

Independent Royalty or an Annexed State? Portuguese Historiography Through Neo-Latin Literature in the Sixteenth Century

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Introduction

In 1588, Giovanni Pietro Maffei published his *Historiarum Indicarum Libri XVI*, a complete and concise history of the Portuguese voyages comprising three hundred and thirty-one pages in Latin (Maffei 1589). Eight years prior to this publication, Philip II acceded the throne as Philip I of Portugal as a result of the Iberian union (1580). Maffei's text was written in the middle of this political juncture, which is an alarming response to the union, especially based on the pure nature of its contents, since the work was both commissioned by and dedicated to King Philip II, after the union (1580). Hence, through this article, I examine the manner in which Maffei recounts Portuguese national historiography in Latin, thus recognising Portugal's independent royal status even after the Castilian take-over. Divided in sixteen parts, the book follows a course of narrating simultaneous events that occurred in various regions in Africa, Asia, and Brazil. Christopher Francese has explored that since 'being disconnected from contemporary politics, he [Maffei] perhaps felt freer to critique Portuguese imperialism than some other writers would' (Francese 2019, p. 194). Although Francese reflects on Maffei's silence on 'contemporary politics,' the contents of this work informs us of the Portuguese expeditions; their struggles, their victories, their responses and reactions to their encounters with locals which aids in measuring its independent status. Indeed, Portugal's independent status can also be seen as a response to its position when this work was initially commissioned by its patron, King Henry (r. 1578-1580, Schurhammer, Wicki 1944, p. 77). However, this would be the first attempt to examine this work by situating it in the context of the Iberian union. Hence, in what follows, I will examine the context in which we can explore Maffei's work, especially considering other chronicles and histories of Portugal written in Portuguese, the political context in which he wrote this work, and the last section will include examples from the book which help in determining Portugal's independence despite this union. This independence helps us suggest this work as a piece of national history. Furthermore, the chosen examples aid in recognising what Portugal's status meant for its union with Castille. For the sake of this analysis, most examples chosen are from the region of India, and will focus on book one, unless otherwise specified.

Giovanni Pietro Maffei: Background and His *Magnum Opus*

Maffei, an Italian Jesuit (1533-1603), has gained scholarly acclaim for his contributions to the field of Neo-Latin and humanistic literature. In particular, academics such as Christopher Francese, Stefano Andretta and Leni Riberio Leite have explored his early life and its influence in his works written in Latin (Francese 2019). Maffei's history appears towards the end of the sixteenth century, when travel literature had gained increased attention and prominence in the European society. This literature included narratives by lay travellers, administrative accounts, in addition to histories and chronicles. Accounts that were written in the vernacular languages were frequently translated to Latin – in order to ensure wider dissemination of the contents of new observations and experiences included by voyagers. Such a trend was commonplace for voyages carried out to both the New World, and to parts of Asia and Africa. This trend further enabled them to reinforce notions of Roman familiarity with distant parts of the world such as Asia. Hence, in this context, Maffei's history is not the first of its kind, contrarily, it may be considered as a later attempt of an already popular genre of literature that was made available in Europe. However, what is worth noting is the period that he considered for his voyages,

which extends beyond earlier attempts by authors writing in both the vernacular and in Latin (roughly between 1415-1557).

As the title of this text suggests, the history outlines details from the conception of the Portuguese voyages and is a fine example of political and administrative diplomacy. Francese explains that this work lays emphasis on ‘military and geo-political than ethnographical [details]’ (Francese 2019, p. 195). Maffei indicates ethnographic or cultural details, particularly when it aids in contextualising Portuguese governance in these regions.¹ More than the history of the Indies, this work encapsulates Portuguese experiences and procedures ascertained to determine their colonial status in India (and other parts of Asia, Africa, and Brazil). King Henry (r. 1578-1580) commissioned Maffei to write this text, which was later commissioned by and dedicated to King Philip II after the Iberian union in 1580 (Schurhammer, Wicki 1944, p. 77). As a result, Maffei travelled to Portugal between 1579-1583, where he examined various vernacular sources made available to him (Schurhammer, Wicki 1944, p. 77). He began to write this text in 1584, after his return to Rome (Schurhammer, Wicki 1944, p. 77). After its publication in 1588, there were multiple reprints in Latin and it was translated to Italian a year later (Maffei 1589).² Divided in sixteen parts, the first few sections focus on details of the voyages as planned and executed by the Portuguese crown (from King João I onwards) in the fifteenth century (Maffei 1589, pp. 3-4). The later sections lay emphasis on the continued struggle of the Portuguese in the east, in Africa and in Brazil. From book twelve onwards, Maffei describes the attempts carried out by the members of the Society of Jesus to proselytise different groups they encountered in these regions (Maffei 1589, p. 226). The history ends with the description of the death of King João III in 1557 (Maffei 1589).

Indeed, there were earlier examples of cumulative work of this nature, documenting Portuguese voyages. This list includes João de Barros (1496-1570), Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (1500-1559), Gaspar Correia (1492-1563), and the epic poem by Luis Camões (1572), which extensively outlined these travels, and the role played by the Portuguese crown in these commissions. While these works were written in Portuguese, Jeronimo Osorio (1506-1580) had already completed his *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniae Invictissimi virtute et auspicio gestis* in Latin (1571), hence recognising Portugal’s expeditions in this language. Like Osorio, Maffei’s work in Latin was a true testimony to his humanist knowledge and training. Certainly, all these works, both in Portuguese and in Latin (Osorio) recognise the Portuguese attempts, but they were also completed prior to the Iberian union. Furthermore, the periods considered by these earlier works were limited either to the reign of one king like Osorio or may have included a longer period but were then written in Portuguese (like Correia, Castanheda). The period considered for his history, the political context and the language (Latin) in which Maffei wrote are some of the factors that separates his work from previous such attempts written in Portuguese and Latin. Following the stylistic trends of Latin, not only did he include intertextual references to classical authors and their works but offers citations to more contemporaneous authors like Barros and Osorio (Maffei 1589, p. 140). In fact, early Jesuits residing in India frequently mentioned the need for such a work. Early letters by members of the Society of Jesus explain the importance of a written history to outline the Jesuit attempts of missionary work, however, no such attempt can be identified prior to King Henry’s commission (Wicki 1948, pg. 575-589). After Henry’s death, his successor, Philip II continued with the commission which led to the completion of this work in Latin in 1588. Although Jesuit communication makes no note of the language in which such a work should be accomplished,

