

ORIENTIS AURA

MACAU PERSPECTIVES IN RELIGIOUS STUDIES

No. 4 | 2019



聖若瑟大學
UNIVERSITY OF
SAINT JOSEPH

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Orientis Aura | Macau Perspectives in Religious Studies

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Publication Date: December 2019

Publisher: University of Saint Joseph, Macau SAR (China)

ISSN 2519-5417

USJ Journals Website: <http://journals.usj.edu.mo>

Email: library@usj.edu.mo

Sponsoring Institutions: Fundação Macao

A PRELIMINARY SURVEY ON FRANCISCAN DOCUMENTS IN THE HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF GOA/DIRECTORATE OF ARCHIVES AND ARCHAEOLOGY^{1*}

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ABSTRACT

In the nineteenth century, the suppression of the Religious Orders in the wake of the definite implementation of a Liberal Government in Portugal led the authorities in Goa to seize the rich and extensive archives of the colleges and convents throughout the *Estado da Índia*. However, unlike the archives of the Dominicans, Augustinians or Oratorians, which are kept at the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology in Panaji, Goa, the records from both Franciscan Provinces (Mother of God and Saint Thomas) are nowhere to be found. This article aims to highlight the potential of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology's holdings in order to further the knowledge of Franciscan presence in Asia by exploring documentary series not directly produced by Franciscans.

Keywords: Archives; Directorate of Archives and Archaeology; Goa; Province of Mother of God; Province of Saint Thomas

¹ This article was written as part of the Project "Franciscanos na Ásia: espaços, agentes e documentos (1500-1834)," funded by the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian and supported by the Fundação Oriente. I would like to acknowledge the funding and support of both foundations as well as Dr. Inês Figueira, Director of Fundação Oriente in India for the accommodation provided during the research mission that I conducted with Miguel Lourenço to the Panaji archives in 2018.

Missionary enterprises exponentially increased in the sixteenth century, drawing thousands of men from different regions of Europe and different religious orders to places they only conceived in their imagination. Sometimes benefitting only from accounts being divulged in printed or manuscript form or from hearsay of their fellow friars and priest that had missionary experience overseas, these men found themselves completely unprepared to what they might find. The different cultural and religious backgrounds of the populations, the meteorological and material conditions of missions, all of these impacted the adaptation of these men to their surroundings and affected the way they dealt with what they perceived was their mission.² However, our knowledge of what exactly was perceived by missionaries as their mission is unevenly distributed. There is a disproportion of knowledge and documentary information regarding the Jesuits *vis-a-vis* other religious orders which led us to convey a specific attention to documents.

During the twentieth century the study of the Catholic missions in Asia in the Early Modern Period grew exponentially. First of all, due to the work of scholars affiliated with the religious orders engaged in the missionary undertakings. With the support of their congregations, these scholars promoted an editorial dynamic that favored critical editions of documents concerning missions from a territorial perspective. The *Institutum Historicum* of the Society of Jesus, which had already produced two volumes of documents concerning Francis Xavier and his apostolic activities, initiated the edition of *Documenta Indica* in 1948, of *Documenta Malucensia* in 1974 and of *Monumenta Historica Japoniæ* in 1975 (*Documenta Sinica* had to wait until 2002).

In what concerns the Franciscan Order, the missions of China under the Spanish *Patronato* merited a very early attention by Otto Maas and Anastasius van den Wyngaert (joined later by George Mensaert). These authors published seven volumes (vols. 6 and 7 had two tomes each) between 1917 and 1965.³ However, no editorial enterprises of the same scale were undertaken for the missions of the Portuguese *Padroado*. The absence of a highly-hierarchized structure of government among several Franciscan Families as was the case with the Society of Jesus has often been credited to explain the sheer disparity of documentary series available for each order's missionary enterprises. Additionally, the as of yet unexplained reason for the disappearance of Franciscan documents from the two provinces that existed in the *Estado da Índia* at the time of the suppression of the religious orders following the May 28, 1834 decree by Joaquim António de Aguiar also contributed to making research on the Franciscan Provinces established in Asia an arduous task. Nevertheless, Franciscan scholars such as Fr. Achilles Meersman, Fernando Félix Lopes, and later António Montes Moreira were

² On the formation of missionaries, and autobiographies of Jesuits, see Adriano Prosperi, *La vocazione. Storie di gesuiti tra Cinquecento e Seicento* (Torino: Einaudi, 2016).

³ Otto Maas, *Cartas de China. Documentos Inéditos sobre las Misiones de China* (Seville: Antigua Casa de Izquierdo y Compañía, 1917); Anastasius van den Wyngaert and George Mensaert, ed., *Sinica Franciscana. Relationes et Epistolas Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XVI et XVII*, 7 vols. (Florence: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1929–65). Four more volumes (in eight tomes) would later be published between 1975 and 2006.

responsible for pushing research on Franciscan missions in Asia further, in a period when lay historians showed little to no interest in non-Jesuit missions. This they did through monographic works and articles,⁴ but also, following a similar pattern to their Jesuit and fellow Franciscan scholars, by publishing available sources scattered in different archival holdings, such as correspondence, chapter lists and chronicles.⁵

