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THE TEMPORAL  
AND SPIRITUAL  
CONQUEST OF  
CEYLON

FERNAO DE QUEYRCZ

TRANSLATED FROM PORTUGUES BY  
S.G. PERERA

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IN THREE VOLUMES

Vol. I Book 1-2



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# The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon.

BY

Father FERNAO DE QUEYROZ,  
*of the Society of Jesus, Sometime Provincial of Goa.*

TRANSLATED BY

Father S. G PERERA,  
*of the same Society*

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## PREFACE.

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'The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon' has been declared to be second only to the *Mahawansa* in its value for the history of Ceylon. Like that great Sinhalese Chronicle, it is not a book for the general reader, but a source-book for students of history. Its translation, therefore, as befits a source-book, is absolutely and unblushingly literal. The author's descriptions, statements, and comments, are done into English exactly as they stand in the original Portuguese, with little alteration of the structure of a sentence whenever such literal renderings are possible and intelligible. Consequently this translation will be found to be neither easy to read, nor elegant in language, but ponderous, outlandish, and sometimes, I fear, a sentence will have to be read a second and even a third time before the meaning becomes clear. I may plead in excuse that even if the reader knew Portuguese and read the original text, he would be in a like predicament. It is no discredit, I venture to think, but rather a recommendation, if a translation is no clearer than the original. The translator who attempts to interpret runs the risk of incurring the reproach implied in the dictum: *traduttori traduttori*.

This translation is the outcome of the intervention and enterprise of Mr. John M. Seneviratne, F.R.H.S., editor of the now defunct *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. He it was who induced the Government to entrust it to me and persuaded me to accept the task. I accepted it with misgiving and it proved to be an even more toilsome task than I had bargained for. Yet, if I had only myself to please, I should not have issued this translation till I had endeavoured to reduce its crudities and defects. But as life is short and time is fleeting, I did not think it fair to those who are awaiting this translation to delay its publication any longer, and therefore submit my translation, such as it is, to the public in spite of my very vivid sense of its many imperfections.

I have received kind assistance from others in various ways, which it is my duty publicly to acknowledge. Father Jose Pereira Dias of the Portuguese Province of the Society of Jesus gave me much help. He translated portions of this book at my request, and I used his translations to check and emend

my own. Though the translation here published and the responsibility for it are mine, I gratefully acknowledge the help I derived from his translations. Mr. H. W. Codrington of the Ceylon Civil Service, likewise, rendered me a great service. He read the whole of my translation in type-script and made many useful suggestions and not a few emendations and occasionally even corrections. I am much beholden to him for the readiness with which he allowed me to inflict such a dull and tedious task on his time and patience. The Rector of the Papal Seminary, Kandy, lent me the manuscript copy of the text of Queyroz belonging to the Seminary: Father Arkwright, S.J., Mr. W. C. D. Pentelow, C.C.S., and the Right Reverend Dr. A. M. Teixeira, Bishop of Mylapore, permitted me at various times to consult them on obscure passages: Father S. Gnana Prakasar, O.M.I., read the portions referring to Jaffna and supplied me with some notes: Father Peter de Silva, S.J., and some young students of St. Aloysius' College sacrificed their spare time to help me to prepare the Index according to a method suggested to me by Mr. L. J. B. Turner, C.C.S., Director of Statistics and Office Systems: and last but not least, Father M. H. Soden, S.J., let me thrust on his shoulders the drudgery of proof-reading. To all of them therefore I express my very sincere thanks.

St. Aloysius' College,  
Galle, 9th July, 1929.

S. G. PERERA, S.J.

## INTRODUCTION

FERNÃO DE QUEYROZ<sup>1</sup> was born at Amarante<sup>2</sup> in Portugal in the Province of Entre Douro e Minho in 1617, and on December 26, 1631, he entered the novitiate of the Society of Jesus at Coimbra. After his early studies he set out for the Indian Missions, the youngest of a batch of some thirty Jesuits.<sup>3</sup> They sailed from Lisbon on April 12, 1635, in the fleet of the out-going Viceroy, Pedro da Silva, and reached Cochín on November 22.<sup>4</sup> Queyroz remained four days in the Jesuit College of Cochín<sup>5</sup> and, continuing the voyage, arrived at Goa on December 8.

In Goa he read philosophy and theology, in which he showed such proficiency that he was selected to be a professor of Theology<sup>6</sup>. But his administrative abilities soon marked him out for other posts and he was promoted from one superiorship to another, being successively Vice-Rector in Diu, Rector of the College of Tana, Rector of Basseim and twice Provost of the Professed House of the Bom Jesu at Goa.<sup>7</sup> He was then made Parish Priest of the important Brahamin Catholic

<sup>1</sup> This name is sometimes spelt with an *s*, sometimes with *z*. In this book as well as in his other printed work, the author signs the Dedication Fernão de Queyros. Likewise on the title page of the printed work and in the original imprimatur of the Society and of the Holy Office, the name is spelt Queyros. But on the title page and in the course of this book as well as in the other, the name is spelt Queyroz, 442, 873.

<sup>2</sup> Sommervogel: *Bibliothèque de la Comp. de Jesus* VI., 1341-2, and Franco: *Imagem da Virtude*, II., 616, and Schurhammer: *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bahu und Franz Xavers* I., 40, say that he was born at Canavezes, but Father Francisco Rodrigues, S.J., to whom I am indebted for many of the biographical details, informs me that his birthplace is Amarante (MS. Goa, 25, f. 85). See also *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, V., 210, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Vida do venrav. Ir. Pedro de Basto*, 225. *Infra* 545.

<sup>4</sup> A detailed account of the voyage is given in 'R.P. Marcellus Mastrilli e Societate Jesu et xxxii sociorum, ac xvi aliorum Religiosorum, *Iter in Indiam*, S. P. Francisci Xaverii Patrocinio feliciter peractum. *Ab eodem Marcello descriptum atque ad Catholicam Hispaniarum Regiam transmissum*. Antwerpiae, 1637. *Bulletin of Orient. Studies* V. 211.

<sup>5</sup> *Vida Introd.* 3r.

<sup>6</sup> MS. Cat. S.J. 1647.

Though old Goa is now a wilderness, full of ruins, the Professed House of the Bom Jesu, where this book was written, still exists, a majestic and massive building. It is in the church of the Bom Jesu that the body of St. Francis Xavier is still preserved.

community of Salsette, but was soon recalled to be Provincial of the Order. The Provincial is the highest Superior of the Society in a country, and is subordinate only to the General of the Society. The Provincial directs the activities of the members of the Order within the Province and supervises the various houses and Colleges of the Order. Father Queyroz filled this post for the usual term of three years, 1677-1680. After laying down his office, he lived in Goa, engaged in sacerdotal and literary occupations and died on April 10, 1688, after a continuous residence of fifty-three years in India.

His long familiarity with the country, its people and languages, the prominence of the ecclesiastical posts he held, and his reputation for wisdom, made him a person in the public eye of Goa. He was a vigorous preacher, and once a sermon delivered by him in the church of the Bom Jesu led to some unpleasantry and formed the basis of a charge against the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> In the Dedication of this present work, he alludes to his dealings with the Viceroy of the day, and he subscribes himself 'Your Excellency's unworthy chaplain'. For nineteen years he was Deputy Inquisitor of Goa, and his sovereign, Dom Pedro II., presented his name to the Holy See for the vacant Patriarchate of Ethiopia. The news of his elevation to the patriarchal dignity reached Goa in 1671,<sup>2</sup> but Ethiopia was then as good as closed to Christian missions, and Queyroz was never consecrated bishop. Nevertheless he composed a *Treatise on the means of getting to Ethiopia*, which he sent to Europe in 1672.<sup>3</sup> His further letters on this subject, addressed to the General of the Society, have been found worthy of publication.<sup>4</sup>

His works

Father Queyroz was moreover a scholarly man of literary tastes, who has been described by a contemporary as an erudite savant. He had prepared several works for publication, but all his manuscripts, save one, were destroyed in an outbreak of fire which destroyed the Jesuit College of St. Paul

<sup>1</sup> The charge of calumniating the Vicars Apostolic of Siam. Queyroz warned his congregation against certain Jansenistic ideas infiltrating into India. He was thereupon denounced to the Inquisition as alluding to the Vicars Apostolic, as certain Jansenistic propositions condemned by Rome, were found in their works. This was the foundation for the fifteenth charge against the Jesuits in the East, presented to Rome in 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Vida* 224-5.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix III. in MS. 11966, formerly in King's College, now in the School of Oriental Studies. See *Bulletin* II., 513-38, and the elucidations of Father G. Schurhammer, S.J., in *Bulletin* V., 209-227.

<sup>4</sup> Becarii, *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores* XIII., 444-451.

in 1664.<sup>1</sup> In this book he frequently refers to his other books, written or 'to be written if God gives us life'.<sup>2</sup> One of these is a Latin work dealing with Eastern religions.<sup>3</sup> Another is a work entitled *Perfeito Missionario*,<sup>4</sup> in six parts. A third is a book cognate with the present work and entitled *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of the East*.<sup>5</sup> It is referred to by Somervoge<sup>1,6</sup> and Lopes de Aibizu says it is awaiting publication,<sup>7</sup> but there is no trace of it now.

The best known work of Father Queyroz and the first to be printed was the *Life of the Venerable Brother Pedro de Basto of the Society of Jesus*.<sup>8</sup> It is a work of great interest to our present purpose, as *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* is its direct outcome. It is the biography of a Jesuit Lay-brother, who was the object of great veneration in Portuguese India and even in Portugal. A Jesuit Lay-brother is a member of the Society, vowed to Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience, like the clerical members of the Order, but who devotes his life wholly to domestic work in the Colleges and houses of the Society. Brother Pedro thus filled the office of Cook, Linen-keeper, Porter, and the like in various Jesuit Colleges in India and finally in the College of Cochin. In the course of his life he became known to many of his brother Jesuits as a man of remarkable holiness of life, much given to prayer and meditation. He was believed especially to possess the gift of prophecy. His reputation soon spread outside the cloister, and many persons, high and low, ecclesiastical and secular, flocked to him from all parts to ask his prayers or to consult him in their difficulties. Finally after a humble life of many years, Brother Pedro died, as he had lived, in the odour of sanctity, at Cochin on March 1, 1645.