¹ Book six is an exception to this, as it incorporates geographical, political, and ethnographical details of China in the entire section.

² Maffei, *Le storie delle Indie orientali con una scelta di lettere scritte dall’Indie* (Firenze: Filippo Giunti, 1589).

it is Henry's command that informs us of Maffei's choice to write his magnum opus in Latin (Petrus Antonius 1747, p. xv).

Following Henry's command, Maffei's accomplishment of this work in Latin is not a surprise, considering his training in the *studia humanitatis* and his association with the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits were active participants in the revival and use of classical Latin (O'Malley 1993). They introduced Latin education in their missionary schools, which used a curriculum similar to the *studia humanitatis* (Black 2006, pp. 37-71). In addition to training in classical Latin grammar, poetry, and rhetoric, they introduced moral consciousness and philosophy. In the mid-1500s, they made use of classical texts by Cicero and Vergil and were more conscious of the contents lectured in class through these pagan texts (Wicki 1954, pp. 698-730). As a result of the order to which he belonged to and complying with Henry's commission, Maffei's text not only responds to the revived interest in classical Latin descriptions but also showcases how Latin's prestigious position aided in circulating the vices and virtues of the Portuguese to a larger audience.

Latin's extent vocabulary provided flexible choices to authors to describe details both known and unknown to the Romans. As has been outlined by Paul Oskar Kristeller and Sarah Gravelle, the use of an abundant vocabulary (*copia verborum*) in conjunction with classical references permitted larger number of people to recognise the Portuguese voyages and their early attempts of colonisation due to its account in Latin (Kristeller 1969, Gravelle 1988). Since the early 1500s, there were similar debates among Europeans to establish a more uniform method for vernacular languages as well (Curti 2013). Although works such as that of Barros recognised the Portuguese efforts, it was never translated to Latin (Dion 1970, pp. 128-162). He was renowned as the Portuguese Livy as he imitated *Ab urbe condita* to delineate the Portuguese voyages and their encounters with distinctly different groups of people in these regions. Barros completed work on four of his chronicles, the last of which was published posthumously (Boxer 1981). Moreover, Henry recognised the Latin work completed by Osorio as has been described in the *Maffei Vita*, which was based on the reign of King Emmanuel, however, what he suggested was a history extending until the period of his own reign (Petrus Antonius 1757, p. xv). Although this was not accomplished since Maffei's history ends in 1557, with no allusion to why he did not continue describing details beyond the reign of João III, it clearly outlines the prerequisite set by its patron. It showcases Portugal's independence prior to its alliance with Castille in 1580. What is further illuminating is how Philip continues this patronage based on the same prerequisite set by Henry. There is no record or documentation that proves otherwise, where any revisions for the said work were outlined by Philip. Even though the history covers a period encapsulating Portugal's independence, Philip's response to this patronage further proves how he confirmed Portugal's independent status after the union in 1580. This particular detail is of importance, especially in the light of other works describing Portuguese voyages that were completed after the Iberian union. It is worth noting how other contemporary translations responded to this union. For this purpose, the next section will lay emphasis on the Spanish translation of Camões's epic poem, *Os Lusíadas*.

A Brief Comparison Between Portuguese and Latin Historiographies

First published in 1572, Camões's poem explains Portuguese history through its Vergilian influence. In fact, the Latin translation by Andreas Baianus (1625) begins with 'arma virumque...' which is a direct reference to Vergil's epic poem, *Aeneid* (Adamson 1820, pp. 86-90). Additionally, what is also illuminating are the translations of this poem after the Iberian union. Miguel Martinez, in "A poet of our own: the struggle for *Os Lusíadas* in the afterlife of Camoes," has clearly outlined the Spanish translations done by Gomez de Tapia's *La Lvsíada* in 1580 (Martinez 2010, pp. 73-74). Although this poem is a true testimony of Portuguese historiography, composed sixteen years prior to Maffei's Latin work, its translation showcases

