arquivo Português Oriental* 1.1.1: 85-86.

[5] See Polo 2: 356-59, ns. 3 & 4; Roux 26-27, 147-50.

[6] See Burton 1: 259-60 and Crone 16, 21-23. Varthema, who traveled east between 1503 & 1508, met two Milanese in Calicut, who were casting guns for its ruler (Burton 2: 445). Boxer doubts that Da Gama knew of Covilhã's report, assuming he would not then have so mistaken Hindus for Christians. See Boxer 33-34.

[7] Until recently it was generally accepted that Alvaro Velho wrote the *Roteiro* or *Journal*. See Neves Aguas's discussion in his ed. of the *Roteiro*, intro., 10-13.

[8] Burton 2: 420 & n. 3 & *Journal* 36. n. 1.

[9] Burton cites Barros, *Decades* 1.1: 298 for this point (Burton 2: 420). He assumes the captives were Ethiopians.

[10] Barros says they were Banyans, that is, Hindu traders from Gujarat (*Journal* 40. n. 4); Goes and Castanheda, that they were merchants from Cranganore in Malabar, which was a Nestorian center. Burton suggests Socotra instead, the island south of Arabia which was still mostly Christian in 1507 but himself agrees with Barros. The Portuguese mistook Hindu traders for Christians (Burton 2: 420-22).

[11] This fact argues against an identification of the visitors as Nestorians, since they had in their churches before World War I only a bare cross and no other images or human forms. See Riley, "Nestorians" 409a.

[12] *Journal* 45. n. 2; Burton 2: 420.

[13] Ravenstein explains that this pillar held the flag that indicated the start of a festival. It was made of wood, covered with copper or silver. The cock at the top symbolized the war god, Subraumainar (*Journal* 52. n. 3).

[14] It held the coco-lamps used during a festival (*Journal* 52. n. 3).

[15] Brahmans strike these balls, when they enter. Other castes may not touch them (*Journal* 54. n. 1).

[16] Goes, 40 calls it a "round" chapel (*Journal* 53. n. 1).

[17] Scholars have variously identified the goddess. Burton suggests Gauri, the "White Goddess." Charton III, 296, prefers Maha Maja and her son Shakya. J. Jacob Jaus suggests Mari or Mariamma, the dreaded goddess of smallpox at Calicut. *Amma* in Malayalam means *mother*. Jaus was a member of the Basel Mission at Calicut (*Journal* 53. n. 2).

[18] Castanheda 1. 57 has João de Sá kneel by Vasco da Gama and say: "If these be devils, I worship the true God." Vasco smiled (*Journal* 54. n. 2). Castanheda was writing, of course, many years later, though he drew carefully on reliable sources and used the *Roteiro*.

[19] The earth is a mixture of dust, cow-dung, sacrificial ashes, sandalwood, etc., cemented in rice-water (*Journal* 54. n. 4).

[20] Burton explains that *Samorim* means *Tamburi*, the highest caste of the *Nayrs* or ruling caste in Calicut, so it was a titular name, the dynastic being Mana Vikram (Burton 1: 274).

[21] The Netrani or Pigeon Islands (*Journal* 80n1). They are roughly halfway between Cannanore and Goa.

[22] At Anjediva, an island near Goa, they found a large stone church, which Muslims had destroyed, except for a chapel roofed with straw. Locals prayed to three black stones in the middle of the chapel, presumably lingams (*Roteiro* 84; *Journal* 83 & n. 2).

[23] *Roteiro* 75-76 & *Journal* n. 2 on 76. Cabral returned the prisoners on the next voyage.

[24] Freitas 38; Cipolla 15-16.

[25] See also Burton 2: 427-28.

[26] Burton 1: 267.

[27] This was probably standard naval practice but most likely shocked the pilot.

[28] Goes 38; Barros 1. 4. 6; and Faria y Sousa (*Journal* 45-46, & n. 3 on 45).

[29] The name means the happy one (*el mas'úd*). Correa and Castanheda call him Taibo or Bomtaibo, the good. *Bom* and Arabic *tayyib* mean the same thing. See Burton 2: 432.

[30] *Journal* App. E, 180; Burton 2: 432.

[31] *Journal* 50. n. 2, citing Castanheda 1. 15.

[32] Riley 408b.

[33] They would have known more about Ethiopian Copts, particularly at Mogadishu, and probably could distinguish them from Hindus. The Portuguese passed by Mogadishu on their way home. They did not stop there.

[34] The Samorim wanted Da Gama to give him a gilded statue of Mary. Da Gama refused, saying that she guided him to India and would guide him home (*Roteiro* 65; *Journal* 62).

[35] Polo 3. 18. 353. Muslims called St. Thomas *Avarian* or Holy Man.

[36] Polo 358. n. 4.

[37] Burton puts the composition of the *Lusíadas* between 1543 and 1572, its publication date (6).

[38] This was not the last time Latin Christians made such a judgment. Little more than a century later the well-trained Jesuits who established a mission in Tibet expressed the same opinion about the Buddhists there. The Jesuits believed that there had once been large Christian communities in Tibet and accordingly found traces of Christianity in lamaist Buddhism with its images and temples, monks and monasteries. See Lach and Van Kley 3. 4. 1773, 1778-83.

[39] At Mombasa. See *Roteiro* 47-48; *Journal* 38-39.

[40] Toussaint 101.

[41] Ironically, by its rejection of the Portuguese Calicut lost its supremacy in trade but remained a Hindu state.

[42] Bitterli 61-63. At their height the Portuguese had only 12-14,000 men scattered from East Africa to China, less than the Muslim community in Calicut alone.

[43] Bitterli 66-68.

[44] Burton 1: 48.

[45] Burton 3: 292.

[46] See Wendy Doniger O'Flaherty's headnote to her selection of Vedic hymns on Indra, *Rig Veda*, 139-40. Indra suffered a total loss of worship in the Hindu period.

[47] In his discussion of the *Ramayana* Smith remarks: "Rama, who is pictured as an incarnation of the deity [Vishnu], has thus become the man-god and saviour of mankind in the eyes of millions of devout worshippers." (*Oxford History of India*, 55-56)

[48] It was not just the Latin West. The Greek Orthodox were involved as well. Ephesus provides an example. Once famous for its temple of Artemis, it became a center for Marian piety.

Mary was supposed to have gone with John to Ephesus, and the site still has her "house." See the discussion of Meryemana in McDonagh 285.

[49] For some examples see More ix-x, 20-21, 124-35, 237-38.

[50] Actually Anubis has the head of a jackal.

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