<sup>1</sup> *Vida* Introd. 4r. When the room of Father Queyroz was in flames, a lay-brother, to do the Father a service, rushed to his room and rescued some papers, which turned out to be the Autobiography of Brother Basto. Father Queyroz was persuaded that it was 'a special providence of heaven, if not a miracle,' that this irreparable Ms. was saved.

<sup>2</sup> See index. Queyroz, other works.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Infra* 141.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra* 1004, 1037.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>8</sup> *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto, Coadjutor Temporal da Companhia de Jesus, e da variedade de successos que Lhe se manifestou, ordenada pelo Padre Fernão de Queyroz da Companhia de Jesus. Em Lisboa, Na Officina de Miguel Deslandes, Impressor de Sua Magestade. Anno MDCLXXXIX, com todas as licenças necessarias.*

After his death there was a persistent demand for a biography. Some preparations were made by taking down testimonies in writing, from persons who had known the Brother intimately or who claimed to have received the benefit of his prayers and predictions. However, the extraordinarily mystic character of the Brother's life required a wise and learned biographer, competent to examine the alleged predictions in cold blood; but the Portuguese State of India and the Jesuit Province of Cochin were in such sore straits at the time that nothing was done. Finally the lot fell on Fernão de Queyroz. When Cochin was taken by the Dutch in 1663, the Brother's private writings, diaries, letters, and the like, as well as the sworn testimonies that were taken, were all brought to Goa and placed in the hands of Father Queyroz, who seemed the fittest person to undertake such a task.

Origin of the  
Conquista

In these papers Father Queyroz came upon a topic of great interest. He found that the current report that the Brother had made many predictions about the ultimate fate of the Portuguese State in India was well grounded, and he was especially struck by the numerous declarations, made in the Brother's own handwriting, about the fate of Portuguese Ceylon. The Brother had predicted the expulsion from Ceylon that was in store for the Portuguese, long before the event took place.<sup>1</sup> And the Brother had moreover declared it to be a punishment from God for the misdeeds of the Portuguese. Many of the victories and defeats of the Portuguese in Ceylon were found to have been announced by the Brother at Cochin at the very time they were taking place in Ceylon. A Captain-General going out to govern Ceylon had had an interview with the Brother and had received wholesome warnings and predictions.<sup>2</sup> The predictions and the warnings were both deeply engraved in the General's memory, and he was so much impressed by their actual fulfilment that, though no friend of the Jesuits, he visited the Brother's grave, on his way back to India as Viceroy and displayed his veneration in the usual demonstrative fashion of the Portuguese.

The papers of the Brother showed moreover that he had seen some very curious and interesting visions, symbolic of the fate of the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. On one occasion when the Brother was praying for the welfare of Ceylon, he had a vision<sup>3</sup> of Christ in the state he was after the scourging; and the vision said, holding three spears, one long

<sup>1</sup> *Vida* 377-390, *infra* 779, 851, 855.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 136-144.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* 1002-3.

and two short ones, in his hand: 'These three spears have to be broken in Ceylon.' Father Queyroz interpreted the vision to refer to the loss of Colombo, Mannar, and Jaffna. Again<sup>1</sup> when the Brother was praying for the Catholics of Negombo and Galle, persecuted by the Dutch after the capture of the two towns, Christ appeared to him in a vision and bade him not pray for the punishment of the persecutor, but for his conversion to the faith, adding that the Dutch were an instrument in His hands for the punishment of Portuguese India, because He was not satisfied with the Portuguese Christians. 'When that is done, I will dissolve them as salt in water.' This vision Father Queyroz interpreted in the light of some other curious predictions<sup>2</sup> he found recorded by Ceylon residents. It was said that a Yogi had announced to a Portuguese soldier that a blue-eyed nation would drive the Portuguese out of Ceylon, but that the Portuguese would drive them out again. Another Sinhalese sage of Matara is said to have deduced the same from ancient Sinhalese writings. In all these predictions it was implied that it was the Portuguese who would drive the Dutch out of Ceylon. At any rate Queyroz interpreted the visions of the Brother in the light of these predictions and concluded that it was the Portuguese who would expel the Dutch from Ceylon.

Struck by the vigour and number of these and similar utterances of the Brother, Queyroz determined to investigate the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon in order to equip himself for the task of writing the Biography. His intention was to place the Brother's visions and predictions on a background of history,<sup>3</sup> so that the Portuguese reader might realize the truth of the Brother's declaration that the loss of Ceylon was a chastisement from on high.

This was within ten years of the fall of Colombo. For a study of the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon there existed at the time only the published histories of Barros and Couto; but these dealt only with the earlier phases. Of the latter and more eventful stage there was no written record, but there were veteran soldiers and Ceylon residents in Goa who had returned thither after the loss of Ceylon, and not only was the research on which Queyroz embarked rewarded by the discovery of valuable contemporary writings, but he was also just in time to save memoirs from destruction and to take down reliable accounts of the events of the last years from the very lips of the actors before that generation passed away.

<sup>1</sup> 1003-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra* 746-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Vida* 255.

These discoveries led him to change the plan of his Biography, for so great was the abundance of the material he had discovered that it loaded the Biography unduly, and he was advised to omit the historical portion. This made him think of writing a separate book on the Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon. This decision was largely due to three reasons. First of all, he realized that the Brother's indictment of the Portuguese in Ceylon was true. Secondly, he conceived such an idea of this Island that he considered it a very great mistake not to have made Ceylon the capital of the Portuguese State in the East. Thirdly, seeing that the Catholics of Ceylon were being persecuted by the Dutch and that it was up to the Portuguese to come to their help, and persuaded as he was that the Portuguese were destined to drive the Dutch out of Ceylon, he wished not only to stimulate them to attempt it without loss of time, but also to teach them the lessons of history. These three considerations colour the whole of his book and are responsible for its length, its arrangement, its reflections, and conclusions.

Sources

In the Introduction the author says<sup>1</sup> that besides printed works he made use of the diligence of Afonso Dias da Lomba and Antonio Barboza Pinheyro, the manuscript works of Bento da Silva and Friar Francisco Negrao and private documents, and took information from many persons very familiar with the Island.

Printed works  
Barros

The printed works referred to in the course of this history are those of Barros, Couto, Menezes, and Faria y Souza. Of these Joao de Barros (1496-1570) is the earliest Portuguese chronicler, whose work, modelled on Livy, is a Portuguese prose classic. He was never in India, but held the office of Treasurer of the Casa da India e Ceuta (1525-1528) and afterwards that of Factor of the Casa da India e Mina (1532-1567). Having made up his mind to write the history of the Portuguese in India, he took great pains to consult those who had been in India and to procure translations of the chronicles of the countries concerned. In 1552 he produced the first of his well-known Decads, in 1553 the second, and the third in 1563. His unfinished fourth Decad was completed by Joao Bautista Lavanha and published in 1615. In these four Decads he brought the history down to February, 1526.

The period covered is thus a short one, and of Ceylon, Barros gives practically only the story of its 'discovery' (I.-x.-5), an account of the 'island of Ceilam, which the ancients called Tapobrana' (III.-ii.-1), the erection of a fortress by Lopo Soarez (III.-ii.-2), the first siege of the fortress

<sup>1</sup> XVIII.

(III.-iv.-6), and the siege of Cota by the king of Ceitavaca and the Malabars (IV.-vii.-22). But of all this Queyroz had so much better information that he practically ignores Barros.

Diogo do Couto (1542-1616) on the other hand was a Couto historian of merit and dealt with a very much longer period. He was educated at the Jesuit College of Lisbon, and being forced to take to the profession of arms, he set out for India as a soldier in 1599 at the age of seventeen. After nine years' service he returned home to Portugal, but sailed again for India in 1571, married and settled down in Goa. He then conceived the idea of writing the history of the Portuguese in the East and actually recorded the doings of the decade 1581-1588, when Philip the First of Portugal, the Second of Spain, being informed of his purpose, directed him to begin from where Barros had left off. The king moreover appointed him (1591) Custodian of the archives of the Torre do Tombo of Goa. In 1596 he completed the fourth Decad (1526-1535), which was printed at Lisbon in 1602. The fifth Decad (1536-1545) was printed in 1612, the sixth (1545-1554) in 1614. The seventh Decad (1555-1564) was lost in a wreck, but was rewritten. The manuscript of the eighth (1564-1570) and ninth (1571-1580) was stolen, but Couto wrote a summary of the eighth and a part of the ninth. The tenth Decad (1581-1588), which was the first that he wrote, was printed only in 1788 in the complete edition of the Decads. The eleventh Decad (1589-1595) has mysteriously disappeared, and the twelfth (1596-1600), which brought the history down to 1600, was printed in September, 1645.

Couto had a great advantage over Barros in that he had served in India both as a soldier and an official and had taken part in some of the events he described. Though Portuguese critics, carried away by the literary merits of Barros, paid little attention to Couto, the latter's narrative is historically far more valuable, being interspersed with personal touches, more dramatic, picturesque, and in touch with reality. He also took pains to ascertain the truth of what he wrote. For instance, the account of the siege of Cota he obtained from Francisco Macedo. He listened to a Sinhalese prince chanting the Sinhalese chronicles while an interpreter translated them for him, and he was the first to give a translated summary of the *Rajavaliya*. The period treated by Couto was an eventful one in Ceylon and his account is a long and detailed one. Queyroz has made large use of Couto's Decads, but his manuscript sources enabled him to elucidate,<sup>1</sup> correct,<sup>2</sup> criticise,<sup>3</sup> and even reprehend<sup>4</sup> Couto.

<sup>1</sup> *Infra* 347. <sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 204. <sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 274, 293. <sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 37, 269.