the impact of the immediate turn of political events. In this article, Martinez investigates the ‘ownership of *Os Lusíadas* in relation to the context of imperial competition in early modern Europe: Philip of Spain’s annexation of Portugal in 1580’ (Martinez 2010, p. 72).³ Furthermore, he demonstrates how the translation portrayed Philip II as the ‘King of Roman Hispania’ (2010, p. 74). Originally dedicated to King Sebastian (1554-1578) of Portugal, the Castilian translation evidently demonstrates the ascension of Philip II and how the poem now responds and includes him as part of the epic voyage carried out by Portugal in the preceding years. Here, Martinez explains that ‘[the translation] subsumes Portuguese history into the broader political narrative of a Hispanic empire’ (Martinez 2010, p. 74). This is in stark contrast from Maffei’s Latin text. Indeed, the nature of Maffei’s text is distinctly different from the translation of the epic poem. Firstly, it was a work planned as an original piece and executed in Latin and is not a translation of a pre-existing text about Portugal. Indeed, Maffei referred to various vernacular sources for the sake of this work, but he did not follow a literal translation of any one particular source. Secondly, the text did not appear in the same year as the Iberian union, which might also aid in validating Maffei’s reasons for altering the contents of his work. Nevertheless, Maffei does not make an attempt to include Philip as part of this voyage, neither does he refer to Castille’s attempt of exploration to a great extent. He does address the struggles between the Portuguese and the Castilians as was encountered in the east, especially with reference to trading activities, however, he seldom gives a complete account of the latter in his magnum opus (Maffei 1589, p. 178). Hence, Maffei’s description is the very first attempt of a complete and concise volume of Portuguese historiography in Latin, as there were previous attempts in Portuguese written by Barros and Camões. Indeed, there were various debates about the development of vernacular languages in the sixteenth century, however, Latin was not only considered as a cosmopolitan or international language but was still esteemed with great prestige (Anderson 2016, Botley 2004, Waquet 2001). Moreover, Maffei’s approach of including Philip II in his history is distinctly different from the Castilian translations of *Os Lusíadas*. While the Castilian translation tries to portray ‘Roman Hispania,’ Maffei demonstrates Portugal’s association with the Roman empire through instances discussed in the book as will be seen in the following sections. It only helps in reinforcing how he continues to develop Portugal’s identity independent of its association to Castille. Very rarely does the history engage with details of the conquests of the New World as carried out by the Spaniards, as is clear from the contents prescribed by his patrons, Henry, and Philip.

Aequae principaliter Through Maffei’s History

What Maffei offers through his work is not a parallel history of the Portuguese and Castilian voyages. The treaty of Tordesillas (1594) permitted the Spaniards and Portuguese to commission for journeys to the New World, Africa, Asia, and Brazil. Maffei briefly gives an account of the outcome of the treaty and how the world was divided between the two crowns (Maffei 1589, p. 15). This is one of the first instances where Maffei outlines Castilian participation in the age of exploration. The period set for his work lies roughly between 1415 to 1557 (Siege of Ceuta, 1415 to the death of João III, 1557). Evidently, since his history ends in 1557, he did not include details of the death of King Sebastian (d. 1578) and Henry (d. 1580), the Iberian union (1580) or its consequences. Since the years considered range between 1415-1557, this period determined the context, and details included in this text. As has been suggested this information helps in identifying Portugal’s independent status, both prior to the union and through Philip’s confirmation of his patronage. Furthermore, Maffei’s silence on this matter has been recognised by Francese as his ‘disconnectedness to contemporary politics,’

³ The author here argues this ‘ownership in relation to two contexts of imperial competition in early modern Europe: Philip of Spain’s annexation of Portugal in 1580 and Britain’s international policies regarding both kingdoms in the mid-seventeenth-century, during the interregnum and the beginning of the restoration.’

however, this can be further explored through his allegiance to the Society of Jesus. In this regard, what seems like Maffei's neutrality, or his silence can be a response to the strict orders commanded by the Superior General, Father Claudio Acquaviva (1581-1615), in his letter to the members of the Society of Jesus (Alden 1996, p. 92). Dauril Alden, in *The making of an enterprise*, explains how members of the Society were not allowed to participate in this political discussion (1996, pp. 91-93). Alden further states that the Portuguese Jesuits did not enjoy the same privileges as was bestowed by the Portuguese crowns in the preceding years since Castilian monarchs were inclined to support the Dominicans (1996, p. 91). What is striking is the correspondence shared by Father Alfonsus Pacheco, in 1580, regarding how the Portuguese Jesuits were in favour of the Portuguese heir, Antonio, Prior Crato (Wicki 1972, p. 115). Furthermore, Philip had commanded Father Alessandro Valignano, the visitor of the mission to the east, to give a complete report of the missionary status in this region (Cardim 2001, p. 288). Whether this was a response to Pacheco's earlier comment, or a general requirement can only be conjectured. Additionally, Maffei's origin as an Italian is also intriguing, considering the already persistent debates and arguments between the Portuguese and Spaniards prior to the union. I can only speculate whether it was Maffei's Italian origin that allowed his work to outline factual details of the Portuguese voyages after the union (Russell 2022, p. 59). Certainly, it could be his skill in Latin which might have enabled Henry's choice in allowing Maffei to work on this project (Andretta 2004, pp. 522-524). Nevertheless, in her article, Camilla Russell has demonstrated the ban placed by the Iberian crown on the travel of Italian Jesuits to such colonies from the early 1600s onwards (Russell 2022, pp. 52-59). Hence, here, it seems feasible to suggest that Maffei's lack of participation in such debates may exhibit his loyalty to the Society of Jesus and his compliance to the orders authorised by the Superior General. Nevertheless, it is his prologue which gives a glimpse of the position held by Philip II in 1588 – the year this book was published. Prior to its publication, the period from 1578-1580 enumerates a series of events that could have inspired Maffei to consider and finally include or exclude topics for his work. While Maffei examined the abundant sources in Portugal from 1579 onwards, the Portuguese crown was in a conflicted position, with numerous contenders contesting the position prior to, and after the death of King Henry (Alden 1996, pp. 91-93). Nevertheless, Philip ascended the throne in 1580 and thus secured the union between Castille and Portugal. Maffei executed his work in the middle of such political turmoil, however, the history does not give any indication of these difficult circumstances. He begins his work as follows:

Superioribus annis, cum ad componendas Lusitaniae res, Olisiponem ipse venisses, Catholice Rex, hortata me tua est Maiestas, vt inchoatam Henrici Regis nomine auunculi tui rerum Indicarum historiam, pari alacritate studioque persequerer. Feci quod iusseras: totumque contextum narrationis, a primo nauigationum exordio, ad usque soceri tui Ioannis eo nomine tertii Regis obitum, pro mea tenuitate perduxì (Maffei 1589).

