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Beyond the Narrative: Estado da Índia Renegades Under Historical and Philosophical Perspective

Beyond the Narrative: Estado da Índia Renegades Under Historical and Philosophical Perspective

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Abstract

This article aims to present both an unconventional object of analysis (renegades) and an unusual historical-philosophical approach in studies concerning phenomena located in the State of India. A powerful portion of the Portuguese Empire, this region hosted the only inquisitorial court established overseas by the Portuguese Crown, which, through its investigative procedures generating valuable documentation, made it possible to access the life experiences of six men identified as apostates and renegades. Thus, drawing on concepts from Agamben's philosophy (the sacred and the profane) and Foucault (transgression) to understand the phenomenon of renegation among subjects of the Catholic Crown in India between the 16th and 17th centuries, this work seeks to propose a historiographical perspective that goes beyond merely recounting past experiences, instead delving into them in greater depth.

Keywords

India, Early Modern History, Portuguese Inquisition

Introduction

This article is a small sample of research conducted on renegades of mainland Portuguese and Luso-Indian origin who, for various reasons, migrated—whether for longer or shorter periods of time—into the interior of India, more specifically to the Deccan Plateau[1]. Initially affiliated with the State of India, the six men whose trajectories were analyzed became multiple versions of themselves.

At times, they were Catholic Christians, adhering to the strict dictates of Iberian Catholicism of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. However, for various reasons, they would at times become Muslims, converting to the great enemy of the Portuguese around the Indian Ocean. At other times, they would vanish into the Deccan interior, transforming themselves into yogins and moving through different regions in relative safety, so long as they maintained the appearance of Hindu ascetics.

In order to analyze the considerable complexity of experiences found in the narratives of these men, as recorded by the Holy Office of Goa, recourse was taken not only to the historiographical literature on cases of renegation among subjects of the Portuguese Crown in Asia. Given their fluid identities and their ability to skillfully navigate and manipulate ethical, aesthetic, and political codes, it became clear that it was necessary to go beyond the mere narrative reconstruction of their experiences.

Thus, elements of philosophy were employed to deepen the understanding of the possibility of existence through the multiple experiences encompassed in the trajectory of each of these six renegades. To this end, the philosophies of Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault proved highly valuable, precisely because these thinkers developed the following concepts for analyzing such cases: the Foucauldian notion of transgression and Agamben's conceptual pair of the sacred and the profane.

Accordingly, beyond revealing the cases presented here—which until now have been little known to historiography—the aim was also to foster a deeper dialogue between the fields of History and Philosophy, in order to reach, albeit always incompletely, the depth of the fluid identity experiences of these six renegades.

1 The Deccan corresponds to a vast plateau in the interior of the Indian subcontinent, where, between the 15th and 16th centuries, tensions intensified among the sultanates located there—such as Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golconda, and Bihar—and the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara, also situated in the region. The Portuguese possessions along the shores of the western Indian Ocean, in turn, maintained close relations with the populations and political contexts of the Deccan Plateau. Cf.: Embree; Willhelm, 1987, pp. 187–208.

Initial Paths of the Research

In August 1564, amid the lush vegetation and the heat of the Konkan coast of India, there was a large rock that, at its base, concealed a small lake where Shaiva[2], Vaishnava[3], yogin[4] men and women, and other followers of the many branches of Hinduism performed their ablutions and rites specific to their religious practices. Over the waters, a large tree cast its shadow, beneath which and along the edges of the natural tank, flags, gourds, and stone and wooden images of their deities were placed, imparting sacredness to the space and receiving the due reverence of those who carried out their baths and rituals there.

Rushing upon the site, about fifty men advanced against the Hindus, firing their muskets, brandishing their sabers, and charging on horseback with lances, shouting in loud sixteenth-century Portuguese, *morrão estes cães!* ("Strike down these dogs!"). Alongside them, Catholic priests led the way through the stunned and frightened crowd, planting crosses along the shores of the lake to desecrate the Hindu environment in an attempt to convert it to Catholicism. To intensify this act, a cow—an animal sacred to the Hindus—was killed, its blood cast into the waters and its flesh thrown onto the surrounding ground, all of it then consumed by flames together with the statues of the gods.

Although many of the Hindu men and women desperately fled in the face of such an attack, curiously, a man dressed as a yogin stepped forward before the troops. In the attacker's language, he protested that he was there just as Saint John the Baptist in his journey through the desert. However, his cries were of no avail, as he was arrested. Likely taken to one of the cities controlled by the Lusitanians, established along the western coast of India since the late 15th century, the Portuguese-speaking yogin was identified as a fugitive Portuguese renegade.

Thus, taken to one of the competent courts under Portuguese authority around the Indian Ocean — the *Estado da Índia* — he vanished from our sight. That sight, in turn, captured the dramatic moment described above through the writings of the Jesuit Francisco de Sousa (Sousa, 1978, p. 823), who, in the late 17th century in Goa, compiled various accounts of Portuguese advances across Asia. Focusing primarily on the process of converting diverse populations, the

2 Term used to identify Hindus who regard the deity Shiva as the supreme figure of their pantheon, viewing him, from this perspective, as the demiurge of the universe.

3 Term used to identify Hindus who regard the deity Vishnu as the supreme figure of their pantheon, viewing him, from this perspective, as the demiurge of the universe.

4 Term used to identify Hindu ascetics who practice disciplines of physical exercises and meditative practices.

Jesuit maintained a triumphant tone in his records, contributing to the construction of a powerful image of the Society of Jesus in its campaign across the seas and lands of Asia.

Contact with this historical source made it possible to glimpse the potential for cultural contacts and exchanges in India carried out by men connected to the Portuguese Empire, who adopted elements of Indian societies in a reasonably profound way, as apparently occurred with the mysterious renegade mentioned by Sousa. Based on this hypothesis and focusing on the experiences of men of this kind on the Asian continent, a search was undertaken for bibliographical works addressing this type of experience.

Ergo, fortunately, data were found—sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly—related to the subject addressed here, in studies on the presence of Portuguese renegades in Asia, such as in the works of Gonçalo Couceiro Feio (Feio, 2018), António Manuel Hespanha (Hespanha, 2019), George Winius (Winius, 1991), Sanjay Subrahmanyam (Subrahmanyam, 1993), Luis Filipe Thomaz (Thomaz, 1994), and Maria Cruz (Cruz, 1998).