Menezes

Joaõ Rodriguez de Sa y Menezes (1608-1682) was the son of Constantine de Sa de Noronha, the Captain-General of Ceylon who fell with his army at Vellavaya. To vindicate the good name of the General from the accusations of his enemies, the son wrote a small book in Spanish entitled: *The Rebellion of Ceylon*.<sup>1</sup> It is for the most part a compilation from the earlier works, and the only portion of historical value is the account of Sa's administration and of the conspiracy which led to his expedition to Uva and the rout of the Portuguese army. The younger Sa was never in India, but he seems to have received accounts of his father's work from the General's friends and admirers. Queyroz had a high esteem of this work and refers the reader to it, but he had more graphic and detailed accounts which enabled him to confirm, correct, and amplify the account of Menezes.

Faria y Souza

Manoel Faria y Souza (1581-1649) was a Portuguese who wrote in Spanish a summary of previously published works and of some manuscripts, under the title of *Asia Portuguesa*. The first volume appeared in 1666 after the author's death, the second in 1674 and the third in 1675, the three volumes bringing the history down to 1640. Souza's work has less historical value than that of any of his predecessors, though he has enriched it with astute comments and caustic observations made from his armchair in Madrid. A faulty and incomplete translation with many omissions was made by Captain J. Stevens, London (1694), and as this was the first and for a long time the only Portuguese history available in English, Souza enjoyed an undeserved reputation in English-speaking countries.

Queyroz made little use of the *Asia Portuguesa*, to which however he refers the reader. But he has seldom a good word for Souza, whom he often rebukes<sup>2</sup> for his inaccuracies, misrepresentations, and exaggerations, in this book as well as in the *Vida*.

Unpublished material

How far the author was assisted by 'the diligence' of Afonso Dias da Lomba and Antonio Barboza Pinheyro cannot be determined, though the explicit acknowledgment seems to suggest that it was considerable. Lomba is referred to by name only twice,<sup>3</sup> and in both cases it is implied that Queyroz had a written work of Lomba before him. Nothing however is known of the man or his work. But there is in the *Ajuda*

Lomba

<sup>1</sup> *Rebellion de Ceylan, y los progresses de su Conquesta en el Gobierno de Constantino de Saa y Noronha. Escribela su Hijo Juan Rodriguez de Saa y Menezes.* (Lisboa, 1681.)

<sup>2</sup> See Index.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra* 120, 490.

Library a manuscript entitled: *Relatorio do Triste Sucesso que teve a conquista da Ilha de Ceilaõ*<sup>1</sup>: (LI.-viii.-40, peca 17, ff 188-191) written by Afonso Dias da Lomba. It is a short account in three large folios, of the disaster that befel Constantine de Sa de Noronha, and of the siege of Colombo that followed. According to this manuscript, Lomba was in Colombo at the time (1630), three of his nephews fell with Sa, and his narrative of the rout is based on the statements of a few lascarins who succeeded in reaching Colombo. Apparently this manuscript had not been seen by Queyroz, whose account of the destruction of Sa is fuller and more complete and is based on another manuscript which is known to us and differs from this in the matter of dates, numbers, and names.

From this manuscript we may infer that Lomba was a country-born Portuguese, for his three nephews are explicitly stated to be such. He was probably a son or relative of Antonio Dias da Lomba who is frequently mentioned<sup>2</sup> in this history from 1555 to 1581 as having been a prominent personage at Kotte and afterwards alcaide-mor, or chief magistrate in Colombo. Queyroz credits him with an action the description of which is taken from Couto, and which Couto says 'was done by a soldier whose name we cannot ascertain'.<sup>3</sup> Apparently Afonso Dias da Lomba returned to India after the fall of Colombo and was consulted by Queyroz. Antonio Barboza Barboza Pinheyro is mentioned three<sup>4</sup> times. He took part in the defence of Negombo in 1639 and was captured by the Dutch. A remark, which the Dutch Governor made to him, is recorded. After his release, he returned to Ceylon and was a Captain of Artillery during the last siege of Colombo. We know nothing more about the man or the nature of the assistance he gave the author, except that he is said to have had some knowledge of the beginnings of the conquest.<sup>5</sup>

Of Bento da Silva the author gives us some details. He Bento da Silva was a soldier<sup>6</sup> and a magistrate<sup>7</sup> in Ceylon during the government of Don Jeronimo de Azevedo. An event in which he took part and an episode of his experience as a magistrate are recorded. He had written a history<sup>8</sup> of events up to the death of Wimaladharmas (1604). It is from this history that Queyroz obtained such ample and circumstantial details of the events

<sup>1</sup> Translation in the press.

<sup>2</sup> 323, 347, 348, 350, 397, 399, 403, 404, 407, 420, 422, 423, 434, 437.

<sup>3</sup> J.C.B.R.A.S. XX., 210. *Infra* 347.

<sup>4</sup> 820, 821, 944.

<sup>5</sup> XVIII.

<sup>6</sup> 91, 538.

<sup>7</sup> 91.

<sup>8</sup> 105, 274, 275, 276, 277, 279, 514, 604.

of the government of Azevedo, of which Silva was an eye witness. In fact it is noticeable that, though Azevedo governed Ceylon for seventeen years, the narrative of the doings of the first ten years fill 115 pages while the last seven years are summed up in 14 pages. This was evidently because Silva's manuscript ended with 1604, the tenth year of Azevedo's administration. Queyroz complains<sup>1</sup> that he had but brief and summary accounts of the doings of the last seven years of Azevedo.

Of the events prior to Azevedo, Silva could only know from the reports of others, and Queyroz points out that he has possibly mixed up events and that his account does not possess verisimilitude. It is also from Silva that Queyroz drew his interesting account of what the Sinhalese knew of mathematics, and he slyly adds that as the informants were not mathematicians, we cannot fully rely on them. The anecdote related from Silva's magisterial experience suggests that it was from him that Queyroz obtained the information about the marriage customs of the Sinhalese.

Negrao

Francisco Negrao was an Italian, Indian born, who became Guardian of the Franciscans in Ceylon and Commissary General, Guardian of Malacca, and chronicler of the Province of San Thome.<sup>2</sup> He was a missionary in Ceylon in 1610 according to Civezza,<sup>3</sup> tutor to the children of the king of Kandy for nine years according to the *Jornada*. In 1619 he was at Ispahan on his way to Rome, according to Pietro della Valle<sup>4</sup> who met him there and again to Goa in 1623. According to Faria y Souza<sup>5</sup> he was in Kandy in 1629; according to his own statement, quoted by Queyroz,<sup>6</sup> he was at Calicut in 1636.

As Chronicler of the Order, Friar Negrao travelled a good deal in and out of Ceylon. He visited Anuradhapura and measured the ruins,<sup>7</sup> though a Captain sent by Constantine de Sa to investigate the ruins found nothing in spite of a fifteen-days' tour. Negrao also procured translations of Sinhalese

<sup>1</sup> 609, 621.

<sup>2</sup> The Province of San Thome is the province of the Order to which the Franciscans labouring in Ceylon belonged. At first all the Franciscans in the East belonged to the Province of Portugal. In 1517 they were attached to the Province of the Observance in Portugal, but from 1518 to the Custodia of San Thome which was made a Province in 1612.—Schurhammer.

<sup>3</sup> VII., 3.

<sup>4</sup> See *Anthropos* 1907, 272-274.

<sup>5</sup> *Asia Portuguesa* II. iv. 3.

<sup>6</sup> 209.

<sup>7</sup> 12.

chronicles and made up a list of the kings of Ceylon. The Chronicle of the Province of San Thome which he composed he took with him to Rome in 1619, but it was not printed, and Pietro della Valle found him in Goa in 1623 still awaiting the publication. It is probably this Chronicle which Queyroz quotes and refers to as Negrao's work. Queyroz also speaks of his memoirs,<sup>1</sup> notes,<sup>2</sup> and additions and comments.<sup>3</sup> The Chronicle was hitherto reported as 'mysteriously disappeared'. It was seen by della Valle in Goa and used by Queyroz. Barboza found it at Lisbon in 1747, but according to Father Schurhammer, S.J., it was lost during the earthquake of Lisbon in 1755.

Negrao is not quoted or mentioned by Queyroz in connection with any event posterior to 1612, though we learn that he added notes in 1636. This seems to show that Faria y Souza is mistaken in placing Negrao as a hostage at Kandy in 1629. We know that Souza in his *Asia Portuguesa* mistook a Friar of St. Francis for St. Francis Xavier. Queyroz gives the names of those who were in Kandy at the time.<sup>4</sup>

Negrao was the authority of Queyroz for a great deal of the information contained in the first book, and for the history of events up to 1612. He is expressly mentioned as his informant about ancient Ceylon history, the ruins of Anuradhapura,<sup>5</sup> the expedition of Antonio Moniz Barreto,<sup>6</sup> the rapacity of Don Afonso de Noronha,<sup>7</sup> Don Constantine de Braganza,<sup>8</sup> the skirmish of Buralacota,<sup>9</sup> the exploits of Azevedo,<sup>10</sup> and about the work of Franciscans,<sup>11</sup> and other missionaries<sup>12</sup> and converts.<sup>13</sup>

There is an original manuscript in the Ajuda Library of Lisbon (51-VII.-40, peca 27, ff. 266-280v.) described as *An Historical, Geographical, and Topographical Account of the Island of Ceylon*, of which a copy was procured for the Government Archives of Colombo. It is a detailed description of Ceylon almost identical, word for word, with the greater part of the first ten chapters of the First Book of the Conquista. It is not, as one would be inclined to think at first sight, a source of Queyroz, which he had embodied wholesale in his book, but rather a draft or first recension of the first part of the First Book of the Conquista. It is not a work of Negrao, for a passage

<sup>1</sup> 490.

<sup>2</sup> 612.

<sup>3</sup> 508.

<sup>4</sup> 710-14.

<sup>5</sup> 12, 13.

<sup>6</sup> 268-274.

<sup>7</sup> 288 306.

<sup>8</sup> 381.

<sup>9</sup> 564.

<sup>10</sup> 612.

<sup>11</sup> 279, 490, 493, 500.

<sup>12</sup> 288.