Although dedications such as these were conventional for this period, his florid praise sets precedent for what follows through his work. It sets the context for the patron in order to raise the theme of a national history of the Portuguese. Praise through dedicatory epistles were generic and an expectation that Maffei fulfilled. By dedicating his work to the newly acceded king, Philip, he confers glory in his name and represents the struggles and victories of his now ally, the independent Portuguese crown. The quote above explains how he was commissioned by King Henry to narrate the history of the Portuguese voyages. This is then followed by suggesting how King Philip had ordered him to give an account 'from the very first voyage to the death of King João III' (Maffei 1589). This is the first instance where he acknowledges the

part played by Philip in this work. Additionally, his use of ‘Catholicus rex (universal king),’ also illustrates Philip’s universal status as the King of Castille, Navarre, Aragon, Portugal, and their extended colonies. Unlike his contemporaries, who usually list the places ruled by the king, Maffei refers to Philip’s universal status (Silva Rego 1947, p. 356). While Ronald Cueto explains that Philip’s ‘Catholic majesty,’ assured liberties under his reign to his Portuguese subjects, Pedro Cardim clearly outlines what ‘Catholic’ in this instance meant (Cueto 1992, p. 152, Cardim 2017, pp. 219-240). Cardim particularly lays emphasis on the universal status of Philip as he describes him as ‘the king of kings.’ Maffei’s use of ‘Catholicus rex’ is an instance of how he shows his awareness regarding common linguistic trends practiced for such descriptions in the early modern period. A similar approach can be identified in geographical accounts by Abraham Ortelius. In both the editions of his *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (1570 and 1591), Ortelius calls Philip as the ‘monarch of the entire world.’ He says,

D. Philippo Avstriaco Caroli V. Avg. Rom. Imp. F.Indiarum Hispaniarumque, etc.
regi, omnium aetatum et totius orbis amplissimi imperii monarchae, Abrahamus
Ortelius antverpianus ded. Consecratque (Ortelius 1570).

Whereas Maffei addresses Philip as ‘Catholicus rex,’ Ortelius refers to his status as a ‘monarch.’ Additionally, Ortelius’s use of ‘totius orbis’ further confirms Philip’s control over the entire world which is also seen through Maffei’s vocative use of ‘Catholice.’ Both authors show similar approaches when they invoke Philip’s title and his position. However, what this illustrates is how Maffei engages with the patron before yielding to details that outline Portuguese expeditions alone, in the wake of the union. Although not a direct reference to the Iberian union, Maffei’s dedication demonstrates Philip’s status as a monarch. This further illustrates Philip’s decision or allegiance to the oath taken at the Cortes of Tomar (1581) to maintain Portugal’s independent royal status. At the Cortes, Philip was pronounced as the King of Portugal, where he promised to adhere to the regulations laid out – maintaining Portugal’s independent status being one of the primary ones (Cardim 2017, p. 218). Historians such as Pedro Cardim, J.H.Elliot and Felix Arroyo have explored the impact and consequences of the Iberian union and the immediate turn of events in Portugal and Castille (Elliot 1992, pp. 48-71). In particular, Cardim and J.H. Elliot demonstrate how Spain incorporated Portugal as part of its ‘composite monarchy’ (Elliot 1992, p. 65). Elliot further explains that ‘this was another dynastic union, *aeque principaliter*, carefully designed to ensure the survival of Portugal’s separate identity, along with that of its empire’ (Elliot 1992, p. 61). Cardim elaborates this equal prominence given to Portugal, *aeque principaliter*, and demonstrates that ‘Portugal would be given a horizontal relationship of quasi-equality to the other territories of the Spanish monarchy’ (Cardim 2017, p. 218). While there is more recent scholarship which explores how *aeque principaliter* eases our understanding of unions established to end factionalism, or to adhere to nationalistic movements, there has been no scholarship to explore whether any history or chronicle written after the Iberian union aids in examining this principle (Mason 2015, Frost 2015). Hence, it is worth noting how Maffei’s history can be read in this context since the book appears at the juncture of such political discussions and considerations of a composite monarchy through *aeque principaliter*. The content of the history will ease our understanding of this concept and thus the ramifications of the union.

Maffei wrote and interacted with members who spent extended periods of stay in the east in order to offer authentic details of the regions he described. Members such as Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and Alessandro Valignano (1539-1606), helped him emend his work, thus making his history as accurate as possible (Wicki 1972, pp. 149-152). The history follows a chronological order, expanding the reader’s knowledge of the gradual Portuguese colonisation of various regions in Africa, Asia, and Brazil. Although it is a fine example of political and

administrative diplomacy, there are instances where he incorporates economic and ethnographic details (Maffei 1589, pp. 108-121, pp. 230-232). Political issues range from battles fought with local kings to trading problems encountered in these regions (Maffei 1589, pp. 3, 216-220, 251-270). Moreover, Maffei also contextualises the Portuguese attempts in conjunction with the situations they encountered with local rulers and their kingdoms – the enduring political drama with the Zamorin of Calicut is one such example (Maffei 1589, pp. 29-47). Maffei's descriptions not only encompass Portuguese victories but also include barbaric onslaught brought about by them (Francese 2019, p. 194).

His prologue ends by outlining the importance of evangelisation and the need to spread Christianity along the 'corners of the earth.' He develops this thought through his work, where he recalls the efforts taken by the Portuguese crown to support this deed by missionary approaches (Maffei 1589, Prologue). Although the treaty of Tordesillas clearly outlines the crown's moral responsibility to carry out evangelisation, Maffei frequently refers to the methods approached by the Portuguese to acknowledge this process. This will become evident through descriptions of their victory in warfare.