Recently, it is possible to identify a renovation of the historiography about the Franciscans in Asia. In Portugal, in 2006, an important article by the historian Ângela Barreto Xavier, was published in *Lusitania Sacra*, with the title “Itinerários franciscanos na Índia Seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e de método.”⁶ The author raised some chief questions about the deficiencies of the studies referring to the Franciscans and the problematic lack of knowledge about the real impact of the missionary effort of the order in the *Estado da Índia*. Clearly at the time, the majority of the studies were still centered in the Jesuit Asiatic Missions. The consequence was that the historiographical production failed to present the plural and complex reality of the Asian Missions. Some years later, the Brazilian historian Patricia Souza de Faria deepened the study of the Franciscan activities in Goa, especially focusing on their role in the process of conversion of the local populations to Catholicism.⁷ Recently a research project based in Madrid, in the Complutense University, coordinated by Federico Palomo, focused on the written production of the Franciscans in Asia (some of them, like the important writers Frei Paulo da Trindade and Frei Jacinto de Deus, were actually born in Macau), stimulating a renovation on the analysis of this literary genre.⁸

In this context, this article aims at contributing to the knowledge of documents concerning Franciscans active in Asia between the sixteenth and nineteenth

⁴ Achilles Meersman, *The Friars Minor of Franciscans in India, 1291-1942* (Karachi: Rotti Press, 1943); *The Franciscans in Bombay: History of the Franciscans in the Territory Comprised within the Boundaries of the Present Archdiocese of Bombay* (Bangalore: Everybody's Anthony, 1957); *The Ancient Franciscan provinces in India, 1500-1835* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society Press, 1971); *The Franciscans in the Indonesian Archipelago, 1300-1775* (Louvain: Nauwelaerts, 1967).

⁵ Achilles Meersman, *Chapters on the introduction of Christianity to Ceylon: taken from the Conquista Spiritual do Oriente of Friar Paulo da Trindade, O.F.M.* (Chilaw: Edmund Peiris, 1972); Achilles Meersman, *The Chapter-Lists of the Madre de Deus Province in India: 1569-1790* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960); Fernando Félix Lopes, “Os Franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1584 a 1590”, *Studia* 9 (1962): 29–142; Achilles Meersman, *The Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1972); Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, ed. Félix Lopes (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962–1967); Fernando Félix Lopes, *Colectânea de Estudos de História e Literatura*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1997).

⁶ Ângela Barreto Xavier, “Itinerários franciscanos na Índia Seiscentista, e algumas questões de história e de método,” *Lusitania Sacra* 18 (2006): 87–116.

⁷ Patrícia Souza de Faria, *A Conquista das Almas do Oriente. Franciscanos, catolicismo e poder colonial português em Goa (1540–1740)* (Rio de Janeiro: 7Letras, 2013).

⁸ Ângela Barreto Xavier, “Frei Miguel da Purificação entre Madrid y Roma: Relato del viaje a Europa de un franciscano português nacido en la India,” *Cuadernos de História Moderna. Anejo* 13 (2014): 87–110; Zoltán Biedermann, “El espacio sujeto al tiempo en la cronística franciscana: una relectura de la Conquista Espiritual do Oriente de Fr. Paulo da Trindade,” *Cuadernos de História Moderna. Anejo* 13 (2014): 221–42.

century by exploring the rich holdings of the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology (DDA) in Panaji (Goa, India). In the following pages, we will present a variety of documents produced by or pertaining to Franciscans operating in Asia during the aforementioned period and outline the social, economic or judicial contexts that led to the preservation of these documents. By doing so, we aim to provide new avenues of research for the study of Franciscan presence and activities in Asia.

THE PROVINCES OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD AND OF SAINT THOMAS IN THE *ESTADO DA ÍNDIA*

After a long period of administrative reforms, but also of spiritual re-elaborations, the Franciscan order in Portugal in the sixteenth century had a well-defined structure. One of the main aspects of this organisation was its division into Provinces or groups of convents, headed by a Provincial. For various reasons, such as the distance between houses, sometimes some convents of a Province could be organised into a Custody which, although dependent on the Province, had a certain degree of autonomy. The Observants (Friars Minor of the Observance), after their recognition as a branch of the Franciscan Order, erected three Provinces in Portugal and two autonomous custodies: the Province of Portugal (1517), the Province of Algarve (1532), the Province of St. John the Evangelist (1639) in the Azores, the Custody of Saint James the Less (1683), in the Madeira Island, the Custody of Conception (1717), also in the Azores. Simultaneously there were also the stricter Friars Minor, called “Capuchos” in Portuguese, with 5 Provinces: Piety (1517 and 1518), Arrábida (1560), Saint Antony (1568), Soledade (1673) and Conception (1705)⁹.

It was this organisational model that was to be the basis of the Franciscan presence in Asia. In India, the Franciscans started as a dependency of the Province of Portugal of the Observants. The Franciscans seem to have been the first religious order to be dedicated, in an organised way, to religious conversion in Goa.¹⁰ For this purpose, they had a college in Goa dedicated to gathering local men and women to be converted to Christianity.¹¹ The convent of St Francis in Goa was built in 1524. In these early years we can find an effort to organise the religious hierarchy of the order, especially with the creation of the commissariat in 1517–1518.¹² As early as 1542, the Franciscans obtained the creation of the Custody of St. Thomas of the Eastern India, still under the authority of the Province of Portugal. In fact, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the territories of Bardez

⁹ António Montes Moreira, “Franciscanos”, in *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*, ed. Carlos Moreira de Azevedo, vol. 2 (Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, CEHR-UCP, 2000), 273–80.

¹⁰ The aspects of Franciscan activity in Goa, in the first years, are studied by Achilles Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India, 1500–1835* (Bangalore: Christian Literature Society, 1971).

¹¹ Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry. Goa under Portugal. 1510–1610* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 347.