<sup>13</sup> 245, 609.



from Negraõ quoted by Queyroz on p. 12 is not found there where the rest of the passage is found. Nor is it Bento da Silva's, for on page 105 is a passage, common to this manuscript and the Conquista, where Queyroz interpolates a sentence in which he speaks of the document of Bento da Silva, which is not in the manuscript. Nor is it Lomba's, for a statement attributed to Lomba in the Conquista is not found in the manuscript where the rest of the passage occurs. Moreover statements found in this manuscript are given in the Conquista as 'some say'. And a sentence from this manuscript is modified in the Conquista by the statement 'if the Narrator is not confusing'.

Again at the conclusion of the description of the kingdom of Cota, Queyroz says: 'I could not get more certain or more detailed information: on the contrary I found not a little variety in the documents': which seems to imply that the preceding account was compiled by him from various documents. Finally he concludes a passage which is common to the manuscript and to the Conquista by stating that he is quite aware that there may be mistakes in this description, but that, as he had never been in that country nor found other clearer and more detailed information, he could not avoid mistakes.<sup>1</sup> For these reasons I conclude that the manuscript is only a draft of his work.

Unfortunately I was not aware of the existence of a copy of this manuscript till my translation of the first book was in print, for else I could, without much trouble, have given the passages that he has omitted. I was just able to supply a line, missing<sup>2</sup> in the Conquista, and to insert a few notes before the final proof passed my hands.

Another manuscript in the same Library entitled: *Jornada do Reino de Hava, por Constantino de Saa de Noronha Offerecida a Senhora Dona Luisa da Silva e Mendonça, Anno MDCXXXV* (Bibliotheca da Ajuda, Lisboa. Codice LI.-iv.-32) is an undoubted source of Queyroz. It is a curious and interesting account of the plot that led to the betrayal and rout of Constantine de Sa and his army, the death of the Captain-General, the surrender of the garrisons of Menikkadavara, the fate of the prisoners, the negotiations for peace, and its conclusion at Attapitiya in 1634, written in the form of a dialogue between two soldiers. 'Cardenio', who had served under Constantine de Sa and had taken part in the expedition and was captured and kept a prisoner in the Kandyan country

\* 70.

\* 45

from which he escaped after three years, narrates his experiences to 'Fabricio', another soldier newly arrived in Ceylon, who had heard various versions of these events. In the course of the dialogue, the writer gives many a piece of information, curious and instructive, regarding the royal family of Kandy, and other personages and events, including some information about Friar Negraõ.

Not only has Queyroz used the information given in this manuscript, often in the very words of the writer, but in one place he quotes a sentence from this manuscript as contained in 'one of the documents I have'.<sup>1</sup> As a translation of the manuscript which I prepared for the Government of Ceylon is already printing, it is not necessary to give further details.

Other sources indicated by the author are: An account of the Buddha (122-140) compiled from the Chinese Buddhist scriptures by a converted bonze and communicated to the author by Father Thomas Pereyra, S.J. (1645-1708), a missionary at Pekin, who was well versed in Chinese and had composed books in that language: A petition (1009-1030) presented to the Captain-General, Diogo de Melo de Castro, in 1637 by the lascarins of Ceylon stating their grievances. This petition was drafted and presented by a Franciscan Friar from material supplied by the petitioners. It is a most valuable document and must have reached the author through a Franciscan channel. An account of the temporal conquest of Jaffna (628-660) obtained from Friar Antonio de Santa Maria<sup>2</sup> and of the spiritual conquest (661-714) obtained from the same Friar Antonio and from Friar Paulo da Trindade. The latter had written a work entitled *The Spiritual Conquest of the East by the Friars Minor*, the manuscript of which Faria y Souza says<sup>3</sup> he saw in 1638. The list of churches in the kingdom of Kotte (714-719) is from a certificate of Constantine de Sa. The author also quotes a report drawn up by zealous persons of good judgment<sup>4</sup> versed in the affairs of Ceylon<sup>5</sup> soon after the rout of Sa, pointing out the mistakes of the conquest and the means for remedying them (1060-1096); and another report of a commission of inquiry (1147-1161) which the king of Portugal ordered to be made under the direction of Friar Sebastião de S. Pedro, Bishop of Cochín.

The idea of writing this book occurred to the author soon after he undertook the Biography of Brother Basto. In 1671 he had already begun that work,<sup>6</sup> and that date may be set

<sup>1</sup> 780.<sup>4</sup> 1060.<sup>2</sup> 640.<sup>5</sup> 1096.<sup>3</sup> *Ária Portuguesa* Introd.<sup>6</sup> *Via* 225.

down as that of the beginning of the Conquista. In the Biography he states<sup>1</sup> that this book was already composed. The historical portion, consisting of books II. to V., was certainly not completed before 1682, for he quotes largely and refers to works<sup>2</sup> published in 1675 and 1681.<sup>3</sup> In the first book likewise he refers<sup>4</sup> to the arrival of the French at Trincomalee which took place<sup>5</sup> in 1681. In the last book he speaks of 'it being now 31 years since Colombo fell'<sup>6</sup> which works out 1687, but on a later page he speaks of 'this year of 1686'.<sup>7</sup> In the preface, undated, addressed 'to the Portuguese who read the following history' he says that he was engaged with this work in the 'previous winter'. Finally the Dedication is dated 1st October, 1687, and the Imprimatur of the Superiors of the Society bears date 6 January, 1688, three months before the author's death.

Thus it would appear that this book was begun about 1671 and completed in 1686. It bears traces of having been written at intervals, for the same explanatory information is given in several places, the same event is described with different details in different places, the later description often supplementing the earlier. The author sometimes forgets circumstances explicitly mentioned previously.

The original manuscript appears to have been written by different hands. By the original I mean the copy containing the original Imprimatur of the Society. There is a difference in the handwriting and a difference in spelling. But the spelling, though different in various parts of the book, remains uniform within each part. All of which goes to show that it has been written by more than one amanuensis. The life of Basto is explicitly said to have been dictated,<sup>8</sup> not written, by the author, because of the temporary loss of the use of his hand and he apologises for publishing a work which he was unable to correct at leisure. 'I publish what I dictated, not what I wrote.' As this book was made ready for the press at the same time, the use of different amanuenses, the erratic punctuation, and the irregularities of composition and spelling must be set down to the same reason, namely, that this book was dictated, not written, by the author.

The title of the book 'The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon' indicates the idea of the author and the scope and tenor of his work. Like every good Portuguese, Father

<sup>1</sup> Vida, 255, 278.

<sup>2</sup> Faria y Sousa.

<sup>3</sup> Meneses.

<sup>4</sup> 66.

<sup>5</sup> See my article in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, V., 141-147, 180-188.

<sup>6</sup> 1008.

<sup>7</sup> 1117.

<sup>8</sup> Vida 47.

Queyroz believed that it was the mission of Portugal to spread the Faith in the East. Temporal conquest, or the subjugation of a country, was not only an occasion and an invitation for its evangelization, or spiritual conquest, but imposed a clear and sacred duty to preach the gospel. The king of Portugal therefore asked and the Pope gave special spiritual privileges, the chief of which was the Padroado or Patronage of the churches in the East. And if the king of Portugal or his ministers enjoyed these privileges but neglected to provide for the preaching of the gospel or placed obstacles to the spread of the Faith, it was natural for good men to think that it was a crime calling to Heaven for chastisement. Father Queyroz found that such was the case in Ceylon. He found to his horror that the misconduct of the Portuguese was the greatest obstacle to the conversion of Ceylon. He was therefore quite prepared to believe<sup>1</sup> that God let the heretical Dutch conquer Ceylon because the Catholic Portuguese proved themselves unworthy to hold it.

On the other hand he was equally convinced that this scandalous state of affairs was not due to the king of Portugal or to the Portuguese nation, but to the rascally crew of officials, civilians and soldiers, who disgraced the Portuguese name. Such was the opinion, not only of Father Queyroz, but of many God-fearing men, especially missionaries, some of whom ate their heart in grief over it. The first Franciscan prelate in Ceylon returned to Portugal to report the matter to the king. St. Francis Xavier<sup>2</sup> stated it in very forcible language to John III. It was likewise the reason assigned by Brother Pedro de Basto for the loss of Ceylon.

However, in spite of the misdeeds of the Portuguese, God had raised up a people to his name in Ceylon. Though persecuted by wicked officials, this Church of Ceylon had increased in numbers, and at the time Father Queyroz was writing this book, it was being bitterly persecuted by the Dutch. They seized all the Catholic churches, expelled the priests under pain of death, forced all Catholics to attend the Dutch kirk and make the Helvetic confession of faith, and forced them to baptize, marry, and be buried according to the rites of the Dutch Reformed Church. The Catholics of Ceylon groaned under this persecution and appealed to Goa for help. Help did come the very year Father Queyroz wrote, but he did not know it. He therefore urged on the Portuguese the duty of coming to the rescue of the persecuted Catholics of Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> 1008.

<sup>2</sup> Schurhammer 532-3.

'Nor do they allow,' he says in the last sentence of this book, 'any Catholic priest to go to the rescue of that forsaken Christianity, which the good Christians [of Ceylon] greatly deplore when they have occasion to come on board any of our ships, and this must be what will animate Portugal most of all to recover that island.'

His object in writing this book, as he says repeatedly, is to animate Portugal to recover Ceylon. But he did not want the old state of affairs to return. It was a repentant and chastened Portugal that he wished to return, a Portugal that recognized the enormity of its past misdeeds and was resolved to be good in future. For this purpose Father Queyroz wished them to learn the lessons of history. He wished them to learn, first of all, what a fruitful country it was that they had lost, how much blood it had cost them, and how easy it would be to conquer it for good and all. In the second place he wished them to realize how cruel and tyrannical they had been towards the people of the country, and how their behaviour had discredited the Faith. It is for these reasons that he wrote such a big book, a book that would give the Portuguese reader a full opportunity of seeing all this and coming to a decision.

His book is therefore divided into three distinct parts. The first, consisting of the First Book, is a long and detailed account of the Island, containing all the information about the Island which he was able to gather. The second part consisting of four books—Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth—is devoted to a minute and circumstantial account of the temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon for 153 years, drawn from various sources and described with self-restraint and impartiality. In the third part, consisting of Book Six, he opens fire and gives free scope to his indignation. It is a ruthless exposure of the maladministration of the Portuguese, based on authentic documents, one of which was drawn up by the unsparing hand of a Franciscan and others contained the sober judgment of experienced men.