His tale begins with the victories achieved by João I (1357-1433), against the Mauritania in Africa, followed by the succession of Edward (1391-1438) and the ambitious projects pioneered by Henry (1394-1460), the navigator (Maffei 1589, pp. 3-4). Through his concise description, he enables readers to grasp the essence of the political influence of the Portuguese through his chronological sequence of information. This is then proven in the next part where he points out the extents under the Portuguese command which extends 'from Ganaria to India' (Maffei 1589, p. 4). While he allows the reader to gasp at the vast extent under the Portuguese reign, he also gently reminds and assures them about the evangelization supported by the same sovereign (Maffei 1589, p. 4). Furthermore, outlining the extents under Portuguese control also reminds readers of their early strategies of colonisation – conquering regions for political control, whereas liberating them through evangelisation. This attempt helps in comparing Portugal's efforts as practiced by the Romans to expand their territories by 'liberating regions' (Edwards, Woolf 2003, pp. 44-70). As a result, Maffei then shifts his focus and explores details of conversion and baptism of certain royals in Congo (Maffei 1589, pp. 9-12). He offers details on how this conversion had an impact in the society of Congo, and whether the later heir continued on the Christian path (Maffei 1589, p. 299). Charles Boxer refers to this example in *Race relations in the Portuguese Colonial empire* to determine the strategies employed by the Portuguese to demarcate their hierarchy in such colonies, even though the King of Congo favoured them through the act of his conversion (Boxer 1963, p. 20). While Maffei lays emphasis on Portuguese control through such examples, Gaspar Correia (1492-1563), an early historian from the sixteenth century, used dialogues by the Portuguese crew which clearly determined their superior status and control over sea-routes in these regions.

Go and say to the king that this fleet is of the King of Portugal, lord of the sea and of the land, and I am come here to establish with him good peace and friendship and trade; and for this purpose let him come to me to arrange all this, because it cannot be arranged by messages. ... (Stanley 2016, p. 292).

Contrary to Correia, Maffei refrains from including such dialogues which evidently aid in determining their colonial status and the subaltern position held by the locals. However, Maffei's approach resembles the argument made in *New worlds, ancient texts* (Grafton, April, Nancy G 1995). He demonstrates the barbaric strategies undertaken by the Portuguese to colonise these regions, which instead allows the modern reader to ask the same question, who was the barbarian – the coloniser or the colonised? Both Francese and Nocentelli have remarked on how Maffei recognises the ill-repute of the Portuguese (Francese 2019, p. 194,

Nocentelli 2013, pp. 71-72). Maffei is critical of the manner in which the Portuguese, at times, react and respond to locals (Maffei 1589, p. 55).

Qua in re vindex rapacitatis atque saeuitiae euidenter apparuit numen. Auiditate praedae gregarii milites aliquot, mulierum manus ad armillas annulosque extrahendos inscio duce praeciderant.

Described for the region of Barawa, this example not only lays emphasis on how Maffei does not conceal the brutalities caused by the Portuguese, but also allows readers to question the kind of history he intends to present to his audience (Francese 2019, p. 194-195). Here, it is worth comparing how Grafton describes Bartolomeu de la Casas' argument regarding 'the destruction brought about by the Spaniards in the New World' (Grafton, April, Nancy G 1995, pp. 134-137). Like de la Casas, Maffei gives a vivid image of the strategies adhered to by the Portuguese. Clearly, his narration is not only meant to outline the glories of the Portuguese, but to also demonstrate the massacre brought about by them, which were similar to the circumstances encountered in the New World. Indeed, this example gives no indication of the Iberian union, but what it showcases is how the Portuguese dealt with their own territories, which they tried to colonise as an independent state. While their attempts of evangelising resemble Roman notions of 'liberating,' this example here, seems like a cautionary tale to remind Castille of the ally they have now gained through the union. Indeed, such examples make his history seem like a reliable source and enables readers to gauge Portugal's independent status through retellings of their attempts of colonisation.

Maffei's explanation and description of colonial attempts permits this work's recognition as an example of national historiography. Evidently, examples analysed so far encompass the good and the bad reputes earned by the Portuguese through these expeditions. While we have seen brief instances where the Portuguese accomplished their duty of spreading the Christian faith and thus colonising regions, there are a few more examples where they used Christianity as a tool to propagate their control and expand their extents. He elaborates this notion by describing various battles fought by the Portuguese – both when they succeeded or lost a battle. For instance, after the siege of Diu (India, 1537), he explains how the Portuguese or Christian flag was overthrown and replaced by a Turkish one (Maffei 1589, pp. 216-217). The use of 'vexillum erat Christi Domini...defixum,' acknowledges two specific elements: Portuguese control or their early methods of colonisation, and how this also demonstrated the crown adhering to its moral responsibility of spreading the Christian faith. While this example gives an account of their failed attempts, the following example showcases how they 'liberated citizen,' by using Christianity as a tool for colonial purposes (Maffei 1589, p. 56).

Ad eos liberandos, atque ad Catholicam Ecclesiam adiungendos, ab Emmanuele Rege missus Tristanus, cum Beninum attigisset...