¹² Félix Lopes, “Os Franciscanos no Oriente Português de 1580 a 1594”, *Studia* 9 (1962): 29–142.

were given to the Franciscan friars—sent by the provinces of Portugal and Piety—so that they could be involved in the Christianisation and conversion of the local population.¹³ This area corresponded to about 50 villages (*aldeias*). The land of Bardez was very fertile and the Portuguese had in their possession a significant part of the palm groves.¹⁴ Thus, during the government of D. Afonso de Noronha (1550–1554) the Franciscans obtained these territories of Bardez where, in 1555, they built the College Seminary of *Reis Magos*, where they also had a school for the catechumens and another for orphans.¹⁵ The Seminary of *Reis Magos* would be enlarged in 1595, and in 1602 the Franciscans built another college in the city of Goa: the college of St Bonaventure.¹⁶ The complexity of the Asian setting prompted the Franciscans in India to try to achieve greater autonomy from Portugal. On the other hand, at the same time, the friars of the Strict Observance tried to create another Custody, apart from the Custody of St. Thomas of the Eastern India, but their efforts were not successful until the seventeenth century.¹⁷

It is precisely at the beginning of the seventeenth century that attempts were made to create an autonomous Province, the Province of St. Thomas. In the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order in 1612, celebrated in Rome, profound changes were decided for the organisation of the order in Asia. It had approved the elevation of the Custody of St. Thomas to a Province and the creation of a Custody for the “Capuchos,” the Custody of the Holy Mother of God. However, these determinations were not immediately complied with. It was not until 1618, at the General Chapter in Salamanca, that the provisions of 1612 had to be enforced.¹⁸ It was also decided to create the role of Commissioner-General, appointed from one of the five Provinces of Portugal and who would superintend all the friars from both the Province of Saint Thomas and the Custody of the Holy Mother of God. Still within this logic of reorganisation, the Custody of the Holy Mother of God was elevated to a Province, with the same name, in 1622.¹⁹

The tribulations undergone in the process of creating the two provinces, the difficult relations with the Province of Portugal in the first place, and the changes and regulations imposed by Rome, made the process very problematic and complex. In fact, in the following years there continued to be instability in the maintenance of the decisions that had been taken and, on some occasions, there were attempts to revoke the creation of the Province of St. Thomas. This tension would only be resolved at the General Chapter of 1639 in Rome, with the confirmation of the creation of the two Provinces.²⁰

¹³ Ângela Barreto Xavier, “Itinerários Franciscanos na Índia Seiscentista,” 98.

¹⁴ Mendonça, *Conversions and Citizenry*, 72–73.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 347.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹⁷ Faria, *A Conquista das Almas do Oriente*, 123–24.

¹⁸ See the analysis made by Fr. Paulo da Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1962), 123.

¹⁹ Faria, *A Conquista das Almas do Oriente*, 128.

²⁰ Félix Lopes, *Colectânea de estudos de história e literatura*, vol. 1, 99.

Aside from this troubled diplomatic game, the Order continued to act on the ground in various parts of the *Estado da Índia*, having an important presence in the parish administration of the so-called Old Conquests (*Velhas Conquistas*). Achilles Meersman's analysis shows the enormous difficulty in accounting for Franciscan convents and houses in Bardez. For the 1570s, i.e., still in an early period, the researcher found the following institutions mentioned in the documents he has consulted: the colleges of *Reis Magos* and Verém and the parish churches of Candolim, Sirula and Nagoa.²¹ These institutions gradually grew over the following decades. In 1585, three more were added: Aldoná, Siolim, and Nerul. At the end of the sixteenth century, they got: Mapuçá, Colvale, Calangute, and Pomburpá. According to fr. Paulo da Trindade, to those already mentioned, one must add: Virlassa, Ucassaim, Moirá, Aguada, Guirim, Anjuná, and Tivim.²² For the years 1713 and 1724, the documentation adds to the previous ones: Parrá, Revorá, Pilerne, Oxel, Perpétuo Socorro, Nachinolá, Monte Guirim, Valverde.²³ For this later period, Félix Lopes made a reconstruction of the parishes administered by the Franciscans, accounting for about 25 rectories and vicariates, under the jurisdiction of the Province of St. Thomas, during the first half of the eighteenth century.²⁴

To this central axis of Franciscan presence in Goa and the Old Conquests, one must add a constant but fluctuating presence in various territories of the *Estado da Índia*, from the coast of Mozambique to Macao. For St. Thomas Province, Félix Lopes refers to some of the convents he found mentioned in the lists he consulted: St. Anthony of Baçaim (all lists); St. Barbara of Chaul (all lists); St. Anthony of Cananor (1583, 1587, 1595, 1612); Colombo (1583, 1595, 1612); Ceylon (1612); Nagapatan (1583, 1587, 1595, 1612); Jafanapatan (1595, 1612); Negumbo (1612); Barcelor (1612); City of St. Thomas (1583, 1595, 1612).²⁵

Both provinces promoted missions throughout the *Estado da Índia*. There was a notable concentration of structures in India, but also in the African Coast and the island of Mozambique, Sri Lanka (*Ceilão* in the Portuguese documents), Malacca in the Malayan Peninsula and finally Macau. We can clearly see that the Franciscans were spread through the *Estado da Índia*, sometimes even in places where the political or commercial presence of the Portuguese remained feeble at best.

However, after the decree to suppress the religious orders was enforced in the *Estado da Índia* and the houses, colleges, convents and rectorates of the congregations were inventoried, a wide variety of books, furniture, art and paraphernalia came into the possession of the Portuguese authorities of the *Estado*. Nevertheless, as already noticed by Meersman, not all documents underwent the same accommodating and transfer process. While, for the rest of the religious orders, many books ended up in the custody of what became known

²¹ Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, 95–128.

²² Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual*, vol. 1, 95–97.

²³ Meersman, *The Ancient Franciscan Provinces in India*, 95–128.