This book was completed by the author in October, 1687. It was then read by the censors of the Society and received the Imprimatur of the Society on the first of January, 1688. On the 12th of April the author died at Goa. The manuscript was apparently sent to Lisbon for publication, and the Necrology of Father Queyroz, written 1692-3, describes<sup>1</sup> the book as ready for the press. It then passed into the possession of Father Francisco José da Serra and found its way to the Royal

Library which John VI. took to Brazil, when he fled to that country during the Napoleonic wars, and presented to the National Library of Rio de Janeiro, where it still lies in an excellent state of preservation.<sup>1</sup> A copy of it was made in 1834 for the Instituto Historico e Geographico of Brazil and was mentioned in its Catalogue of Manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> From this entry Father Sommervogel learnt of its existence and mentioned it in his *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jesus VI.—1341-2*. This caught the eye of Father Joseph Cooreman, S.J., Vicar-General of Galle, who communicated the news to a great lover of Ceylon books, Mgr. Ladislaus Zaleski, then Apostolic Delegate of the East Indies residing at Kandy. The Delegate secured a copy from Rio de Janeiro and made use of it in a book entitled: *Le Christianisme a Ceylan*, which he wrote<sup>3</sup> over a nom-de-plume. When the Portuguese boulder, now in the Gordon Gardens, was brought to light in 1898, the Delegate promptly pointed out to the Governor of Ceylon that it was obviously the rock on which the Portuguese coat-of-arms is recorded to have been engraved by Don Lourenço de Almeida, and in the course of the correspondence that ensued, Mgr. Zaleski quoted a passage from the *Conquista*.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently he presented the manuscript to the Papal Seminary at Kandy.

Thereupon Father Cooreman informed Mr. F. H. de Vos that the manuscript was in the Seminary, and procured at his request a transcript of the chapters relating to the siege of Galle, which Mr. de Vos printed in pamphlet form for private circulation in 1902. This step was apparently disapproved of by Mgr. Zaleski, for when Mr. P. E. Pieris of the Ceylon Civil Service, another well-known historical student, went up to Kandy, examined the manuscript, and realizing its value, desired to make use of it, Mgr. Zaleski declined to allow him to do so. For what precise reason Mgr. Zaleski refused to let Mr. Pieris use the manuscript is not known. All I know is that when I in my turn asked the Delegate's leave to use the manuscript, he gave me to understand that it was supplied to him on the understanding that it was for his personal use and not for public purposes. However that may be, Mr. Pieris had seen enough of the manuscript to know its value and soon purchased the copy belonging to the Instituto

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogo da Exposição permanente dos Cimelios da Bibliotheca Nacional de Rio de Janeiro, 1885, Secção Mss. n. 11, s. 504.*

<sup>2</sup> N. 136, s. 81.

<sup>3</sup> Printed but not published. Only a few presentation copies are extant.

<sup>4</sup> J.C.B.R.A.S., XVI. 16-23.

Historico e Geographico of Rio de Janeiro, and thus the Conquista began to be quoted in historical discussions in Ceylon.

The Conquista  
and Historical  
Discussion in  
Ceylon

In May, 1907, a most scholarly piece of historical research made by Donald Ferguson was read<sup>1</sup> before a meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. It was entitled 'The Discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese', and the point of the paper was to prove that the discovery took place in 1506, and not in 1505, as was generally believed. It was an elaborate and critical study of all the available records published and unpublished. The only writer whom Ferguson did not quote was Queyroz. Accordingly, Mr P. E. Pieris pointed out<sup>2</sup> that 'the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon, de Queiroz,' was against the contention of Ferguson; but he did not vouchsafe any information about the 'greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon' or about the book he wrote. Ferguson therefore replied<sup>3</sup> with some warmth that as the manuscript of the so-called 'greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon' was inaccessible to him, and as Mr. Pieris did not quote the writer's words, he could not judge what value was to be attached to them. He ended his reply by inviting Mr. Pieris to print the work in full with a translation.

Mr. Pieris, however, had no intention of printing or translating the work of Queyroz. On the contrary he was for summarizing the historical information contained in Queyroz to be published in a work of his own. He therefore did not disclose any information about Queyroz or his book. But in August, 1911, he read a paper before the Asiatic Society entitled: 'The Rebellion of Edirille Rale'.<sup>4</sup> This paper he described as 'based on the Portuguese manuscript history written by Fernão de Queiroz, S.J., the original of which is said to be at Rio de Janeiro'.<sup>5</sup> In reality it was a translated extract<sup>6</sup> from Queyroz and was destined to be a chapter<sup>7</sup> of his forthcoming book. He was promptly taken to task<sup>8</sup> for not giving any information about Queyroz and his work. Mr. Pieris' only reply was a refusal to 'satisfy the cravings'<sup>8</sup> of the members of the Society. He invited them to wait in patience 'till some one came forward with particulars', or

<sup>1</sup> Printed as No. 59 of the Society's Journal.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 393.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 399.

<sup>4</sup> Journal No. 64, 168-189.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Infra* 494-513.

<sup>7</sup> Journal No. 64, 168-189.

<sup>8</sup> *Ib.* 192

in other words till he brought out his work. This reply did not satisfy his critics, and the editing Secretary of the Society formally requested him to print the manuscript himself or give it to the Society to be printed.<sup>1</sup> But the request elicited no response.

Instead, in April, 1912, he tried to establish the accuracy of Queyroz by reading another paper entitled: 'The date of king Bhuvaneka Bahu VII.'<sup>2</sup> The purport of the paper was to prove that the date hitherto assigned was wrong and that the date given by Queyroz was undoubtedly the correct one. In a note to this paper he quoted for the first time a passage<sup>3</sup> of Queyroz, bearing, not on the date in question, but on a person named Itacon whom Mr. Pieris wished to identify with Illangakon on the plea that Itacon was 'obviously a copyist's error', a contention which could well have been refuted if his audience had had access to the manuscript.

This paper, coming upon others of the kind, and based on a manuscript of which he was so chary of giving information provoked a violent storm of criticism.<sup>4</sup> The members declined to trust to the authority of an author wholly unknown to them and Mr. Pieris was unceremoniously challenged 'to trot out' his mysterious 'dark horse' for inspection. Though by persistently withholding information Mr. Pieris only prejudiced the students of Ceylon history against Queyroz, this discussion led to the publication of the manuscript, for Mr. Armand de Souza, editor of the *Ceylon Morning Leader*, who had taken part in the discussion, made some observations in his journal, and in replying to him Mr. Pieris made the sensational announcement that the manuscript copy of the Conquista in his possession was in imminent danger of leaving the Island for good. Souza promptly prevailed upon the Government to purchase it, and Mr. Pieris had to part with his manuscript.

Shortly afterwards he brought out his long promised book 'Ceylon: the Portuguese Era'. It claimed to be the first attempt to set out in detail the history of the Portuguese period, an attempt which had cost him 'ten years' research'. His authorities were, he said, the well-known writers, and 'the principal source of information', the unpublished history of of Fernão de Queyroz. With this meagre acknowledgment the *Portuguese Era* practically appropriated the researches of a bygone historian and presented its reader with an adapted

<sup>1</sup> Journal No. 192.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* 65, 267-273.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 274, n. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* 276, 284.

translation of the *Conquista*.<sup>1</sup> But as the manuscript, though the property of the Government, was still with Mr. Pieris, no reader could form an idea of the extent to which he had drawn on what he described as 'the principal source of information'

The Government meanwhile, realizing the value of the manuscript, was endeavouring to make it accessible to students. The Hakluyt Society was approached with a view to the publication of the text and translation, but without success. Mr. Pieris was thereupon invited to translate the text. As the *Portuguese Era* contained a free translation of the greater part of the manuscript, Mr. Pieris was undoubtedly the best person to complete the work by supplying the omissions which he had thought fit to make. But he declined the offer. Whereupon the Government, foiled in its attempt to render a service to the study of Ceylon history, was advised to publish the text, and Mr. Pieris undertook to superintend the publication. Under his superintendence this 'long manuscript in an unknown tongue' was printed at the Government Press and issued to the public exactly as it was, with its irritating abbreviations and erratic punctuation, but without so much as one line of explanation, one single note, or anything in the nature of an index or any other critical apparatus with which original texts are edited nowadays all the world over.

When the *Conquista* was issued, I undertook to review it for the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*. I had no reason to suspect that my undertaking would lead me to comment on the *Portuguese Era*; but the text I was reading

<sup>1</sup> This statement, first made in the *Ceylon Antiquary* in 1917, was repeated at a meeting of the Ceylon Historical Association in 1925. Thereupon Dr. Pieris wrote to the newspapers: 'In a recent lecture at Colombo on the *Conquista* of de Queyroz, the Rev. S. G. Perera, S.J., appears to have suggested an attempt (presumably dishonest) on my part to pass off the work of that great writer as my own. Probably no other reader of my writings has arrived at such a conclusion, and it must have been the shock of that discovery which prevented his mentioning that I had myself destroyed this conspiracy by issuing the text of Queyroz to the public on behalf of the Government to whom I sold the Ms.'

I replied, first, that I did mention his share in editing the Ms.; secondly, that I had already proved my contention in the *Antiquary* by quotations in parallel columns and various other ways which it was open to Mr. Pieris to refute at any time, but he never tried; thirdly, I described how Mr. Pieris was made to part with the Ms.; and finally, how the manner in which he edited the text did not show that he himself destroyed the conspiracy, but rather went to strengthen the suspicion that he took pains to hide it.

Mr. Pieris had no answer to give

for review seemed so familiar, its words and phrases and turns of thought practically the same as I had read in the *Portuguese Era*. A comparison of the two books open side by side soon set all doubts at rest. Accordingly, in my review, I took occasion to expose the manner in which the *Conquista* had been used,<sup>1</sup> not so much because of what might be called the plagiarism, but rather to show that Mr. Pieris's methods of history were on a par with his methods of book production, for not only did he practically deprive Queyroz of the credit of his labours, but he was even more unjust to the Portuguese, whom he had depicted in the darkest colours by a judicious mixture of *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*.