In this example, Portuguese colonial thought is embedded in Christian faith that aids their argument of liberating this group since they practiced Islam. Even though this example is not set in India (it is in the port of Beninum), evidently, it outlines how the Portuguese used Roman principles of 'liberating' when they conquered these regions. When the Romans liberated regions, their aim was to inculcate Roman virtues and rationale, thus permitting people from those regions to become Romans themselves.⁴ From the example quoted above, it is the Christian thought that drove the Portuguese to free these regions from the worship of the pseudoprophet or false religion as has been described by Maffei (1589, pp. 49, 217). This could

⁴ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.

be a response of the Portuguese to the contents of the treaty of Tordesillas (1494) which allowed them to travel to these parts (Neill 1984, p. 400). Nevertheless, this example showcases Portuguese victory and colonial efforts with the help of Christianity. In the event of Portuguese victory, this specific detail of the Christian flag is often facilitated with ‘construction of battlements or fortifications’ (Maffei 1589, pp. 30, 51). Frequently, Maffei uses ‘unfurling of Christian flags’ as an indication to denote how they gradually colonised various regions encountered through their expeditions. From the above example, he showcases the struggles witnessed and experienced by the Portuguese to manage and consolidate their colonies as is evident from their continued rule in India until 1961 (Boxer 1963). Additionally, information provided in the prologue and through examples of warfare and early imprints of colonisation is veiled in Christian philosophy which reassures how Portugal abided by the policies enforced through the treaty of Tordesillas. However, it is through their colonial historiography that we get a glimpse of Maffei’s indication to Portugal’s independent royal status *aeque principaliter*. Indeed, such details do not indicate the union directly, nevertheless, the stylistics and intertextual references used enable us to gauge the manner in which this independent status can be seen.

Maffei’s work demonstrates the sheer determination and constancy of the Portuguese crown and its colonies – the history showcases what Portugal’s independent status had achieved in the past, with no direct reference to the sudden implications of the union. He captures Portugal’s *aeque principaliter* status through its own history, demonstrating its achievements and failures endured in these voyages. Indeed, this is not restricted to their victories, as can be seen from the examples, but also includes the gory details of their acts in order to achieve the success they set for themselves. Certainly, he acknowledges the king but also showcases the need and significance to portray national historiography of a province, a region, or an independent crown such as Portugal, despite its inclusion in this composite monarchy. His description of conquering regions through Christian means is a reminder of how Portugal saw itself accomplishing tasks achieved by the Romans previously. Unlike Camões who drew direct comparisons between Portugal and Rome, in order to demonstrate the aid provided by Venus to the Portuguese, Maffei refrains from any such explanations (Atkinson 1952, pp. 43, 63). Nevertheless, he uses rhetorical devices such as oratory – a feature common among Romans, to portray Portuguese struggles on such distant shores. A significant example is the interaction between a mother (a Portuguese lady called Barbara) and her son Christophorus, who is fatally wounded after battle, in book eleven (Maffei 1589, pp. 216-217). This example is particularly important since it portrays two aspects: insertion of Roman oratory, and indication of gender in the early modern period (approximately between 1400-1800, Subrahmanyam 1997, p. 739).

Notions of Classical Historiographical Motives in the *History*

Dialogues formed an important part of renaissance humanism. They reflected the significance of rhetoric and oratorical practices as used by Romans (Marsh 1980, pp. 8-10). Insertion of dialogues allowed humanists to indicate their Roman values such as *fides* (loyalty), *moderatio* (self-control), *dignitas* (dignity), *integritas* (trustworthiness), and *iustitia* (justice), in addition to *gravitas* (seriousness), *industria* (hard work), *comitas* (friendliness) and *honestas* (honestas) as markers of Roman identity (Arno 2012, p. 18). Use of their oratorical skills by writing dialogues allowed them to continue to civilise themselves in order to find a closer link to their Roman ancestry (Arno 2012, pp. 18-20). Often these dialogues would describe spatial layouts where participants would encourage each other to speak their opinions on various topics which included details of civic responsibility, administration, etc (Marsh 1980, p. 8). Administrative letters by the Jesuits residing in India frequently mention the importance of dialogues as part of the curriculum introduced in their missionary schools (Wicki 1958, pp.

398-423). Hence, what Maffei offers is not an exceptional example, but the context in which he introduces this particular dialogue is intriguing and illuminating.

Maffei introduces Barbara as part of his description of the Siege of Diu (1537). Barbara's sons, Aloisus and Christophorus, fought for the Portuguese and lost their lives. Maffei combines emotion with a moral message in depicting a deathbed scene in which the dying Christophorus speaks with his mother (Maffei 1589, pp. 216-217).

Peto, ait, abs te quaesoque mater; uti mihi prius ad expianda criminal sacerdotem, quam ad prosequendum obitum, lacrymas ac suspiria praebeas... ego vero quod doleam, inquit, fili habeo nihil, nisi noxae aut piaculi quippiam tibi superesse, quod eluas. .. Tu modo clementis Dei pacem ac veniam fidenter implora: teque in hoc transit virum praebe... (Maffei 1589, p. 217).

The dialogue is brief and indicates Barbara's loss, but also the pious resolve of both mother and son. As has been explained, dialogues or interactive sections in these works were borrowed from oratory (Marsh 1980, p. 8). Barbara's lamentation showcases *gravitas*, *honestas*, and *fides* to the Christian faith. This is reinforced with Francese's description of Barbara as 'a grieving Portuguese mother of truly Roman fortitude' (Francese 2019, p. 194). Maffei uses this dialogue to outline Roman virtues through Barbara's lamentation over the loss of her sons. The Portuguese fought the Turks who supported Coje Sofar, in their quest to conquer the region of Diu in India (Mathew 1982, pp. 232-242). Diu was an important port city, situated along the north-western part of India. Access to Diu assured control over trade routes over the Arabian sea for the Portuguese. The context of the battle allows Maffei to insert this dialogue which demonstrates the participation of various Portuguese men to elevate the status of the crown and its dominion over its colonies. Furthermore, tracing individuals who participated in the battle, in addition to the role played by Barbara, helps in identifying with Philip's policy of enabling the Portuguese and their positions through earlier appointments made under the reign of King Sebastian and King Henry. This interaction helps in examining the situation in which Barbara found herself after the death of what seems like her entire family. Indeed, this battle took place in 1537, but it is worth questioning how Philip might have responded to similar issues fifty years later. Historians such as Arroyo have proven how Philip assured and provided allowance to families of the Portuguese who lost their lives at Alcazar-Kebir, following Sebastian's death (2016, pp. 1-21). In addition to this, Philip also ensured the positions of those who were employed by earlier sovereigns (Arroyo 2016, pp. 1-21).