²⁴ Félix Lopes, *Colectânea*, 101–102.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

as *Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia*, currently the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology, that was not the case with Franciscan books.²⁶ There is a striking absence of documents pertaining to Franciscan houses prior to the 1750s, something that did not happen to other congregations such as the Order of Preachers, the Order of Hermits of Saint Augustine, the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Neri or the Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel. While many of the books proceeding from the houses of these orders are still kept in the archive and have since been assigned the holding name “*Conventos Extintos*”, while preserving the original numbering in the archive, Franciscan books prior to the 1750s were not.²⁷ In the following pages we will provide an account of our findings in the archives’ different holdings and how this documentation may provide useful directions in order to uncover traces of the Franciscans in Asia in the documentary footsteps of other imperial agents in the *Estado da Índia*.

FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE FRANCISCAN HOUSES

The exception to what we commented before are the account books from the Franciscan houses of both Provinces. In the twentieth century, these books were organized by their house of provenance, while—in accordance with the same logic as the rest of the holdings—keeping the original numbering of the archive.²⁸ The archives holds a total of 38 books from six different houses (Convent of Saint Bonaventure, Convent of Cabo, Convent of the Holy Spirit, Convent of Saint Francis, Convent of the Mother of God, Convent of the Pillar, all in the island of Tiswadi). These account books mostly comprise the period between the 1750s and 1836, although one book goes back to 1728.²⁹

Most of these documents seem to be the account books used by the Guardian (*guardião*) of each convent along with the *síndico*—a lay person that functioned as a proxy, since Franciscan statutes prevented them from possessing assets—to register expenses and revenues, which would then be reviewed yearly by the Provincial and his *Definitório*. Not only do these documents provide a rare window

²⁶ On the organization of the archive, see Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1955), v–xxi.

²⁷ While some of the books of this holding contain documents pertaining to the Society of Jesus, they were found in books that also contained documents from other orders, such as the Dominicans. Their provenance is, as of yet, unclear. Comprising a total of 175 volumes, the *Conventos Extintos* collection has no indication as to provenance whatsoever in both existing catalogues of the archive. As is perceptible from its title, this collection is made of documents from several convents extinguished during the Liberal reforms of the first half of the nineteenth century: sometimes papers proceeding from several convents of different orders were mingled in one book while in other occasions they seem to come from only one convent (or at least from convents belonging to the same religious order).

²⁸ It is unsure when the numbers of the books were attributed and whether it reflects in some way a form of antiquity in the archive.

²⁹ Directorate of Archives and Archaeology (DAA), Panaji, *Convento da Madre de Deus*, liv. 8009.

into the common expenses to Franciscan communities and their daily habits, such as the consumption of tobacco, bread or chickens,³⁰ but it also unequivocally reveals the shifts in positions of authority inside the communities and the provinces themselves, when correlated to the rest of the Franciscan houses whose account books are still extant.

It is likely that these books were kept close with similar volumes from the other houses of religious orders so that the authorities of the *Estado da Índia* would be up to date with the economic affairs pertaining to the estates of the now extinct congregations as the new holders of those estates. This process was not completed, though, without the production of inventories of the assets found in the different houses when Aguiar's decree was implemented. Amongst the books of these convents, four inventories were preserved: one from the convent of Saint Bonaventure,³¹ a second one from the convent of the Mother of God,³² a third one from the convent of the Pillar,³³ and a final one pertaining to the convent of Saint Francis, the college of Saint Bonaventure and the hospice of Valverde.³⁴ These inventories, aside from the obvious registry of gold and silver items, vestments and clothes, also inform us on the books then kept at the convents, as well as the number of slaves the convent had.³⁵ For instance, it is clear that the friars from the convent of Saint Bonaventure shared an interest in profane literature, as they possessed an edition of *Os Lusíadas* commented by Manuel de Faria e Sousa,³⁶ as well as one *Vida de D. Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes in 2 volumes in 4^o.³⁷ Alongside those books, however, one may find a work of anti-Jewish polemics, such as the *Triunfo da Religião Católica* by Fernão Ximenes,³⁸ himself a New Christian that was an archdeacon from the archdiocese of Braga.³⁹ Spiritual literature is also to be found in the inventories, such as books to instruct on how to die,⁴⁰ one *Coroa Seráfica*,⁴¹ then being kept in the infirmary of the convent of Saint Francis, along with two *Pharmacopeas atalayas*,⁴² which is a clear indicator on how

³⁰ DAA, *Convento do Cabo*, liv. 9471, fols. 23v, 33v, 37v, 42.

³¹ DAA, *Convento de S. Boaventura*, liv. 2128.

³² DAA, *Convento da Madre de Deus*, liv. 2133.

³³ DAA, *Convento da Madre de Deus*, liv. 2132.

³⁴ DAA, *Inventário*, liv. 823.

³⁵ DAA, *Convento da Madre de Deus*, liv. 2133, fol. 71.

³⁶ It is likely the 1639 edition, printed in Madrid. DAA, *Convento de S. Boaventura*, liv. 2128, fol. 40.

³⁷ It could be the 1741 edition printed in Madrid, *Vida y hechos del ingenioso caballero don Quixote de la Mancha*, which corresponds to the characteristics indicated in the inventory. DAA, *Convento de S. Boaventura*, liv. 2128, fol. 47v.

³⁸ *Triunfo da Religião Catholica contra a pertinacia do Judaismo, ou Compendio da verdadeira fé* (Lisbon: Na Of. dos Herd. de Antonio Pedrozo Galram). DAA, *Convento de S. Boaventura*, liv. 2128, fol. 41.