As the Government had reserved to itself the right of translation, I expressed an earnest hope that if any translation was intended to be brought out under the patronage of the Government, it would be no adapted and piecemeal translation, but a full, complete, translation of the text that would set right the false notions circulated in the *Portuguese Era*. I was then living abroad engaged in far different pursuits and had no reason to expect that I should be asked to undertake the task. But Mr. John M. Seneviratne, the editor of the *Antiquary*, soon prevailed upon the Government to entrust it to me and persuaded my superiors and me to accept the task.

I must avow that I was not at all satisfied with my competence to translate the *Conquista*. For one thing it was a terribly long manuscript. The language of the text, though genuine Portuguese, was quaint and archaic, bearing to modern Portuguese prose very much the same relation as the language and spelling of Knox bear to modern English. But unlike Knox, Queyroz was heavy, pedantic and often obscure, with intricate and inextricable sentences of interminable length. Written as it was for Portuguese readers of the Seventeenth Century, by an author who lived most of his life at Coa, it had many Indo-Portuguese words and expressions the meaning of which must be sought in old reference books, dictionaries, and glossaries.

If in spite of my misgivings I made bold to accept the offer to translate this book, it was principally because of the following considerations. The translation of the *Conquista* required a person who had some familiarity with the history of the Island, to which at least I could lay some claim: the only other person who could have done it had excused himself: the

<sup>1</sup> *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, II., 158-166, 263-271.

*Conquista* moreover was the work of a member of the Religious Order to which I belonged, and he had been deprived of his due by one of my countrymen ; it was up to me to vindicate his rights. Thus I thought I ought to undertake this translation, though it involved giving up some literary pursuits of my predilection. Accordingly, on my return to the Island, I settled down to the toilsome task, to the great inconvenience of the Galle Mission of the Society of Jesus, to which I belong, and which had been depleted by the war and was obliged to carry on short-handed and could ill afford to set aside a Ceylonese member for a work of this kind. But considering the usefulness of the work, my Religious Superiors were good enough to relieve me from all except the essential labours of my profession.

The Translation  
It is not for me to judge whether I have fulfilled my task satisfactorily. But I shall here indicate the lines on which I thought the translation should proceed. From the start I realized that it was neither an easy task nor even desirable to translate the work into idiomatic English. The translation of a historical work is not made for the same purpose as that of a literary or didactic treatise. It need not attempt to be elegant or literary. There is no call to avoid elegance, but its greatest merit should be accuracy—absolutely literal accuracy—to attain which one may even sacrifice literary elegance and even idiom, if necessary; for the value of a translation of a historical manuscript depends on the exactness with which the original statements are reproduced in another language, rendering just so much as the author says and no more. I conceived that this book should be translated in the same way as the Bible, *si parva licet componere magnis*.

The foremost purpose of such a translation is to enable those who cannot read the original to know exactly what the original says and how it says it. It is no part of the translator's task to endeavour to be clearer than the original or more precise. Now, it seemed to me that this could best be done by a literal rendering. There is of course the obvious disadvantage that what is literally good Portuguese and intelligible, might, when done literally into English, be bad English and unintelligible. Whether the English was good or bad, I thought I should not much bother, but that it was my duty to make sure that the rendering was at least as intelligible as the text. Thus I departed from literal rendering only when I thought that the literal rendering would be unintelligible or misleading. That a literal translation would often be sheer Portuguese in an English dress is inevitable, and when a Britisher, to whom some of my translations were shown in

Portugal, declared them to be Portuguese in English words<sup>1</sup> I was not so penitent as I was expected to be. Moreover, Donald Ferguson, who was by far the best and most approved translator of Portuguese and Dutch historical works referring to Ceylon, adopted the method of literal translation. He had undeniably a great advantage over me. He was translating from a foreign language, which he understood, into his mother tongue. To translate Portuguese literally into English, one must needs have been suckled in English or reared to the English Bible. I was neither. Neither the language of the original nor the language into which I translated was my mother tongue, which on the contrary is an Indo-Aryan vernacular wholly different from the Romance languages as well as from Anglo-Saxon. In spite of these limitations, I conceived that the best course for me was to render the Portuguese literally into English, keeping as far as possible the author's structure of sentences and his words as far as English syntax permits, even though the English of it be outlandish, if it were only comprehensible.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating thereof, and whether my action receives the approval of my readers who peruse this book with the view of obtaining the historical information contained in it, will be the test of my success. It is of course only such readers as have some acquaintance with Portuguese who will be best able to judge. And I must say that I awaited with fear and trembling the opinion of one or two such to whom I submitted my translation. To my unbounded relief they heartily endorsed my decision and were even pleased with my efforts. I can only express the hope that it will receive the approbation of my other readers also.

No one can be more alive to the deficiencies of this translation than the translator himself. The literal rendering occasionally reads like jibberish, and there are passages which I wish I had perfected. In a few passages I translated the text literally without understanding what the author meant to say. I can allege in excuse that even born Portuguese to whom I referred such passages could not make sense of them any more than I. Such passages, however, are not numerous, and occur, not in the historical or descriptive portion of the work, but rather in the argumentative portion which has nothing more than academic interest now. Moreover, as the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof'—*Sufficit die munitis sua*—which are sheer literal renderings of the original Greek.

translation took some considerable time, there will be some inconsistencies, as I do not think I was always able to remember at the end of the book how I rendered similar passages in the beginning. I have often derived amusement from the translation of others. When the *Portuguese Era* translated 'em lugar de Osana' as 'in [the village of] Osana' while it really meant 'instead of the Hosannah'; or when it rendered 'refazer prezas' as 'arrest prisoners' instead of 'repair dams', I could not well suppress a smile; but now the smile freezes on my lips at the thought that the present translation cannot be free from similar howlers. But there is one kind of error which this translation has sternly avoided. When the petition of the lascarins of Ceylon is entitled 'Reasons which the Lascarins have for asking for Portuguese Captains', the *Portuguese Era* translates it 'Matters which the Lascarins have to represent to the Portuguese Captains'. I have on the contrary always endeavoured to translate the text bluntly, exactly as it stood, without any *arrière pensée*, and without any attempt to palliate or mitigate.

The numbers on the left, *P 1*, &c., refer to the pages of the printed text. The numbers on the right, *F 1*, *F 1v*, refer to the folios of the manuscript: words printed within square brackets [ ] are words supplied by the translator to complete the meaning. Round brackets ( ) are the author's. Words of the text retained in the translation are also placed within round brackets.

All proper names are spelt as in the Portuguese text. The same name will be found differently spelt in different places: Seytavaca, Sertavaca, Certavaca, &c.

All Indo-Portuguese, Sinhalese, and Tamil words used by the author are retained in the translation and explained in a note when the word first occurs. In explaining Indo-Portuguese words I generally followed Monsig. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiatico*, and Yule & Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

Portuguese words for which there are no proper English equivalents have been retained.

H. W. C. at the end of a note indicates that the note was supplied me by Mr H. W. Codrington.

THE  
CONQUEST  
(TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL)  
OF CEYLON

COMPOSED BY

FATHER FERNAO DE QUEYROZ,  
*Of the Society of Jesus, of the Province of Goa*

WITH MANY OTHER USEFUL NOTICES PERTAINING TO THE CONSTITUTION  
AND GOVERNMENT OF THE STATE OF INDIA

LISBON, IN THE YEAR . . . .



' I, GASPAR AFFONSO of the Society of Jesus, Provincial of the Province of Goa, by special commission which I hold from our Very Reverend Father General, give license to print this Book entitled, 'The Conquest, Temporal and Spiritual, of Ceylon, composed by Father Fernão do Queyros of the same Society, sometime Provincial of this Province,' revised and approved by learned religious of the same Society. And in proof thereof these presents given under my hand and sealed with the seal of my office. Goa, the 6th of January, 1688.

GPAR AFFONSO.

*Seal*

*NOTE*

The foregoing License is the original and bears the seal of the Society [of Jesus]. The writing of the whole of the original Manuscript of this copy is in ancient script; the orthography varies, as there has taken part in it more than one Amanuensis. The Author always uses the preposition 'pera'; none of the Amanuenses has followed a fixed orthography; and besides some orthographical errors there are others in the context of this History due doubtless to the same Amanuenses. The original exists in the Public Library of this Courte

AGOSTINHO MARQUES PERDIGAO MALHEIRO.

Rio, 2 May, 1844.

P vii TO THE MOST EXCELLENT LORD FRANCISCO DE P  
TAVORA, CONDE DE ALVOR, VICEROY<sup>1</sup> AND  
CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF INDIA, OF  
HIS MAJESTY'S COUNCIL, &c.

ENCOURAGED by Your Excellency's favour, I undertook this work concerning the one and the other conquest, Temporal and Spiritual, of Ceylon, for the reasons which I set forth in the following prologue and develop in the course of the work; and in order that these reasons may receive popular support, in view of the great importance of the subject, as will appear therefrom, justice and reason demand that the work should have the zealous patronage of Your Excellency, in whom are found to go hand in hand knowledge the most profound, judgment the most prudent, vigilance the most solicitous, blood the most illustrious, valour the most renowned, charity the most bountiful, and a Christian life the most exemplary. Your Excellency governs<sup>2</sup> India in the greatest extremities of its decline with such zeal in the service of God and of the King as was displayed in the manifest danger to which on two occasions among others you exposed your life; actions which overwhelmed the enemies, for in the few men animated by Your Excellency they saw the strength of a whole army, as said Mamert[inus] in Panegyric<sup>3</sup>: *'Quid opus erat multitudine, cum Tu pugnares ipse in omnibus locis, totaque acie dimicares, ipsi hosti undique, et qua resisteret, et qua cederet, et qua fugeret, occurrens; erroremque adversariis pariter ac tuis faceres, cum neque te barbari unum putarent, neque milites, non dico stipulationi, sed saltem oculis, sequi poterant.'* The gallant Mars wished

<sup>1</sup> Viceroy 1681-1686.

<sup>2</sup> This dedication, though dated ten months after the Viceroy's departure from India, was probably written while he was in office.

<sup>3</sup> Mamertinus Claudius in his Panegyric on the Emperor M. Aurelius Maximianus.