Feio, for example, in a work dedicated to the formation of the armed forces in the Portuguese Empire, when addressing the issue of renegades, mentions cases of Portuguese and other Europeans in the service of the Crown who escaped its control. In this regard, the author focuses on narrating cases of these men that caught his attention, whether due to their involvement with South Asian powers in the transfer of technical military knowledge or through their participation on the battlefield in service of those same powers (Feio, 2018, pp. 165, 232).

In a descriptive and superficial manner, limiting himself to presenting such cases as scattered points within a much broader military reality, Feio ultimately treats the renegades as picturesque details that help make the picture he presents somewhat more dynamic. Although he highlights the introduction of exogenous military elements into Portuguese polemology, he renders it somewhat passive in the cross-pollinating dynamics[5] of the exchange of knowledge related to warfare. After all, he gives ample attention to the Portuguese capacity to absorb various characteristics of the ways of waging war from different societies.

With Hespanha's work *Filhos da Terra*, in turn, we have a systemic view of the men who stood on the margins of the Portuguese "formal empire," including the renegades. Following Thomaz's network-based understanding of the Luso-Asian thalassocratic empire (Thomaz, 1994), Hespanha points to the existence of commercial and political networks through which the

5 Concept by Thomas Arnold employed by Feio to understand the dynamics of transnational and transethnic cultural exchanges from the 15th century onward in the field of European polemology. Cf.: Feio, 2018, pp. 33, 104, 105.

Portuguese presence was effectively consolidated from the late 15th century onward in South Asia and East Africa (Hespanha, 2019, pp. 21–24).

The Portuguese Empire, thus configured — considerably dynamic and porous to the realities in which it was established — displayed different facets that can be understood through the concepts of "formal empire" and "informal" or "shadow empire." This distinction identifies, on one side, the "formal" political-commercial network dynamics instituted and governed by the *Estado da Índia*; and, on the other, those identified as "informal/shadow," which, although managed by men originally under the Crown's rule, lay beyond its control. With this division, Hespanha seeks to understand the realities examined in the work in question: the "Portuguese" who placed themselves outside the "formal" domain of the State.

By employing the concept of the "Shadow Empire" to make his analysis of these men and their communities feasible, Hespanha, in turn, followed the studies of George Winius on groups of "Portuguese" whom he identified as being on the margins of the sovereignty of the *Estado da Índia* and active in business networks, particularly in the Bay of Bengal. Calling them members of the "Shadow Empire", Winius, in the 1980s, thus systematized the understanding of groups of mainland Portuguese and Luso-Indians who were politically and commercially active in Southeast Asia (Winius, 1991, pp. 273–288).

In his aim to advance the understanding of the "Portuguese" presence in areas where the *Estado* was not officially established, Hespanha therefore drew on the knowledge developed by Winius, following his argument that there were both groups and individuals of "Portuguese" origin who sought ways to attain wealth and status in environments beyond the direct and overt control of the Portuguese Crown. Expanding his analytical focus to lands beyond South Asia, the author also examined the "Portuguese shadows" in the Americas and Africa, demonstrating how extensive this "informal" presence was around the globe throughout the Early Modern period.

Prior to Hespanha and Feio, and sharing a view similar to theirs regarding the renegades, Sanjay Subrahmanyam, in the 1990s, following Winius's studies on the "informal empire," presented valuable information about these men. Identifying them as involved in the dissemination of European firearms among different Asian powers, the Indian author states, much like António Manuel Hespanha, that such men served in troops under sovereigns active in South Asian affairs (Subrahmanyam, 1993, p. 354).

Therefore, he saw them as an integral part of non-Portuguese forces, even noting the presence of other Europeans in the *frangue*[6] troops (Subrahmanyam, 2006, pp. 141–142) serving,

6 Term used by many Asian populations to identify, in general, Western Christian Europeans. Its origin may be associated

for example, the sultans of the Deccan and Bengal. He thus observes that renegation was not a phenomenon exclusive to the Portuguese, making it clear that many Europeans, in conditions of hardship similar to those of many mainland Portuguese and Luso-Indians within the domains of the *Estado da Índia*, sought relief by placing themselves in the service of other sovereigns.

Just as he notes that the renegades did not operate solely on the battlefront or in the transmission of knowledge about firearms, he also observes that they served alongside local sovereigns in political-military positions of considerable importance—whether as advisers or as cavalry commanders, for example. One can thus perceive a relativization of the roles assumed by these men when in such diverse environments, as well as a considerable capacity to adapt to them.

Subrahmanyam, moreover, is a historian attentive to Asian realities *per se*. Thus, approaching the matter from a perspective removed from the sometimes excessively Eurocentric view of the European impact on the wars of South Asia, he also sought to relativize the Portuguese prominence in influencing the military development of the region. In this way, the Indian author points to a not-so-essential Portuguese role in the diffusion of firearms among the powers interested in them. This, in turn, leads him to distance himself from Feio and Hespanha, both of whom support the idea of a considerable Portuguese prominence in this regard, in which "Portuguese" renegades would have played a role.

For Sanjay Subrahmanyam, therefore, these men are credited with contributing to the spread of heavy and light firearm technology. However, he does not grant them exclusivity in this role, nor does he indicate that this was their primary function among the southern Asian powers. Regarding the introduction of firearms into the region, he points to the Turks as the main agents in this matter, ultimately relativizing the weight of European influence and its "military revolution" in the South Asian polemological development of the 16th century (Subrahmanyam, 2006, p. 138).

Precisely contributing to the understanding of the internal dynamics of this vast region in which so many "Portuguese" renegades lived, Jos Gommans's work *Mughal Warfare* gains considerable prominence. Offering more than just a collection of data and polemological analyses regarding the Mughal Empire between the 16th and 17th centuries, Gommans presents a complex picture of the context in which the Mughals advanced throughout the 1500s: the Indian subcontinent.

with the term Franco, referring to the contacts between various Levantine populations and the French-born Crusaders in the mid-Middle Ages. Cf.: Dalgado, 1919, p. 479.

In order to analyze the weight of the culture of war in the social, cultural, economic, and political aspects of this empire, Gommans engaged in a rich analysis of the environments it had conquered. Comprising complex and diverse societies, these regions required from the Mughals, in turn, creativity and adaptation of their military strategies. This gave rise to a dialogue between the Mughal warrior traditions originating from the steppes and the techniques developed over the course of their conquests—techniques that incorporated different ways of waging war in response to the challenges posed by the peoples and environments to be conquered.