³⁹ The title corresponds to the eighteenth century edition of *Extinção do Judaismo, e mais Seitas Supersticiosas: e Exaltação da só Verdadeira Religião Christã* (Lisbon: por Pedro Craesbeeck, 1628). See Bruno Feitler, "O Catolicismo como ideal. Produção literária anti-judaica no mundo português da Idade Moderna," *Novos Estudos* 72 (July 2005): 143.

⁴⁰ DAA, *Inventário*, liv. 823, fol. 91.

⁴¹ DAA, *Inventário*, liv. 823, fol. 91. There are some books with that title, it is not clear to which the inventory refers.

⁴² DAA, *Inventário*, liv. 823, fol. 91.

health and death were approached and framed in the Franciscan communities. A remarkable feature of this inventory is a copy of the general inventory of the library of the college of Saint Bonaventure.⁴³

MONÇÕES DO REINO

Monções do Reino is by far the largest documentary series of the DAA, comprised by a total of 456 volumes recorded inventoried in 1955.⁴⁴ Comprised by copies of the correspondence sent by the viceroys to Lisbon and by the authentic letters received from the monarchs, the *Monções do Reino* was the collection most emphatically researched by Achilles Meersman due to the fact that it also included other versions of documents also sent to Lisbon, such as reports on the overall missions conducted by the religious orders in the *Estado da Índia*, the Franciscans among them. During the times of the count of Alvor, Francisco de Távora (v-r, 1681–1686) the King requested that such lists should be forwarded to the *Junta das Missões* (Board of Missions), an organism created in 1681 by the Crown of Portugal to rationalize missionary endeavors in the *Estado da Índia* in the face of *Propaganda Fide* competition.⁴⁵ These reports caught the attentive eye of Meersman, who published some of them in his *Annual Reports of the Portuguese Franciscans*, along with the ones he located in what is today the sub-holding *India* of the *Conselho Ultramarino* in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, in Lisbon.⁴⁶

However, the *Monções do Reino* still holds substantial and untapped information pertaining to Franciscan presence in Asia. An example of the potential of this collection are the letters sent by the Provincial Simão da Nazaré to the viceroy and to the king complaining on the decision to have the archbishop approve the friars selected by the provincials to be sent to the missions, stating that that decision should be left to the superiors of the orders.⁴⁷ Furthermore, next to the correspondence interchanged between the Franciscan authorities, the king and the viceroys the latter also incorporated judicial documentation pertaining to conflicts, for example, between the provincials themselves and the friars under their obedience: such was the case in the conflict opposing the Provincial Fr. Matias de Santa Rita and the friars of the Province in 1767–68.⁴⁸ Royal and Franciscan correspondence seem to indicate that violence occurred, one Franciscan suggesting that the provincial actually stabbed one of his fellow friars. Now, when

⁴³ DAA, *Inventário*, liv. 823, fol. 119.

⁴⁴ Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa*, 133–44.

⁴⁵ On the creation of the *Junta das Missões* see: Marcia Eliane Alves de Souza e Mello, “As juntas das missões ultramarinas. Gênese e evolução”: *Amazônia em Cadernos*, 7-8 (2001-2002): 11–13; Miguel Rodrigues Lourenço, “Inquisition and Empire: The Holy Office of Goa between Padroado and Propaganda Fide (1666-1681)”, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas* 57 (2020): 118–20.

⁴⁶ Meersman, *Annual Reports*.

⁴⁷ DAA, *Monções do Reino*, liv. 13A, fols. 54–54v, 63–64v.

⁴⁸ DAA, *Monções do Reino*, liv. 13A, fols. 617–34.

looking to the *Conventos Extintos* we actually have the follow-up to this controversy. We come to learn from two formal letters of submission by Fr. Filipe de Santa Teresa of 1768 that he acknowledges his error in having rebelled against the provincial and asks for forgiveness. He was then on-route for Pegu, which obviously means that he lost the conflict and was being cast to a mission far from Goa.⁴⁹ This rare autobiographical account shows the complementarity of the collections in the DAA and leaves us wondering how much eco from *Monções do Reino* might we find in other collections.

The wealth of information provided by the reports kept in this collection goes well beyond the missions properly speaking. It extends to the sea itself. A 1681 request from the Provincial of the “Capuchos” praises the important services his confreres provided in the service of the *Estado* as chaplains in the Court of the viceroy in Goa, but also aboard the ships of the armadas that patrolled the Northern Provinces and engaged in naval battles. This specific report actually includes a list, with precious information of the vessel, the name of the friar, the captain of the vessel, the place and date,⁵⁰ and it is no wonder that later Franciscan chroniclers would proudly highlight in their chronicles was the service they provided as chaplains in the armadas of the *Estado*.⁵¹

Included amongst the volumes of this collection are also letters sent from the secretaries of the *Estado* to the Franciscan provincials, writing in their capacity as secretary of the *Junta das Missões*.⁵² The information comprised in these letters may help us overcome the documentary challenges concerning this most original and under researched organism.

MISSÕES

Sadly, all but one volume produced by the Board of Missions can still be located at the DAA.⁵³ This book contains acts of the meetings of the *Junta das Missões* with the presence of the Vice-Roy and other civil authorities, as well as the chief members of the religious orders, giving us a sense of the difficulties that they went through in order to ensure that their more distant missions would be provided with sufficient friars. While the records reveal the presence of Franciscan Provincials in the Board meetings since at least 1709,⁵⁴ the names of Franciscans to be appointed to missions were only actually addressed between c. 1727 and 1753 (See table I).

⁴⁹ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2348, s/f.

⁵⁰ DAA, *Monções do Reino*, liv. 50, fols. 74–78. See also, Meersman, *The Friars Minor*, 121–23.

⁵¹ António da Silva Rego, ed., *Documentação para a História das Missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia*, vol. 5 (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1951), 459.