This example also illustrates an important aspect of the roles played by Portuguese women in such voyages. Administrative letters of the Jesuits, and scholarship by Charles Boxer reveals the ratio of Portuguese women who were sent to India to be married to Portuguese men (Boxer 1975). Reference to royals – the queen, or the regent were common practice. Not frequently, but the Jesuits did correspond with queen Catherine (Wicki 1958, pp. 119-123). However, in this instance, inclusion of Barbara's example is not clear. Here, Maffei does not yield to extensive details of Barbara. Readers are made aware of her origins and the loss of her sons in the battle. Apart from this, there is not much to reconstruct her identity or position in the Portuguese society. Maffei does not give an account of her husband, his name, or his position in the Portuguese army – except this detail, 'huic, amisso conuige, duo superrant filii (Maffei 1589, p. 216). Although the example is incomplete and does not inform us of such details, it enables us to envision the contribution of women in the narrative of Portuguese national historiography.

Using such rhetorical devices, Maffei outlines various ideals of the Roman civilisation such as coordination, cooperation, hierarchy and civility. Civility in this sense encompasses knowledge in Latin, but more importantly includes the practice of Christianity. Here, Barbara

portrays all of these ideals, thus showcasing how Portugal continued to perceive itself as ‘New Rome.’ Recent scholarship by Barreto Xavier and Županov have showcased how Portugal used humanism as a tool to represent its voyagers who successfully circumnavigated the Cape of Good Hope to continue the Roman heritage (Barreto Xavier, Županov 2015, p. 7). They outline how figures like Afonso de Albuquerque and João Castro’s achievements were comparable to those by Alexander the Great and Augustus (Barreto Xavier, Županov 2015, p. 7). Whereas he uses Barbara as an emblematic figure to depict Portugal’s association to Rome, he also informs readers of reforms brought about to ‘expiate idol worshippers, through marital contracts with Portuguese men’ (Maffei 1589, p. 88). Through this reform, he alludes to Albuquerque’s policy of miscegenation (1510-11) where native women married Portuguese men once they converted to Christianity (Boxer 1963, p. 64). Civility among locals could be achieved through their conversion to the faith, a mission carried out by missionaries in the New World, Asia and Africa. Hence, Maffei’s use of Latin aids in enumerating details of colonial efforts, its consequences and outcomes as seen in these regions.

As has been explained, there were earlier examples of the Portuguese voyages described in the Portuguese language. While Barros offers an imperial account of their journeys, Camões provides an epic poetry that follows classical models to express patriotism. Whether Portuguese or Latin, these accounts exhibit civility but in different ways. Contextual details determine what this civility meant in each text. Barros’s chronicle was published in the 1550s which gives a complete account of the entire voyage developed through four decades. Portugal encountered political difficulties to attain and enforce these voyages during this period, in addition to strategise their monopoly in these colonies. Contrary to this, Maffei’s text is completed and published during a period of political transition, which continued until 1640, when Portugal overturned this union and regained control over its throne (Alden 1996). Unlike Barros’s Portuguese text, Maffei’s text published in Latin could be accessed not only within the Portuguese speaking communities, but a much wider horizon. This now included areas in Europe, but even outside of Europe, where Latin education was made available through missionary schools (Eskhult 2018, pp. 191-230). Hence, this text enabled wider circulation of the conquests achieved by the Portuguese voyagers, thus enabling its acknowledgement to a cosmopolitan crowd through the use of Latin (Anderson 2016, p. 18). Its publication after the Iberian union, especially based on its contents recognise its significance as an independent royal state. Maffei’s execution in Latin only showcases Philip’s favour to maintain Portugal’s royal status, even though it was part of Castille.

Maffei is selective about the contents that help in narrating these voyages, especially concerning the role played by Spaniards in the east. This does not mean his history is incomplete or lacks details. His method of carefully incorporating the Spanish conquest helps in formulating the required framework in locating Portuguese conquests instead. For instance, in book one, he clearly outlines the encounter between the ‘Portuguese King’ and Christopher Columbus, who then approached King Ferdinand of Castille (Maffei 1589, p. 14).⁵ Note, this example here denotes how Maffei explains decisions made by Portuguese kings which had long-lasting effects on their kingdom. This is not the only instance where he suggests risky or harsh decisions taken by the Portuguese crown. In book eight, once again, he describes the enmity between Magellan and the King of Portugal (Maffei 1589, p. 142). He begins this section by saying, ‘ibi, cum astronomis aliquot communicato consilio, et implacabili odio in Emmanuelem accensus, Caesarem et consiliarios docet,’ here again, like in the example of

⁵ Cuius laudis aemulatione incensus Chrsitophorus Columbus Ligur, ingentis animis vir, et rei nauticae in primis peritus; ex astronomica disciplina, et nonnullis veterum monumentis, eodem fere tempore statuit, trans noti orbis terminus magna terrarum spatia etiam in occidentem patere: dein, experiundi et cognoscendi studio, quod sine magno apparatu ea res tentari non posset; Lusitano ante omnes Regi eam expeditionem suasit; suamque in id operam et industriam enixe detulit. Maffei 1589, p. 14.