One of the noteworthy elements in his complex analysis concerns the high mobility of populations temporarily engaged in different occupations in India, with considerable variation between the two poles he regards as defining in this region's sedentary-nomadic spectrum: the peasant and the wandering herder. Between these occupations, he asserts, there existed an immense range of possibilities for the inhabitants of India during the period in question, who engaged in multiple activities to ensure their survival, alternating between sedentarism and nomadism, as well as between activities related to warfare.

This large and fluctuating market of arms and manpower, engaged in the many battlefronts waged mainly by the sultanates and kingdoms in conflict with the Great Mughal throughout the 16th century, included populations not exclusively from the Indian subcontinent but also from various parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Such a multiethnic character is evident in the very composition of the Mughal forces, which, beyond having an elite of foreign origin to India, also comprised troops whose specializations were sometimes tied to specific ethnic attributes.

Thus, for example, the Mughal palace artillery was composed of Turks and Persians, while Ethiopians guarded the seas in their service. Precisely in analyzing this plurality of origins among those involved in the Indian war market, Gommans proceeds to examine the relationships between "Portuguese," Mughals, and other Indian powers. Following in the footsteps of Feio and Hespanha, Gommans highlights the prominence of the Portuguese in supplying and producing quality firearms in the subcontinent. However, he does not grant the *Lusos* primacy in this regard: he points to the Turks as also being important in the dissemination and development of this type of weaponry in South Asia, alongside the "Portuguese" (Gommans, 2002, p. 146).

Thus, aligning with Subrahmanyam on this point, the Dutch author likewise does not take a view that grants excessive importance to European participation in the Indian war market or in the military affairs of the Indian interior in the 1500s. By way of example, although the *Lusos* were significant transmitters of knowledge on casting artillery pieces and were recognized for their high skills in operating them, this did not grant them status within the ranks of the troops serving the Mughal or lesser powers in India.

After all, in this context, firearms were considered inappropriate for a valiant warrior, particularly from the perspective of the warriors of the Asian steppes. Regarded as the weaponry of cowardly men in this view, they were associated with the "*Frangue* pirates," a perception through which many "Portuguese" were understood by the powers of the subcontinent and the surrounding Bay of Bengal. With this argument, therefore, Gommans presents the Mughal disdain toward the "Portuguese," seen as a savage sea tribe from the "Island of the Franks," whose role, according to this interpretation, was merely to patrol the seas (Gommans, 2002, p. 163).

Gommans's work, therefore, aids in understanding the environments in which "Portuguese" in the condition of renegades, fugitives, and mercenaries operated. By highlighting throughout *Mughal Warfare* certain cases involving not only *Lusos* but also other Europeans engaged in the Mughal wars — particularly across the subcontinent — the author provides valuable information on the integration of these men into non-Western and internally diverse military systems.

Like Subrahmanyam, Gommans assigns these "Westerners" a modest role within the extremely complex and multifaceted context of battle preparations and executions in the interior of Hindustan and Bengal. Even so, both are important precisely because they present the spaces and conditions in which the men whose cases will be briefly analyzed here lived. Their presentations were crafted without viewing the experiences of "Portuguese" through laudatory lenses or exalting them as near-unique phenomena.

Exaggerated aspects that, with greater or lesser subtlety, are visible in the aforementioned works of Feio and Hespanha. Nevertheless, it is from the previously mentioned studies by these authors that it was possible to obtain data concerning the internal functioning of the communities formed by men who, in the shadow of the *Estado da Índia*, engaged with Indian networks, operating within them with vigor despite the *Estado's* attempts at control.

Many of the aforementioned works, in turn, share as a common element the pursuit of understanding the impact of the European presence—via renegades—on the South Asian war market in the mid-16th century. While they are valuable sources of information on this context, they still maintained a certain distance from the mysterious figure of the renegade himself, at times portraying him as an exotic element within these realities, as noted by Feio and Winius, or as just one among the many components of the region's ethnic melting pot, as pointed out by Subrahmanyam and Gommans.

With Maria Cruz's article (Cruz, 1998) titled *Degredados e arrenegados portugueses no espaço índico, nos primórdios do século XVI*, we have one of the few texts that, much like the research that gave rise to the present article, seeks to shed light on who these renegades were—those who traveled across Asia and often blended into the societies they served as mercenaries,

spies, and merchants. Seminal in character for analyses focused on such individuals, Cruz's article presents, for example, which documentary collections can be consulted for research on this subject, as well as the many difficulties that may be encountered when working with them.

Another noteworthy point in Cruz's text is her approach to the issue of renegation as a relevant factor (and not merely an exotic one) in understanding the relations between the Portuguese and the other realities with which they came into contact throughout their advances across Asia. In her analyses, later followed by Thomaz (Thomaz, 1994) and Subrahmanyam (Subrahmanyam, 1993), the author's documentary survey and her inquiry into what it means to be a renegade made it possible, including from an epistemological standpoint, to define those who were understood under this category.

Thus, following some of Cruz's indications of collections likely to contain documentation about them, we arrive at an important—though discreet—source of information on renegation: the records of the Holy Office of Goa. Preserved by the National Archives of Portugal, at the Torre do Tombo, they consist of invaluable records concerning various populations over centuries, through numerous documents produced by the tribunal. Among them, the trail of apostasy was followed. Identified by Cruz as a common practice among renegades as a means of surviving within the sultanates of India, this religious offense consists in abandoning one faith in favor of another, adopting for that purpose its customs, rites, and affiliations.

Hence, former Catholic subjects of the Crown, for various reasons—such as hardship and fleeing the authorities of the State of India—crossed borders, adopting other sets of beliefs, different social and cultural codes, and new political ties as a means of securing their livelihood in lands beyond Portuguese jurisdiction. Such actions, understood through the concept of apostasy by ecclesiastical authorities, led some, by acting in this way and being captured by the Goan Inquisition, to have their experiences outside the Luso-Indian walls scrutinized by the priests serving the tribunal.