⁵² DAA, *Monções do Reino*, liv. 53, fols. 173, 175.

⁵³ DAA, *Missões*, liv. 1605.

⁵⁴ DAA, *Missões*, liv. 1605, fols. 5–5v.

Table I
Names of Franciscan Friars discussed at the Junta das Missões
(c. 1727-1753)

Mission	Name	Year
Aceh	Clemente de Santa Rosa	Undated [bef. 1727]
Aceh	Manuel de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo	Undated [bef. 1727]
Coromandel	Manuel de S. Tomás	1734
Coromandel	Nicolau da Conceição	1751
Coromandel and Pegu	João da Porciúncula	1727
Coromandel and Pegu	Manuel de S. Tomás	1727
Coromandel and Pegu	Francisco de Santa Ana	1727
Kollam	Manuel das Neves	1710
Kollam	Domingos do Monte	1711
Kollam	Duarte de Santa Isabel	1715
Kollam	Luís de Santa Quitéria	1749
Kollam	Carlos da Conceição	1751
Nagapattinam	Faustino de S. Boaventura	1751
Pegu	José da Piedade	1710
Siam and Kedah	Luís de S. Boaventura	1753
Siam and Kedah	Joaquim de Santa Ana	1753
Siam and Kedah	Veríssimo da Conceição	1753

Source: DAA, *Missões*, liv. 1605

The collection designated as *Missões* also includes information on an important moment in the history of missions under the Portuguese *Padroado*, namely, the moment when the priests of the Society of Jesus had to be replaced from the missions they occupied following the decree of expulsion by Sebastião de Carvalho e Melo, Marquis of Pombal, in 1759. One book contains the oaths sworn by those missionaries that were chosen to replace the Jesuits in the Malabar missions: it shows that Fr. Carlos da Conceição was chosen as Superior of the Missions to exact the oaths of obedience from the priests working there that they would promise to “remain under the respective jurisdiction of the Diocesan Bishop to whom the mission he was charged of belonged and in any way should he submit nor consent any usurpation from the *Propaganda Fide* Bishops”.⁵⁵ The book of

⁵⁵ DAA, *Missões*, liv. 864, fol. 2: “estar sugeito a jurisdição respectiva ao Bispo Diocezano a que for pertencente a missão de que vai por superior e por nenhum cazo de se sugeitar nem consentir vzurpação alguma aos Bispos da Propaganda”.

oaths mentions the names of two Augustinians, two Oratorians and eight Franciscans from the Province of Saint Thomas: Fr. António dos Reis, Fr. Domingos de S. Miguel, Fr. António de Jesus, Fr. Manuel da Assunção, Fr. Joaquim de S. Diogo, Fr. Joaquim de Jesus Maria e Ana, Fr. Nicolau Tolentino de Santa Teresa, and Fr. António de Nossa Senhora do Rosário.⁵⁶

The correlation between this collection and *Monções do Reino* is also of service to the history of missions at this point. *Monções do Reino* provide answers to questions still in need of a response: for instance, how did the transfer of Jesuit missions to other orders come to happen and how did the latter react to this new state of affairs? A report by friar Matias de Santa Rita of 1768 on the mission of Kollam states: “in this Kingdom of *Coulão* there are 10 friars (...) that occupy 13 churches once administered by the fathers of the so-called Society of Jesus of Malabar Province; (...) and if the bishop of Kochi [under whose jurisdiction Kollam fell] lessened his resolve to maintain the Jesuits here, they would already be gone, because these Christians are now understanding the urbanity with which the Franciscans tend to them, [which is] completely the opposite to that of the Jesuits.”⁵⁷

The document is a sharp example of the difficulties in transitioning to a Jesuit-free environment, so to speak. In this letter, we may identify the ages-old resentment that the Society of Jesus generated amongst other religious orders, the low opinion that the Observants had of the Jesuits contrasting with the reluctance of the bishop to enforce the orders of the Crown to have the priests expelled from his jurisdictions.

CONVENTOS EXTINTOS

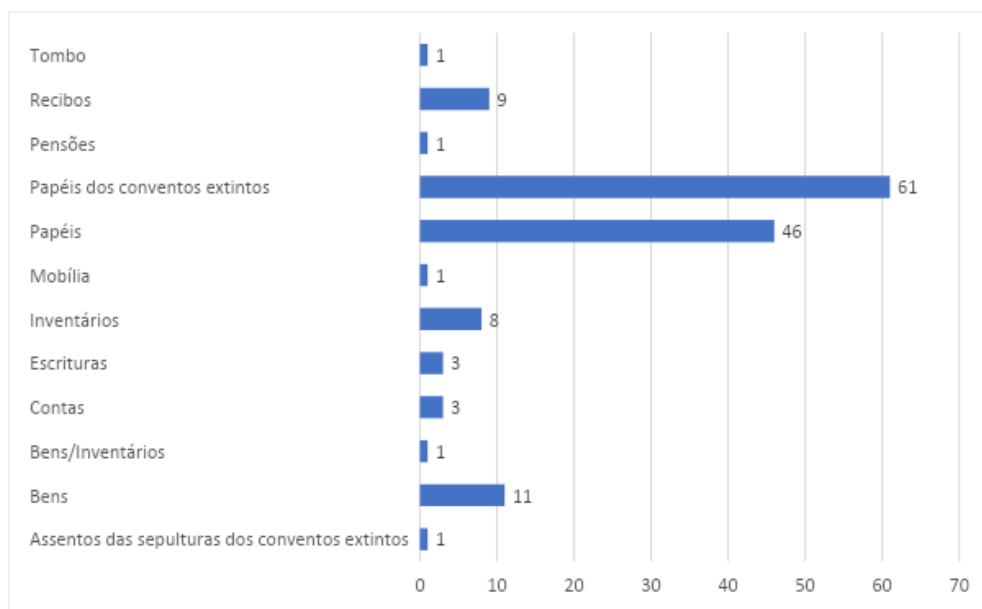
The collection *Conventos Extintos* presents the researcher with difficult challenges, seeing as it comprises a collection of close to 200 volumes with no way of determining which volumes pertain to each religious order. This characteristic of *Conventos Extintos* greatly conditions research since, as not all volumes are exclusive to a religious order. As mentioned earlier, this collection is comprised by documents of diverse provenance that were reunited mostly in a chronological order to which Pissurlencar tried to provide some sort of order by gathering them into fictitious sections such as “Properties”, “Receipts”, “Inventories”, “Furniture”, “Deeds”, “Papers” and “Papers of the Extinguished Convents”. Since the names of holdings were devised at a later date, it would seem that the *Conventos Extintos* collection pertains to the documents that once belonged to the religious orders extinguished in the nineteenth century.