<sup>4</sup> What need was there for an army, when you yourself were fighting at all points giving battle to the whole host, facing the enemy at every turn, whether he attacked or yielded or fled, and causing confusion to the foe as well as to your own men, for the barbarian could not believe that you were only one single man, and your soldiers were unable, I do not say to keep you company, but even to follow you with their eyes.

thus to show that others might well be dispersed with, when Your Excellency took the field, and that one who was able to be everywhere was well able to do the work of many. Similar was the determination which made a Viceroy of India visit the State in one single frigate leaving the enemy at the door, merely to obey a nod of the Royal will; which gives in brief a complete account of the success of your Government, an example as unusual as it never was seen in the East; for to know that all was safe, it was enough to know that Your Excellency was still there.

Your Excellency came to India with such knowledge of its greatness and of what the Portuguese achieved therein, that there only remained for you to see with your eyes what you had already foreseen by your erudition, and one might well say of Your Excellency what Cassiodorus said of another Prince in Variar.<sup>1</sup> book 16: *Accessit his bonis | desiderabilis P 10 eruditio, quae naturam laudabile eximiae reuditor natam.<sup>2</sup> Ibi bellator reperit unde animi virtute roboretur; inde Princeps accipit, quemadmodum populos sub aequitate componat; non enim aliqua in orbe potest esse fortuna, quam litterarum non F viii augeat | gloriosa doctrina.* Hence arises the insatiable desire which is clearly manifested, not only to acquire all sciences, but even to deal with learned men and those capable of understanding and discussing them, as said Seneca in Epist. 110<sup>3</sup>: *Sapiens non potest in habitu suae mentis stare, nisi amicos aulicos similes sui admittat, cum quibus virtutes suas communicet.* This is the last polish whereby with industry perfects a great intelligence and natural judgment; and whom God intends for great things, He forthwith endows with this noble inclination, to perfect by study great natural capacities. And he who in the history of the world has studied the illusions and fraud of human dealings cannot, when brought in contact with the faithlessness of pagan Princes, fail to take the greatest precaution to foil it; and Your Excellency has won such renown in this Asia by these

<sup>1</sup> M. Aurelii Cassiodori, Variarum (epistolarum) Libri X., Epist. 3a.

<sup>2</sup> An evident slip of the copyist. The words of Cassiodorus are 'Accessit his bonis desiderabilis eruditio (litterarum) quae naturam laudabilem eximiae reddidit ornatam. (Ibi prudens invenit unde sapientior fiat); ibi bellator . . . gloriosa (notitia).'

<sup>3</sup> In addition to these qualities here was that learning which excellently adorns a noble nature. Therein the warrior finds a means to strengthen his inborn valour; from it the Prince learns how to rule nations with equity, for nowhere in the world is there a state (of life) which is not perfected by the renowned education in letters.

<sup>4</sup> Epistola ad Lucilium: 'The wise man cannot retain that condition of mind unless he has others like himself around him with whom he can communicate his thoughts.'

proceedings, that the proud Mogul Prince went so far as to order it to be expressed to you: That nothing had been more earnestly recommended to him by his Father, because of the reputation of Your Excellency which had reached him, than to have a personal interview with you.

This Monarch, though so remote from Europe, was not unaware of the glory of the blood of the most ancient house of S. Joaõ, for his arrogance would not have condescended to these visits, had he not known that the descendants of this great family were independent Lords before they acknowledged another's dominion, being sprung in various ways from the three Royal Houses of Spain, of Leon, Castille and Portugal, whereby the great lustre of these crowns is shed on that most ancient stock, on which I could dwell long, if to profit by the sun were the same thing as to comprehend it, as said St. Cyril, in *Cathe.*<sup>1</sup> 2: *Num quia oculis solem comprehendere non possum, etiam lucis usum, quantum sufficit, non aspiciam?* But I think it better and more in accordance with the noble soul of Your Excellency to take the counsel of Ennodius in Book 1, Epist. 1<sup>2</sup>, and not try the impossible: *Credidi votorum summam fatigari si te natalibus reddidissem.* Of what house can it be said that it is so favoured by God as to have this promise, that in its legitimate descendants | it will endure to the end of the world? **The F 2** world will come to an end before the house of S. Joaõ ceases to exist, and if with Aristotle we could admit the eternity of the world, then in the same way as we are ignorant of the beginnings of these Royal houses hidden in as many centuries as Europe has been peopled, we might likewise say that this house emulated future eternity, unless the world came to an end to cut short its duration. Centuries and ages may boast that they were powerful enough wholly to extinguish numberless and most powerful families, of which scarcely a memory remains, but over the illustrious family of the Tavoras God has deprived them of this jurisdiction; and the blessing of **P 12** the house extends to the rest of Portugal, for | she, without it, cannot endure—a most powerful reason to be beloved of all.

<sup>1</sup> St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in *Catechesis VI.*<sup>a</sup> speaking of the knowledge of God which man can attain:

Because I am unable to gaze full at the sun, shall I forsooth not make use of his light according to the measure of my needs?

*Magni Felicis Eunodi Epistolae: Lib. 1, Ep. 1. ad Joannem,* says "Credidi votorum summam fatigari si te natalibus reddidisses" which in the context seems to mean: 'I thought all expectations would be satisfied, if you succeeded in coming up to the level of your ancestors.' But the author has adapted it to his purpose by changing 'reddidisses' into 'reddidissem.'

For this same reason, and because nature does not entrust to the limited span of life the favours she distributes, she forestalled the promises in your early years, adding clarity of judgment to military valour, displayed in Portugal's wars against the enemies of the Kingdom, victorious in Angõla over the rebels, and ever triumphant over the enemies of the soul, of which to the admiration of India, there were seen such glorious effects, that we have seen the Palace vie with the most observant Convents, but by praising the religious man we only fear to offend your modesty, as the Anonimus Belga [said] speaking of the Caesars: *Caesarum laudes exequi velle, studium quidem dulce sed non et cura mediocris; cujus inanis pubescentibus, non eruptione virtutis timens germen, non flos praecursor indolis bonae, laetior, quam uberior apparet; sed jam facta grandifera, et contra rationes aetatis, maximorumque fructum naturae perceptio.*<sup>1</sup> India saw herself devastated by famine, pestilence and war at the same time; and then your Christian piety showed itself at its best. Your kind condescension and the exercise of piety were seen to combine in such a manner in one single person, that we might well doubt with Sallust *DE BELLO JUGURTI.* whether from nature proceeds habits or habits become nature. *Illis difficile est in potestatibus temperare qui per ambitionem sese probos simulaverunt. Tibi autem qui omnem aetatem in optimis artibus egisti, benefacere, jam ex consuetudine, in naturam versum est.*<sup>2</sup> You had no less anxiety to hasten to the defence of the lands than to relieve **F 20** the wretched poor, because the | pestilence was making progress,

<sup>1</sup> This has no sense. Whatever the 'Belga Anonimo' may have written, this passage is found in 'Nazarii Panegyricus Constantino Augusto dictus' Migne, *Patrologia Latina VIII.* 585.

'(Nobilissimorum quoque) Caesarum laudes exequi velle studium quidem dulce sed non et cura mediocris (est, quorum) in annis pubescentibus non erupturae virtutis timens germen, non flos praecursor indolis bonae, laetior quam uberior apparet, sed jam facta grandifera, et contra rationem aetatis, maximorumque fructuum matura perceptio.'

'To wish to sing the praises of the Caesars is indeed a pleasant endeavour, but by no means a light task. In their youthful years there appears not that bud of valour ready to blow, nor that flower (which is) the forerunner of a good character, more pleasant than fruitful, but (only) the grain, ripe before its time, and the early harvest of a plentiful yield.' (?)

<sup>2</sup> *Cajii Salustii De Bello Jugurthino, Cap. 85 (Oratio Marii ad Quirites),* adapted.

'Those who pretended to be good men while canvassing, find it difficult to be moderate in the exercise of power; as for thee who hast spent thy whole life in the practice of virtue, to do good has become by habit a second nature.'

spending so much of your own in almsgiving, that you will have to return to Portugal very much in others' debt. God so disposed matters, that in the greatest straits of India all the weight should fall on the shoulders of one single person, as Pliny had said in Paneg.<sup>1</sup> *Expectatum est tempus, in quo liqueret non tam accepisse te beneficium quam dedisse; confugit in sinum tuum concussa Respublica.* For so solicitous was your care for the welfare of all, that you forgot yourself altogether, as Enodius said of Epiphanius: *Nam in tanta circumspeditione salutis omnium, solum pro se timere non novit.*<sup>2</sup> In this was clearly seen that he is ever the master of another's goods who knows how to spend of his own; for when common disasters obliged you to take equally from those of the King and from those of the Churches, though it was a matter so unheard of in India, no one made the least difficulty, for they understood well that the cleanness of the hands was as great as the troubles of the State.

All these needs and others which are pressing upon us were, and are, well known to Your Excellency, and no one can with greater assurance acquaint and inform His Majesty <sup>P 2</sup> of our losses | as well as of the means to retrieve and augment, and [show] how great a pity it will be to have discovered and conquered India for the Heretics to enjoy it, letting heresy strike root where the Faith was once planted, and dispel the clouds from the minds of those enemies of Portuguese honour, of the increasing of Portugal and of the divine glory, who go so far as to question the advisability of keeping India. For if they speak of what they do not know, it is a disgraceful mistake; and if they know what it means, it is a manifest illusion. If we consider the Natives, they no longer look upon us as strangers; and to be well with them, it is enough to let them enjoy their own and not to treat them with contempt nor behave like pirates. If we consider the Hollander, he had no less forces in Brazil, and yet he lost it. He took Angôla by treachery and gave it up in disgrace; and why should it not be so in India? It is many centuries that Portugal and her islands have been unable to support the surplus population, and that is enough for us. Now there is no Africa wherein to profess a military career and to gain dexterity in arms; there is no Flanders now for the making of Captains; and when those who professed arms

<sup>1</sup> 'A time was to come when it would clearly appear that you had not so much obtained an advantage as conferred one. [Now that time is come]. The state shaken to its foundation takes refuge in your bosom.'