A tribunal that may have received the "Portuguese-speaking yogin" mentioned at the beginning of this text. After all, categorized as a renegade and seen to have adopted traits of a non-Christian group, it is possible that the Jesuit Francisco de Sousa's reference to his being handed over to the competent courts was in fact a reference to the Holy Office (Sousa, 1978, p. 824). This institution, in turn, acted in accordance with the directives issued by the Portuguese Crown from the 1530s onward regarding its project to homogenize the many populations under its rule around the world—a homogenization marked by the increasingly intolerant imposition and enforcement of the Luso-Catholic identity upon all peoples under royal authority.

A context, therefore, favorable to the persecution of those who, within territory under Portuguese jurisdiction, did not conform to the ideal premises constituting a subject of the Crown. This brings us to the destruction reported by the aforementioned Jesuit, given that the small lake serving as a Hindu place of worship was located in the vicinity of Baçaim, a Luso-Indian city. This circumstance also leads us to the cases of renegation and apostasy selected for the research undertaken and briefly presented here.

Reasonably difficult to locate, this difficulty is partly due to the scarcity of accessible documents related to the Goa Inquisition. The small number of such records in Portugal's largest public archive, the Torre do Tombo, is the result of an attempt to eliminate the papers of the Goan Holy Office in the 19th century under the orders of the then prince regent, D. João (Baião, 1945, p. 15). From this nearly successful endeavor, what remains are copies of certain documents sent to Lisbon or of cases whose sentences fell under the jurisdiction of the Lisbon tribunal. This means that some of the defendants whose trajectories will be briefly presented here were either of mainland Portuguese origin or were punished with exile to areas under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition at the head of the empire.

Another factor that contributed to aggravating the difficulty of investigating renegade apostates was the dispersion of the sought records among many others held by the Portuguese Holy Office. Although the Torre has greatly facilitated access to its collection by digitizing much of it, its organizational system regarding inquisitorial documentation still lacks greater attention to the papers related to the Goa Inquisition.

Since most of them, as mentioned earlier, were copies sent to Lisbon, they eventually ended up, at some point, being indexed by the National Archive under that tribunal, making them harder to locate and causing delays that could be resolved through a reorganization of the categorization process for these documents. As a result, many of the cases selected here, which did not necessarily concern events that took place in mainland Portuguese territory, were found among bundles of proceedings, sentences, and denunciations from other tribunals—especially the Lisbon one.

Once this difficulty was overcome, six cases were found involving renegades who had apostatized and, in doing so, presented to the tribunal evidence of having absorbed non-Portuguese Catholic traits in their narratives and confessions. They were António Camacho, Dom António Ramirez, Francisco Toscano, Jorge Cardozo Mendonça, Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo and Gonçalo Toscano. The documentation concerning them, although not composed of hundreds of folios, consists of several dozen manuscripts which, for their thorough examination, required

the application of paleographic knowledge so that, during the challenging reading process, no valuable data for the research would be lost.

From this point, another problem arose during the investigation: the chronological order of the interrogations and the defendants' testimonies. Since the Holy Office acted upon the memories of those who testified, it was not uncommon for the deponent—who could be summoned multiple times to recount their experiences under the incisive direction and pressure of the inquisitorial process—to present memories whose sequence did not necessarily match the order of the depositions. As a result, defendants often referred to events that had occurred long before at the end of their sessions rather than at the beginning, leading researchers working with this type of source to reformulate much of the hypotheses and preliminary conclusions reached over the course of their reading.

Having navigated such issues over the years of investigation, the research eventually reached a point where it could simply present, as its outcome, the reconstruction of the narratives of the men in focus—spanning from the 1540s (the probable earliest birth period of the oldest defendants) to 1612 (the year of execution of the youngest defendant)—who renegaded and apostatized in India between the mid-16th and early 17th centuries.

Conceptual Choices

However, given the frequency found in the documentation with which these men became at times Muslims, at times *jogues* (the Portuguese corruption of the Sanskrit word *yogin*), and at times Catholics once again, it was clear that they possessed a considerable capacity for transgression. This, in turn, was not restricted to religious aspects; but, given that religion was a prominent constitutive element of the identities of both European populations of the Early Modern period and those under their rule, the transgressive action was directed at the very identity of the men in question.

After all, by affiliating themselves with *yogin* traditions at one stage of their lives, with Islamic sultanates at another, and — common to all — with the Luso-Asian Catholic imperial entity, they ultimately underwent complex identity metamorphoses, placing themselves under different religious, political, and social norms. Such capacity also reveals a curious ability to tactically and pragmatically adopt varied cultural, social, and political codes beyond those within which their original identities had been formed.

It was thus perceived that such transgressions revealed signs of diverse experiences related to the constant identity construction of the renegades under study. This, in turn, prompted

us to seek a deeper understanding of the possible meanings of these incessant identity formations, which took place according to the circumstances in which those who enacted them found themselves, shaping them in line with the situations most favorable to their survival.

For this endeavor, support was drawn primarily from the philosophy of Michel Foucault and that of Giorgio Agamben. From the former came important avenues for reflection on transgression, which, according to him, exists in the act of breaking the values and norms of a given reality, casting its agent into the void of the absence of existential meaning (Foucault, 2009).

However, when examining the experiences analyzed here in greater detail, it became clear that it is impossible to affirm the Foucauldian nihilistic sense for the course of the transgressions carried out by the renegades. After all, with each identity transgression they undertook, they deliberately assumed another set of cultural, social, and political elements that enabled the construction of a new identity.

Consequently, they did not plunge into an existential void but, on the contrary — and by force of circumstances — adapted themselves to new cultural, social, economic, and political realities by quickly submitting to the customs, beliefs, rites, and norms of the groups among which they sought refuge. They became others in a pragmatic way, reshaping themselves identity-wise, which, in turn, led us to the aforementioned Italian philosopher, thanks especially to a valuable pair of concepts he developed: the sacred and the profane.

Sacred, from Agamben's perspective, is everything that lies beyond the reach of free use and manipulation, being set apart from mundane life through a reverential and solemn attitude. Understanding the sacred as something not monolithic but ambiguous, and not hierophanic but anthropogenic, the Italian philosopher grants this concept a complexity and a character determined externally, rather than given or intrinsic to that which is made sacred. Based on the premise that what becomes sacred has done so by decision, this is therefore rooted in one of the characteristics attributed to politics according to the meaning presented by the Agambenian ontological perspective: the exercise of power (Agamben, 2007, p. 68).