⁵⁶ DAA, *Missões*, liv. 864, fols. 3–6v.

⁵⁷ DAA, *Monções do Reino*, liv. 142B, fol. 600.

Graphic I

Number of volumes per section in Panduronga Pissurlencar's Roteiro



This collection is an heterogeneous one and very disproportionate regarding the convents of origin of these documents. Having reviewed only 51 of the 175 volumes of the *Conventos Extintos*, no definite conclusions can be drawn at this point. The analysis conducted so far privileged all of the sixteenth century volumes and most of the seventeenth century ones, with some eighteenth and nineteenth centuries volumes reviewed as well. This overview suggests that the different religious orders are not represented in the same proportion in this collection. For reasons that need yet to be determined, most of the documents incorporated in this collection came from convents belonging to the Order of the Hermits of Saint Augustine and the Congregation of the Oratory of Saint Philip Nery, followed from a larger distance by the documents of Dominican and Franciscan origin. The Jesuits are only marginally represented in this collection due to their previous expulsion from Portuguese domains in the eighteenth century.

Whichever the orders represented in this collection, however, the matter of provenance is another issue entirely. While we were able to identify documents pertaining to Franciscan friars in Goa in the collection, it does not seem that they belonged to a Franciscan convent or rectorate for the large majority of the cases

identified. For instance, volumes from the Dominican convents include receipts from guardians or rectors of the Franciscan convents and churches such as friars António de Padua and Faustino de S. José acknowledged having received sums of money from the Dominicans—hence the need for a receipt—for masses that they should perform.⁵⁸ Aside from the names of the guardians of the convents at a given time, sometimes we are also told how these Franciscans applied the money, redistributing it to other convents and rectorates in exchange for them to have the mass said there.⁵⁹

Also found amongst the Dominican papers was correspondence exchanged between the Dominican houses and the Franciscan ones, especially the college of Saint Bonaventure. From what we could gather it seems that it was common practice for the Dominicans to ask for *pareceres* or formal consultations to the friars at Saint Bonaventure, to which they would promptly reply.⁶⁰ But, this cooperation notwithstanding, the recurrent frictions between the religious orders also affected the cordial relations between them. At some point in 1781, a letter between a Dominican friar and a Saint Monica nun was supposedly found on the street which contained words mocking the friars of the Strict Observance, suggesting that the poverty they professed prevented them from paying debts. This prompted harsh replies from the Franciscan side, leading the Dominicans to boycott the festivities of Saint Francis, which they usually attended. It took a change of provincial for amends to be made between the two orders.⁶¹

Amongst the Augustinian papers, we also can find matters pertaining to in this case the Tertiary Order of Saint Francis in Macao (c. 1680). In a reply to the governor of the bishopric and commissary of the Holy Office António de Moraes Sarmiento, Fr. João das Chagas, prior of the convent of Our Lady of Graça, addressed a dispute between the Tertiaries of Saint Francis and a group of Macao residents who wanted to institute a brotherhood dedicated to the Holy Cross in the Augustinian convent. The Tertiaries asked for some land to place the crosses of the *via sacra*, something that rivalled with a brotherhood devoted to the Cross and Stations of the Cross. Since all the Augustinian convents received the Procession of the Stations (1st Sunday of Lent), to allow a piece of land for the Tertiaries to arrange for the *via sacra* would be detrimental to the brotherhood, the Augustinian prior claimed. Friar João das Chagas then asked the governor of the bishopric to allow the brotherhood of the Cross to place the crosses according to the apostolic privileges that it possessed.⁶²

Another example of the findings at the *Conventos Extintos* collection also involves a dispute between the Observant Franciscans and the bishop of Kochi that was forwarded to the archbishop of Goa in 1783. The records of the dispute are incomplete, but it seems that the bishop of Kochi was trying to dispossess the

⁵⁸ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 3039, fols. 144, 154, 159.

⁵⁹ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 3039, fol. 159.

⁶⁰ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2811, fols. 203–4v.

⁶¹ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2811, fols. 209–10v.

⁶² DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2812, 84–86.