Columbus, Maffei indicates a significant decision of the Portuguese King that inadvertently aided the Spaniards. Whether he does it on purpose can only be conjectured, as these details do aid in providing essential information, required for contextual purposes, to outline the Portuguese engagements in the east. With reference to his mention of Columbus, it provides the framework to narrate the initiation of the age of voyages and exploration which also alludes to the treaty of Tordesillas approved by Pope Alexander VI (Neill 1984, pp. 400-402). There are a few more examples where he briefly mentions the Spaniards or their conquests. For instance, he elaborates on their success by venturing to the Canary Islands, however, the unlimited details of the Portuguese outshine that of the Spaniards in this context (Maffei 1589, p. 142). These examples, although brief, explain how he credits the Spaniards on their conquests.

As he signposts about the barbarity of the Portuguese, or their failure, he does not shy away from suggesting conflicts between the Portuguese and the Spaniards. This is evident in book eight where he gives an account of the struggles between the two states, especially in the context of trade (Maffei 1589, p. 142). Pedro Cardim, in “Política e identidades corporativas no Portugal de D. Filipe I,” outlines the details of trading policies continued and developed after the Iberian union (2001, p. 291). Like Portugal was allowed to trade in the New World, the Spaniards also found new opportunities along the eastern front (Cardim 2001, p. 291). On the other hand, what we get from Maffei’s text seems like a precursor to these decisions. In this example, he narrates how there was rivalry between Portuguese and Spanish tradesmen, whether this example aided in reducing barriers by opening trade routes after the Iberian union can only be conjectured. Nevertheless, these examples showcase factual episodes which may have influenced decisions taken at the Cortes of Tomar, thus ensuring Portugal’s independent status. Furthermore, this could also be a response to his sources, namely, the administrative letters written by members situated in various regions (Wicki 1948-1988). Hence, Maffei’s narration accurately captures the essence of his sources. Although Maffei vividly engages with details of the Spaniards, it forms an important part of his historical narrative to support descriptions of the Portuguese. Neither of these details directly suggest the Iberian union or its consequences, but it portrays the ally Castille has now gained due to this union. It further exhibits the strength and strategies of Portugal and how it is and was capable to manage its vast territories independently. Since this work was published after the Cortes of Tomar, it can also be suggested that Maffei is reflecting on Philip’s oath of Portugal’s royal status – thus showing the newly acceded king of what Portugal had already achieved without any external aide.

His selective approach of including details of Spaniards in order to contextualise the Portuguese travels illustrates how it permits us to examine this text as an example of national history. Its concise and succinct form further enables him to cover a longer period, unlike his contemporaries. Moreover, the nature of details included allows us to perceive how he portrays the alliance between Portugal and Castille. Even though he gives no indication to his readers of the Iberian union. However, enumerating Portugal through its colonial attempts only showcases its similarity of power, strength and dominance like Castille over distant regions.

Conclusion

Hence, by not over-emphasising details of the Iberian union or intentionally inserting details of this political event, Maffei allows Philip to recognise Portugal’s capability and demeanour to rule over its colonies. He neither mentions the union nor the climate under which he executed this work. In addition to this, he refrains from suggesting the prohibitions exercised on the members of the Society of Jesus by the Superior General. It is only by exploring the administrative letters written by Claudio Acquaviva that we are informed of Maffei’s decisions (Alden 1996). Furthermore, Maffei’s contact with Ricci and Valignano enabled him to gain access to authentic details from these members who spent extended periods of stay in India and

various other regions of the east. In fact, Valignano ensured that Maffei incorporates accurate details as part of his history and commanded that his work be sent to India for its approval prior to its publication (Wicki 1975, pp. 814-822). Although the work was never sent to India, the administrative letters illustrate the number of sources considered by Maffei, which includes *Life of Saint Francis Xavier* by Manuel Teixeira (1580) and Valignano's *History* since they were written during their stay in the east (Wicki 1944).

As has been demonstrated, the history engages with details of the Portuguese crown, their contribution to the voyages and support provided to the missionary in their journey of evangelisation. Additionally, it also yields to strategies employed by the Portuguese in their early phase of colonisation. Even though this is not seen through a variety of examples in book one, the prologue makes it clear by outlining 'Christiana res ...propagatae in vltima loca rectae in Deum fidei,' which is further seen in details narrated in the later sections of the work (Maffei 1589). Details of colonisation range from description of thalassocracy, to more elaborate sections of the role played by Portuguese women in determining and recognising Portuguese hierarchy in India. It is through such explicit details that Maffei engages with Portugal's status of *aeque principaliter*. Elucidating their colonial attempts enables readers of the sixteenth century to consider Maffei's approach to suggest Portugal's independent royal status. Additionally, it also allows readers to view how he outlines Portugal through the Roman lens. These comparisons are not direct, but engage with Roman principles of conquests, hierarchy, and loyalty as can be seen from the few examples included as part of this analysis. Indeed, he does not call Portugal as 'New Rome,' but Barbara's example distinctly outlines their bravery. Contrary to this, he also points out the beastly acts demonstrated by the same group of people in order to achieve what seemed like their goals. As a result, he seems to showcase what Castille has gained in the form of an ally through this union. On the one hand, it gets to be associated with Portugal's achievements through thalassocracy – a feat successfully achieved by the Romans earlier, contrarily, he enables readers to question who was more barbaric – the 'self' or 'the other.' Unlike previous histories of Portuguese voyages, Maffei's contribution is not an attempt of patriotism, but is certainly an example of national history – inclusive of political, administrative and religious reforms undertaken by Portugal as an independent royal state.

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