Profane, on the other hand, consists of everything that, once sacred, has been removed from that position, with the profaned thing returned to common use. Thus, while sacralization creates restrictions on use, profanation frees it from them. In this way, the former process, on one hand, entails the removal of a given being, object, or place from the reach and manipulation of individuals through the imposition of a particular form of reverence and attention directed toward the element made sacred by the normative instances of a given social, cultural, economic, and political reality.

Conversely, according to the Agambenian perspective, the opposite process establishes the return of the once sacred element to the common domain of human beings (Agamben, 2007, p. 65). For such an operation to occur, the Italian philosopher states that the sacred element must come into contact with mundane reality. This disruptive stage of transition is, in fact, analogous (albeit with reversed signs) to the one that established sacralization: sacrifice.

Ergo, in his reflection, Agamben establishes a circuit through which the being, object, or place must pass in order to be rendered profane: first, the element in question must have been made sacred through sacrifice. In this initial operation, the normative instances of the reality in which it is situated must establish a separation between it and the "world," requiring it to receive, for this purpose, a reverent attitude, thereby resulting in its separation from common access.

The sacred element, then, kept in such a condition through *religio* (or simply religion, identified by Agamben as the device that institutes and maintains the reverent attitude — Agamben, 2007, p. 66) established by sovereign power, must pass into the condition of the profane from the moment it comes into contact with the reality external to its sacred condition. Thus, there must be contact between it and the realms outside its separated condition, contaminating it.

Hence, with this conceptual pair, in turn, the present research was able to move beyond the post-transgression void proposed by Foucault. After all, assuming that Agambenian profanation of anything requires a transgressive/contaminating action for its execution in order to remove the sacred object from such a position, profanation is then seen as a stage following transgression.

The transgressed and profaned object analyzed in the present article, in fact, consists of the identities of the men under focus. After all, it is understood here that the original environments of the renegades in question—namely, the Iberian Peninsula and the Luso-Indian domains between the 1540s and 1580s—were undergoing an evident process of social disciplining and confessionalization (Palomo, 2006). As explained by the historian Federico Palomo, this other conceptual pair refers to the processes of establishing stricter moral, behavioral, and religious parameters for Portuguese Catholic subjects, as well as to the increased surveillance over them and greater intolerance toward non-Christian populations under Lusitanian rule.

This process, in turn, is intertwined with the recognition of a deepening in the processes of sacralizing the Catholic identities of those under Portuguese rule. However, António Camacho, Dom António Ramirez, Francisco Toscano, Jorge Cardozo Mendonça, Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo, and Gonçalo Toscano escaped, albeit momentarily, from such impositions.

As mentioned earlier, they assumed identities beyond that of Catholic subjects of the Portuguese Crown. They became others, claiming the power to shape themselves for the sake

of their own survival. They transgressed the limits of pragmatic creativity by metamorphosing according to circumstances. They thus profaned themselves by renegading and apostatizing. After all, in doing so, they disregarded the political-confessional dictates imposed on all those under Portuguese rule and claimed for themselves the freedom to define their political, social, and cultural ties within the Indian reality.

Given their ability to join different groups and creeds and to abandon political and religious affiliations in order to follow the circumstances that best favored them, these profane renegades acted not only to escape the Luso-Indian reality, but also to evade the tribulations present within the sultanates in which they lived for a certain period of time. Consequently, if they profaned, on one hand, the Portuguese Catholic dictates, they also profaned, on the other, the Muslim ways of the Deccan and, in two cases, the norms and conduct of certain *yogin* traditions.

Development of Historical Research in Dialogue with the Philosophy of Agamben and Foucault

Thus, the research briefly presented here sought to demonstrate the ways in which these men were shaped and shaped themselves in terms of identity. To this end, the analysis moved, based on documentary evidence, to the cases with inquisitorial proceedings complete through to their conclusion. For those whose only sources were their sentences, it was decided to proceed up to the date on which these were delivered, which led us to the year 1612 — the year of the last sentence chronologically.

Using, therefore, these temporal markers, the concepts outlined above, and the aforementioned sources, the research initially unfolded in dialogue with the historiography on the topic of renegation in Portuguese India, as previously discussed. In parallel, both the inquisitorial documentation and sources related to the training of men-at-arms and seamen were examined together, observing the contexts in which the renegades may have constructed their original identities.

Accordingly, the inquisitorial documentary corpus analyzed provides valuable data on the life of each defendant, given the meticulous rigor of the inquisitorial scrutiny into the backgrounds and experiences of those summoned to testify before the agents of the Holy Office. As for the second set of documents, more closely linked to the military sphere, works such as *Soldado Prático* by Diogo do Couto and *Arte da Guerra do Mar* by Fernando Oliveira, among others, were examined. The use of this type of source was primarily due to the fact that four of the six renegades had direct involvement with arms during their experiences in the Deccan.

Experiences arising from the need to secure means of survival through service to the Deccani sultanates were lived by men who likely possessed some prior military knowledge. With three of the four in question possibly of mainland Portuguese origin, sources on the Portuguese training of men-at-arms were consulted to understand how they might have gained such knowledge, as well as the conditions to which subjects of the Crown involved in warfare were subjected.

Next, the research moved on to analyzing the departure of the mainland Portuguese who became renegades, seeking to understand the conditions of the journey from the Kingdom to India and life under the rule of the Luso-Asian imperial entity. The discussion of the voyage along the *Carreira da Índia*[7], undertaken by the mainland Portuguese in the group — namely António Camacho, Dom António Ramirez, Jorge Cardozo Mendonça, and Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo — reveals, in turn, the conditions they may have faced upon their departure for Asia. These conditions, beyond the hardships brought by disease, storms, and other difficulties inherent to such a long maritime route at the time, imposed strict hierarchies on those aboard, foreshadowing, especially for the soldiers on board, distinctions and hardships that would persist throughout their service to the *Estado da Índia*.

Regarding the experience of the six men under focus within Luso-Indian society, the ways in which each was integrated into it were examined, bringing to light their affiliations with certain social segments. This, in turn, reveals disparities in terms of occupation and belonging to specific groups during their lives in the shadow of the Luso-Indian walls. By way of example, we have, on one end, a convert in a condition of servitude, Gonçalo Toscano, and, on the other, a supposed nobleman of Madrid origin, António Ramirez.