Franciscans from the church of Olicare in Kollam, which they apparently possessed because of a donation that one of the devout made to the friars. The controversy had the Franciscan conduct inquiries and provide sworn testimonies by the oldest inhabitants of Kollam, some of which still remembered the presence of the Jesuits in the region. One Catarina Rodrigues, a Kollam-born woman, certified having heard her grandmother and mother that her great-grandfather, named Sebastião Fernandes, was responsible for the foundation of the chapel of the Olicare church, and that his son donated it to the Franciscans. From then on, they regularly administrated the indulgence of Portiuncula, a practice that the Bishop seems to have wanted to regulate at this point (the document is degraded).⁶³

Another way we were able to identify the presence of Franciscans in documents not belonging to their houses was through donations. We were able to locate at least one donation letter by Vicente Godinho de Mira, D. Josefa de Sousa Peres e D. Maria Coelho de Sousa (husband, wife and mother-in-law) to the *síndico* of the convent of Saint Francis. They bequeathed “some houses with their gardens and annexes” in S. Francisco Street in Goa, thus, a property of interest to the Order.⁶⁴ The *Conventos Extintos* collection also provides examples of the economic activities that the convents were engaged in: in 1827, the Provincial of the Observants—this time by way of their *síndico*’s replacement—accepted to loan 3100 ashrafis at 5% interest to some inhabitants of Tuticorin in the Fishery Coast who would be expected to pay a year from then.⁶⁵ A similar agreement occurred some decades before, when one António Joaquim Ferreira and his wife Mariana de Melo requested a loan of 300 ashrafis at a 5% interest rate, to be paid in the span of two years. To seal the loan, they hypothecated the houses they possessed in Panelim.⁶⁶

We were also able to locate an allocation in a will from the first archbishop of Goa, Gaspar de Leão, favoring the confraternity of the Mother of God and the “Capuchos,” which we include at the end of this paper due to its its relevance for the history of the order in Goa. Gaspar de Leão actually resigned his archbishopric and entered the Franciscan convent of the Mother of God. The allocation of his will, dividing the rent of a field between the confraternity and the friars of the Mother of God convent confirms the preference for the Capuchin spirituality that he displayed at the end of his life.⁶⁷

In regard to the Franciscan orders, one volume from the *Conventos Extintos* collection stands out from the rest. This is no. 2789, a seventeenth century volume that seems to have actually belonged to a Franciscan house at some point in time. Sadly, most of the pages in this volume could not be set apart from one another, rendering the analysis of the document impossible. We can tell that there is a great

⁶³ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2348, s/f.

⁶⁴ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 3045, fols. 316–17v

⁶⁵ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 3045, fol. 328.

⁶⁶ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 3045, fols. 336–37v.

⁶⁷ DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2347, s/f.

part of the volume that pertains to a dispute of succession inside the Province of Saint Thomas, while also containing pontifical documents.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Franciscans occupy a very important piece of the puzzle of the process of Christianisation in Asia. Our knowledge of this process is highly disproportionate, owing to the intense investment on Jesuit sources. While the Directorate of Archives and Archaeology does not possess the same abundance of documents concerning Franciscans that we can find for other religious orders, the intersections of institutional relations in the *Estado da Índia*, as well as the ordinary practices of everyday life generated receipts, wills, litigations, correspondence, reports and judicial procedures whose extent is yet to be determined. What seems clear is that much of these documents can be correlated with other typologies of records held by the archives at Panaji, as well with other sources held in the Portuguese archives, as Fr. Achilles Meersman demonstrated in his day. Future research on Franciscan activities in Goa and the Estado da Índia at large should emphasize their interactions with other religious orders and other social actors to compensate for the limited information about the order itself.

APPENDIX

Allocation of the will by Mgr. Gaspar de Leão, Archbishop of Goa, undated [c. 1576]. DAA, *Conventos Extintos*, liv. 2347, s/f.

Copia da Verba do Testamento do Arcebispo D. Gaspar

Declaro *que* tenho hum pedaço de Vargea no Campo do Riacho da Aldea, *que* he a quinta parte, de toda a Vargea, a qual não adquiri das Rendas do Arcebispado, nem de outro dinheiro senão de pura doação que os Gancares de Ellà me fizerão com consentimento do Vedor da Fazenda *que* então era Belchior Serrão, se para isso fosse necessario; a qual Vargea deixo a Confraria da Madre de Deos para os Mordomos legitimamente ordenados a arendem e arrecadem cada anno o rendimento della, e pago o foro que são quorenta e oito pardaos de ouro, o mais gastarão por esta maneira. Cada semana mandarão dizer tres missas na dita Caça de Madre de Deos, e a Terça feira da Santissima Trindade A Quinta feira do dolcissimo nome de Jesus, e ao Sabado a Virgem gloriosa N. Senhora, e em cada huma destas missas a segunda oração serà de todos os defuntos, e a terceira com a de todos os Santos com efamulos tuos, *para* que todos os santos sejam intercessores por viuos, e defuntos; e o *Padre* que tiver cuidado da Freguezia de S. Joze os poderá dizer se quizer, e se não será quem os Mordomos elegerem não desmerecendo a Vida de qualquer Padre que as disser; e haverá de esmola hum larim, dizendo sobre a minha sepultura hum Responso, e se os Padres Capuchos quizerem por sua charidade dizer as ditas missas sem obrigação pella obrigação que lhes tenho, e Zello com que *por* mim instrumento o fazer (?) os tro[u]xe a estas partes, saibão que me darão grandissima consolação do mais dinheiro que da renda restar gastarão ametade nas necessidades dos ditos Capuchos, e outra ametade nas obrigaçens da Confraria.

E peço pelas entranhas da *madre* divina aos Prellados meus successores por sy, ou por pessoa digna tome conta cada anno a Confraria se se gasta esta renda conforme a esta instrucção, e no dia da Vizitação e conta darão ao Vizitador dous pardaos, e ao Escriuão hum; da parte que fica à dita Confraria, e quando os Padres não tiverem necessidade a Co[n]fraria aquelle anno comprará o Vinho *para* as missas que se dizem na dita Caça, e a Vontade dos *Padres* Capuchos, e a elles será entregue.

//

Testamento [...] [Gas]par [...]