Therefore, in the initial stages of the research presented here, it was proposed to outline the possible origins of the defendants, as well as their connections with groups located in the western Indian portion of the *Estado da Índia*. In this way, considerable differences between them are revealed, whether at the economic-professional level (ranging from a schoolmaster to a *moço*[8]) or at the ethnic level (ranging from *reinóis*[9] to a Muslim from the interior of the Deccan), demonstrating their different experiences throughout their journeys as men under the rule of the Portuguese Crown.

7 Name given to the main route between Lisbon and the Luso-Asian domains, with the city of Goa — the capital of the Estado da Índia — as its destination.

8 Generic term used in Portuguese India to refer to young people in a condition of subjugation similar to slavery to a master who was a subject of the Portuguese Crown.

9 Term used to refer to Portuguese originating from the continental European portion of the Portuguese Empire.

The next stage of the analysis addressed precisely the subjugation to the Crown during the period in which the men in question lived, namely between the 1540s and 1610. It is acknowledged that over this chronological span the Iberian crowns were united, leading to changes in Portugal's political structure. However, according to Palomo, in terms of the processes of confessionalization and social disciplining, these were preserved throughout the period, thus allowing for the observation of the continuation of identity-building practices and political subjugation of those under Portuguese rule between 1580 and 1640.

A period, therefore, marked by the implementation of projects aimed at homogenizing the subjects of the Portuguese Crown across its globally spanning empire, with a deepening of the processes of identity sacralization being observed. This deepening is perceived through the comparison between the Portuguese identity-confessional policies prior to 1530 and those that emerged from that decade onward. As for the former, a tolerance toward the diversity of ethnic, religious, and culturally distinct groups is evident, with the Crown's preservation of this stance being noticeable in Portuguese political practices from the medieval period until the 1530s.

From that moment onward, with the development beginning in the reign of King João III of a more assertive and territorial imperial ideal, in line with the prevailing concepts of power in Western Europe at the time, the ways in which the Crown dealt with the many populations under its rule were altered. Forced either to conform to the new prevailing political-confessional dictates, to resist them and face persecution, or to withdraw from Portuguese domains, these populations bore the weight of greater restrictions on their beliefs, customs, and identity structures.

A weight that fell upon the defendants in focus. Since they were born during a period when such processes were already underway, it is possible to infer that their formation as Catholic subjects took place amid this restructuring of the political-confessional identities present throughout the Portuguese Empire. This restructuring allows us to associate such identity-building processes with the increasing conformity of the Portuguese Crown's subjects to the assertive power relations of the Luso imperial political community — a phenomenon that, in turn, can be observed through the Agambenian perspective on the sacred.

Recalling here his central idea, namely, the principle that everything considered sacred is subject to restrictions on its free use and is subjected to a reverent attitude, and understanding that subjectivation precisely involves the limitation of the individual in their possibilities of self-constitution (since they are bound to the social relations that define them), one might then ask: would there be any way for the political subject to constitute itself freely? Would it be possible for any identity not to be grounded in some degree of sacralization?

After all, recognizing that the process of identity construction grounded in subjectivation establishes that the individual, in order to define themselves and be admitted as part of the political, moral, and customary community, must submit to its norms and values, it follows that, regardless of the extent of their own agency in this process, there will always be — depending on the circumstances — non-negotiable, externally imposed elements underlying it to a greater or lesser degree.

Elements that, acting imperatively in its formation, may prove unavoidable in the construction of the political subject. For such a subject, therefore, there will be, almost inevitably, aspects that escape their capacity for self-shaping, as these are mandatory for their constitution as such in order to be admitted as part of the political, moral, and customary community.

These elements that escape the individual, in turn, render them incapable of acting upon themselves in a fully autonomous and free manner, for they are, to some extent, conditioned by the imperative factors of their own formation. These factors, therefore, imperative and impersonal as they may be in the constitution of the political subject, are sacred precisely because they are, first and foremost, of paramount importance to the political community in which they hold socially recognized meaning. Thus, they are objects of reverence. And since their presence at the core of the political subject is, in principle, non-negotiable — being vital determinants in its formation — they are therefore not subject to free manipulation.

Therefore, it may be ventured here that any process of subjectivation may, to a greater or lesser extent and depending on historical circumstances, receive some level of sacralization in the construction of the individual's identity as a political subject and member of a political, moral, and customary community. In other words, in the individual's insertion into the power relations of the groups to which they belong.

Sacralization was heightened with the implementation of the reforms carried out in the empire from the reign of King João III onward, that is, with the introduction of the projects of social disciplining and confessionalization as proposed by Palomo. From that point on, the processes of subjectivation and identity construction imposed on populations under Portuguese rule were obliged to conform to models of being as political subjects that were external to most of the social, cultural, and political structures of their communities, whether in the Kingdom or overseas. Under increased state surveillance and control, their local identities became subjected to a process of conflictive adaptation to the imposed political-ideological identity.

Thus, becoming the target of profound reforms in their ways of existence, a significant contingent of the Crown's subjects became, according to its projects from the 1530s and 1540s onward, elements to be deeply shaped in accordance with its interests. This shaping, in turn,

further restricted the possibilities of being for those under royal and ecclesiastical scrutiny. Their identities, no longer necessarily tied to the plural and local realities spread across the empire, from that moment on came to be determined by precepts defined from afar. A deeper sacralization therefore took place, as the possibilities for the political subject shaped within this process to intervene upon themselves became even more restricted.

Firstly, because their subjectivation was not necessarily fully linked to the world to which they immediately belonged, thereby creating a severe rift in the meaning of their existence due to the distance between the instances defining their constitution as political beings and the reality in which they were situated. Alongside this, there was the establishment of a complex structure for the formation, policing, and control of the communities affected by this process, which — when submerged within the institutional networks formed by this apparatus (especially in the cases of Goa and politically central regions of the Kingdom, such as Évora and Lisbon) — lived in an even more restrictive atmosphere, in which identity sacralization became even more tangible, as did the hardening of political identities.

However, even under the heavy weight of the reformed dictates of post-1530 Portuguese imperial policy, the trajectories of the six renegades reveal an escape beyond them. An escape that, in lands outside Luso-Asian jurisdiction, allowed them to become others through the profanation of themselves. This process, in fact, was marked by the tactical neutralization of the sacralizing elements of their former identities as subjects of the Portuguese Crown.

Observing this process through the recognition of a disregard for the imposed sacralizing limits, in contact with ways of being external to the *Estado da Índia*, these men, influenced by them, transgressed those limits. Understanding transgression here through Foucauldian parameters, this concept, in dialogue with Agamben's, can be identified as the exercise of the ability to disregard the boundaries surrounding the sacred element. By adopting an irreverent attitude toward it, the profaning agent, through their posture of indifference, breaks down the barriers that would otherwise restrict their ability to use what was once sacred.

Consequently, their disregard may be compared to the Foucauldian transgression. For if this concept refers to the breaking of boundaries, and that to the means by which the sacred object is contaminated, such contamination can only occur once those boundaries have been broken — in other words, transgressed. After all, the contagion takes place through mundane and irreverent access to that which was determined to be conceived of and accessed in the opposite manner.

Transgression, according to the perspective of the French philosopher, does not possess a negative character, for although it is an act of violence against the limit, it nevertheless does

not erase it. On the contrary, *it affirms the being limited, it affirms the unlimited into which it is thrown, opening it for the first time to existence* (Foucault, 2009, p. 33). Reflecting on the ruptures brought about by the renegades in their trajectories beyond the lands under the watchful eye of the *Estado da Índia*, it becomes clear that in breaking away from the dictates imposed upon them throughout their formation as subjects of the Portuguese Crown, they launched themselves into other possibilities of existence, transgressing the values and morals belonging to their original realities, ultimately profaning themselves.

Returning to Agamben's concept of profanation, the Foucauldian transgression would thus consist of a pivotal stage in what, as seen earlier, is understood as the return of the once sacred being, object, or place to common use. This return is conditioned upon the transgression of the limits instituted by the *religio* that hovers over what is sacred — a *religio* which, once disregarded, is nullified. Such disregard, in its disruptive action, establishes the contagion between the thing hitherto set apart from mundane reality by its sacred character, penetrating the *sanctum sanctorum* through the transgression of its boundaries.

This transgressive and profaning process, as inferred from the research presented here, can be observed in the lives of the six renegades whose documentation was analyzed. With their lives profoundly altered after fleeing to lands outside Portuguese jurisdiction in India and driven by reasons ranging from fear of destitution to persecution by a bishop or family members, António Camacho, Dom António Ramirez, Francisco Toscano, Jorge Cardozo Mendonça, Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo, and Gonçalo Toscano went into hiding. In other words, fled from justice. Renouncing their ties with the *Estado da Índia*, they immersed themselves in worlds different from those in which, in most cases, they had lived until then.

Becoming renegades, in order to survive among the Deccani groups with which they became involved, they apostatized, converting to Islam. Following this transformation, four of them served as warriors for the Deccan sultanates, some even fighting against the Portuguese. Thus, in order to shed light on how such experiences unfolded, the political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances of the region in question were examined, with particular emphasis on the Deccan wars of the mid-1500s, in which some of the six renegades were involved.

From this point onward, we proceed with a more detailed analysis of the case of António Camacho, whose documentation, being the most extensive among those obtained, allowed for a more thorough view of his experiences both in the Kingdom and in Asia. Furthermore, in addition to the concepts already discussed throughout this article, Michel de Certeau's concept of "tactic" was also brought into play, in dialogue with the others.

Understanding it, as Certeau presents it, as the ways in which the "weak", that is, those without the formal means to obtain and control power, make use of calculated means with the aim of securing advantages by exploiting gaps in the control exercised by the powerful over a distinct exteriority (Certeau, 2014, p. 45), it was possible to identify such a phenomenon in Camacho's trajectory.

In recounting his adventures and misfortunes to the Holy Office of Goa, he revealed the need to adapt to circumstances that would favor his survival amid both the persecutions he faced in the *Estado da Índia* and the wars in which he became involved while in the Deccan. Thus, Camacho deliberately set out for the interior of India, tactically transgressing his identity parameters, apostatizing by becoming a Muslim, and — given his ability to pragmatically manipulate his own identity — profaning himself.

Although his case received more attention, those of Jorge Cardozo de Mendonça, António Ramirez, and Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo were also examined, since, based on the analysis of the sources concerning them, they also bring to light aspects of their experiences in the Indian interior that can be interpreted in light of the three concepts presented here.

As for the Toscanos, Francisco and Gonçalo, in their proceedings and the trajectories described therein, another form of identity profanation was observed: unlike the other renegades, beyond adopting Islam, the Toscanos also temporarily assumed the *jogue* identity. The term, whose origin, historicity, and relation to the inquisitorial procedure of the Goan Holy Office were examined, was used in the Portuguese experience in Asia to designate various Hindu and Muslim ascetic groups.

Present even in the work of the Jesuit Francisco de Sousa to describe the so-called "Portuguese-speaking yogin" mentioned at the beginning of this article, the term was employed by the inquisitorial agents responsible for the defendants in question to understand the ways in which these men transformed themselves within the Indian realities beyond Portuguese jurisdiction.

These transformations, in turn, were also analyzed in light of transgression, tactic, and profanation, as well as through the lens of a proposal to view these two cases as points of connection between different worlds. Moving between the Luso-Indian, Deccani Islamic, and Hindu realities of central India, the Toscanos' experiences serve as a complex link between so many distinct universes, aiding in the understanding of the relationships among them.

Both, before the Tribunal of the Holy Office of Goa, demonstrated the use of a trait found in what the tribunal understood as *jogues*: their wandering nature and their safety in moving through lands dominated by Hindus and Muslims. Each defendant claimed to his respective inquisitors

that, in the necessity of fleeing their persecutors, they assumed the appearance of what judges and deputies perceived as "that of *jogues*." The inquisitorial knowledge about them was not necessarily the same as that held by the defendants themselves. Having both lived among different "gentile" and "Moorish" populations, it is possible that their access to Indian ascetics occurred in different ways, either directly or indirectly, through conversations with inhabitants of the regions through which they traveled.

Therefore, in one way or another, both developed for themselves the understanding that presenting themselves as *yogins* would ensure their safety among the Hindu and Muslim groups scattered across the regions they would pass through. Thus, the account they gave to the tribunal was not necessarily an assertion that they had adopted for themselves the composite figure of the *jogue*. Perhaps they merely described the appearances they assumed in those delicate moments of their lives in response to the inquisitors' questions about those periods. Appearances, modeled after the ascetics of India, that favored their passage and were interpreted by the tribunal as being those of *jogues*.

Could these particular defendants, in fact, have absorbed Indian ascetic practices? The possibility that this occurred, at some level, albeit vaguely and pragmatically, during their experiences disguised as Hindu ascetics can be discerned thanks to the connection, according to their testimonies before the Inquisitorial Board, with a principle shared among practitioners of Yogic asceticism: *yoganidrā*. Literally translated into our language as "yogi's sleep," it conveys the idea of non-existence, akin to a metaphorical death or deep sleep. Thus, it leads the practitioner to voluntarily relinquish their own personality, assuming another, grounded in the values of the doctrine (Patanjali, 2021, p. 65).

Beyond merely seeking the desired safety through the use of garments similar to those of the ascetics in question — emulating their appearance and, through it, aiming to be regarded as sacred in the same way as Indian anchorites — Francisco and Gonçalo also ended up abstaining from themselves. After all, they abandoned, albeit temporarily, functionally, and perhaps superficially, their identities as Muslims or Christians, assuming another identity that was at once diffuse and precise.

Diffuse, because, according to different branches of Yoga, the individual was to renounce their particularities, becoming part of a group whose members were relatively and aesthetically indistinguishable from one another. Aesthetically, by sharing with their peers a homogenizing code of appearance and demeanor, thus enabling their identification as part of the group and nullifying, at least outwardly, their individuality. As for the relativization, this is due to the fact that, depending

on the branch to which the individual was affiliated, the patterns of external identification would change.

Even so, among all, by sharing the precepts of Yoga, detachment from the ego was preached, with members of its branches being exhorted to become indistinguishable among their companions, "killing" their personality and surrendering themselves to the basic principle of *yoganidrā*. This, in turn, can be observed through the aforementioned Agambenian concepts of profanation and sacralization.

After all, to enter the various branches of Yoga, the aspirant had to abstain from the relationships they had with the realities within which their identity had been constructed, freeing themselves from the prior meanings of their existence as well as from the attributes that constituted them as a being belonging to a given political, social, cultural, and economic reality — thus enabling the "emptying" of their previous identity in the guise of "purification."

"Purification," in turn, is closely associated with identity profanation. After all, through that process, Gonçalo and Francisco Toscano assumed for themselves the power to reshape their identities despite their previous affiliations with the Luso-Indian and Muslim worlds, as well as despite having, for a time, submitted to the processes of sacralization of their identities within those contexts. This profane attitude becomes even more evident when considering their intention to adopt the appearance of "gentile" anchorites, as they did so in order to move safely through the Deccan.

It is necessary to recognize, on the other hand, that in order to be perceived as *yogin* members, they would have had to adopt not only the clothing but also other codes that would bring them as close as possible to those they sought to emulate. Thus, as much as they engaged in a process of identity profanation, this was intertwined with a new process of sacralization.

Indeed, in order to achieve their aim of convincingly altering their appearances as Hindu ascetics, they had to subject their identities to the norms, at least the aesthetic ones, of the groups whose habits and customs they sought to imitate. This allows us to glimpse, at least superficially, a new moment of self-sacralization, in which fully free manipulation was prevented. After all, they were subjecting themselves to a new set of rules regarding the constitution of their fluid identities, which had to correspond, at least in appearance, to those of specific groups.

Gonçalo and Francisco Toscano, therefore, by imitating the appearance of one of the Indian ascetic groups, enacted — through the profanation of their own identities and the pragmatic submission to other processes of sacralization — the diffusion of their identities into that shared by the "gentile" anchorites, eclipsing their particularities and blending into one of the groups

practicing asceticism. This tactical choice, in turn, was deliberate, for they could have opted for different forms of disguise among the countless groups existing in the regions they traversed. Nevertheless, they chose the specific appearance of the ascetics in question.

An appearance linked to uncertain identities manipulated by the defendants in question, who, understanding the possibilities of shaping their identities to their own advantage, profanely assumed the roles of Christians, Muslims, and Indian ascetics. By adapting to the sacralizing processes of each of these forms of affiliation to the realities surrounding them, they acted, at varying depths, in accordance with the customs and beliefs of each. And, calculating the obstacles they might face throughout their journeys across the subcontinent, when they required greater safety, they abandoned such identifications, assuming the vague identity of the Indian ascetic. Vague because it was varied and intentionally diffuse, consequently ensuring their temporary disappearance until they reached safety at their destinations.

Brief Conclusion

Faced with a research subject of such complexity, the investigation summarized here followed paths that could bring to light the richness of the fabric of the experiences of the men identified as renegades. Able to discern the nuances of the ethical, aesthetic, and political codes of the Indian societies in which they lived or through which they carried out their escapes, they did so quickly enough to ensure their survival.

Pragmatically retaining elements of these societies when convenient or abandoning them when necessary, they manipulated themselves throughout this process. As this was observed during the examination of the inquisitorial records that preserved part of their experiences, it became clear from the outset that their lives, in themselves, represented an interesting subject to be investigated.

After all, through these six renegades it was possible to perceive flows between the Luso-Indian domains and the Deccani sultanates, as well as cultural exchanges and tactics adopted by men who did not belong to the upper strata of the Portuguese imperial hierarchy. This alone was of great value to the present research. However, how to address the ability observed in them to transform themselves so many times, as recorded in their trials and sentences?

From this question arose the need to go further, not merely compiling data and creating a historical narrative that accounted for the comings and goings between powers and regions of the Indian subcontinent that they carried out. As presented throughout this article, concepts and perspectives from the philosophy of Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault were employed in an

attempt to approach the possible meanings of the identity metamorphoses undertaken by António Camacho, Dom António Ramirez, Francisco Toscano, Jorge Cardozo Mendonça, Gonçalo Guedes de Revoredo, and Gonçalo Toscano.

Caution, of course, was a defining feature of this analytical and interpretative process, so as not to apply concepts overly foreign to the subject under study in an arbitrary manner. Thus, the selection of resources drawn from Philosophy was meticulous, relying on a considerable range of works by Foucault and Agamben to assess the applicability of the chosen concepts from these authors. Likewise, works by other philosophers — both readers of and critics to them — were consulted with the aim of understanding the various facets of their ideas.

Therefore, the establishment of the dialogue proposed here between Philosophy and History, neither new nor unfamiliar to historiography, made it possible to see a little beyond the mists that shrouded these lives captured by the Holy Office of Goa more than four hundred years ago. Dense mists, within which the six renegades still conceal many of their adventures and misfortunes, glimpsed precisely through the historical-philosophical dialogue.

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