<sup>2</sup> 'For in the great regard for the safety of others, he never knew to fear to himself.'

are dead, we shall be without Captains and without soldiers. Other conquests are flourishing, and shall India alone be without means of a remedy? If its | government had been wiser, <sup>F 3</sup> after almost two centuries it would not now be in need of reinforcements from Portugal. Let experience and reason correct the errors which circumstances gave rise to. Captains and Merchants<sup>1</sup> lost it; were it not for the Captains and merchants we should still have India. Let force and trade be united, for without it neither the mines of Potussi<sup>2</sup> nor those of Cafraria can maintain an effective force on sea, and with it alone can India be conquered and maintained; and it is a remarkable fact that there may be fidelity in Heretics while Catholics are distrusted. And if punishment can mend it, have we perhaps no laws for the purpose? They have misgivings about the resources, never more attenuated; in this work we will dispel that illusion. We have in India funds to set up grand enterprises, and what is more, to be masters of the riches of India, the wealth of India itself is enough. Holland does not make war on us mainly with what she brings from Holland, but their industry was such, that the resources of India helped them to conquer and rob India. The King of Siam was asked why he admitted into his ports the Hollanders, from whom he had received so many losses and insults. 'What can I do,' he answered, 'if they bring me two millions?'

One of the greatest services which Your Excellency can render to the Divine and human Majesty is to persuade Portugal to recover India, and especially Ceylon, the only object for which I gathered this information, so that considering all this, the Portuguese might realize what they have lost and resolutely determine to seek a means for its recovery, for nothing is impossible to industry, and valour renders <sup>P 25</sup> all things easy. If one who has seen | our arms triumphing in these seas, these coasts and these countries, considers the low conceit to which our fortunes have reduced us, and despairs of recovery among Mahometans and pagans, he has only to be ashamed of being a Portuguese. From these ignominies Your Excellency's zeal and Christianity can save us by undertaking to propose to His Majesty the best means for the recovery of this conquest. And I cannot

<sup>1</sup> *Chatins*, a word that recurs often throughout this book. It is etymologically the same word as the Anglo-Indian 'chetty', from Tam. *shetti*, Sansk. *śreṣṭhi*. In Indo-Portuguese use it means (1) an Indian trader, and was often applied to Portuguese traders, as here, in contempt; (2) a trading vessel, 'merchantman'.

<sup>2</sup> Potosi, in Peru, once the richest silver mine in the world.

choose a better patron, since I have experienced the sincere affection wherewith Your Excellency cherishes this little Society,<sup>1</sup> and the repeated benefits wherewith you seek its welfare and progress, of which so great a share fell to me, that I should be most ungrateful, if I did not proclaim my obligations, fulfilling out of gratitude what I first began out of compliment, for while seeking an opportunity to serve, I found I had an obligation to fulfil; and if amidst such disparity I cannot hope to pay even a part of so great a debt, I will at least not deny this gratification to my affectionate desire. God keep Your Excellency for the welfare of India. Goa, the 1st of October, 1687.

Your Excellency's humble Chaplain,  
**FERNAÕ DE QROS.**

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<sup>1</sup> Society of Jesus

P xii TO THE PORTUGUESE WHO MAY READ THE FOLLOWING HISTORY

OF all the great and lamentable losses and ruins of the Portuguese State in the East Indies, the greatest and the most painful, in the opinion of all well qualified to judge, was the loss of the Island of Ceylon, because of the fruitful and most rich and in every respect most happy kingdom which was thereby lost, the enormous expence incurred on that conquest, and the bloodshed and lives which it cost the Portuguese nation; all of which came to naught by our mismanagement, and is as forgotten, so far as a remedy is concerned, as the grief is remembered. And if, as we ought, we make more account of the ruin of that Christianity and of its appurtenances, the extent of these losses, being of the supernatural order, is so inexpressible, that it exceeds the limits of our sorrow and the powers of our commiseration; for comparing what we possess with what we have lost, our hopes with our failures, we shall not find a cause for greater sorrow nor an object for similar grief.

These reasons so far prevailed, that they not only turned me away last winter from other labours undertaken for the benefit of the Catholic Church and especially of these Eastern Christianities, but even compelled me to change my occupations in order to propose a means for remedying so great evils. I had already promised it<sup>1</sup> in the Life which I wrote of the Venerable Brother Pedro de Basto, for in that work are seen the many things which God revealed to him concerning the fortunes of Ceylon, and what prayers and penances that Island cost him. I foresee, moreover, as everybody does, that the more the remedy is delayed, the more difficult it will be, and that if it is applied in ways which reason first and experience afterwards reproveth, it will never be effective and useful. Therefore, in order that a matter of so great import may not become merely a discussion of military affairs, which I do not profess, I give the amplest information which I was able to gather regarding the native inhabitants of that Island, profitable for the one and the other conquest, spiritual and temporal, regarding the salubrity of its climate, the fertility and charm of the country, the riches of its mines, spicery and commodities, the division of its provinces and

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<sup>1</sup> see introduction.

the impenetrability of its interior mountains, so that even those who are unacquainted with it may be able to form an idea of what is needed for the one and the other conquest from a description of all that the Portuguese there accomplished | in a space of 150 years.

And as no Historian has hitherto published a complete and uninterrupted account of the glorious feats which the Portuguese nation there achieved, though they were the greatest achievements in the East, in a warfare almost incessant for so many years, for no conquest of ours counts *P xiii* so many battles | or greater victories, though they were ever wasted, I have endeavoured to bring together into one and to describe the course of that long warfare, which, had it been properly conducted, would have been a matter of a few months, and the spiritual [conquest] a matter of a few years. Such is the importance of adopting means suited to the circumstances and of knowing how to profit by opportunities without wasting valour on foolhardy enterprises! But in order that the advantages of Ceylon might be thoroughly realized I judged it also necessary to point out briefly and in general those of India, and the most prudent dispositions for its government, so that from this discussion might result a knowledge of the best course. I am not unaware of the importance of the undertaking, and even of the risk of censure, as it might appear that I reprove what great minds have established; but besides that experience, the mother of all wisdom, is on my side, it will clearly appear that in the formation of the Eastern Portuguese State chance had a greater share than the calculations of really great men, and that they knew well what was needed, but were unable to remedy what they condemned, and left things to improve by time, which, though ever unfavourable, might turn in our favour. And as we are reduced to such a pass, that we must needs begin afresh, this is the best occasion to regulate our plans in the light not merely of reason unaccompanied by experience or even by full information, which we had not when we first entered, but of all those principles, which if well adopted, can even remedy the past mistakes and forestall future ones.

This calls for a great work on the temporal and spiritual Conquest of the East wherein the two can be united and go together, so that our cause may ever be accompanied by justice, the piety of the serene Kings of Portugal combined with might, the Portuguese blood shed in that enterprise combined with the merits of the blood of Christ allied to such vast regions, which our Princes never forgot, though

I doubt whether it was as zealously remembered by some lieges whose eyes were more fascinated by the temporal. But what | the age does not expect from time, zeal expects *P 5* from this union, which briefly expresses a great idea; for it is certain that right conclusions cannot follow from wrong principles on which they are based, though it often happens that the ignorant applaud as victories and successes what according to more profound and wise politics are the beginnings of lamentable disasters. The more so in a State so remote from Portugal, exposed to the perils of the continual changes of these monarchies, of the power and riches of these Princes in the distance of such extensive regions, [and [exposed] to the hatred of Heresy and to the might which Holland *P xiv* has in India | on account of the wealth which she draws therefrom sending every year to Holland about 20 large ships laden with precious jewels of the East, from which she derives more profit than from all the other numerous fleets, riches wherewith those States have become the arbiters of European war, and so powerful on sea and land, that from their Narrow Provinces they not only threaten the East with complete subjugation, but even place the whole of Europe in a like uneasiness, while the conflicting policies of the two greatest Christian Powers by a counterpoise of forces preserve them from punishment, being protected by one, when assailed by the other, while it would be better for all to reduce them to what they were, and to bring them from the height on which they are, down to their beginnings without allowing them by force of arms, pillage and commerce, to dictate to Europe and justify rebellion and tyranny.

Not long ago the English nation showed the world that they [the Hollanders] could be vanquished on sea, and the outrages received are neither so few nor so little known, as to make one excuse himself from this enterprise, if he realises that it will be for total destruction and not [merely] to equip another great power against him. The French nation would already have despoiled them of their dens and plunders, had she been able to avoid similar inconveniences, just as Spain did formerly and often. Let Politicians consider how much more useful it will be to all to destroy them than to preserve them. With them Heresy is no less obstinate than Mahometanism with Mahometans; and just as they make of it a means for their preservation and their robberies, so also they make it a means for their gains; and it will be as difficult for them to change their beliefs as to desist from their self-interest, for as they are all unjust, it is only in

<sup>1</sup>What is thus marked is not to be printed—marginal note in the Ms.

Calvanistic and Lutheran theology that they can be founded and established, for those States are a sink | of all the heresies *P 60* rejected in other Provinces. They are animated by two souls, one for the outside, to preserve their community and to acquire greater forces for self-preservation, the other internal, to establish license; the one secures them reinforcements and allies, and the other excuses them from injustices; one is heretical in religion, the other, atheistic in politics; the former has no other law than convenience, the latter has no other god than gain, and on their own admission it has degenerated into the depths of atheism. The whole difficulty against destroying them lies in uniting the policies of two Crowns. The whole of Europe knows that it is necessary either to subdue them or to extinguish them, and this was already the opinion of Charles the Fifth, the most interested of all. If they cannot agree to the first, let them take in hand the second, let them all resolve on their ruin, and the balance will be equal.

Can they peradventure boast of having done any deed on behalf of another or of Europe? With so much power on sea did they at any time invade Mediterranean Africa or Turkey? Now that they are able to do so much against *P 21* the Turk, in favour of | the Empire and House of Austria to which they owe so much, did they perchance join this war in earnest? Who is not aware of this mine laid against the Roman Faith alone and against Catholics? We all desire the downfall of the Turk as a common enemy of Christianity to whom modern heresies extend a welcome; we all [desire the downfall] of Mahometanism, as the common enemy of the world, and we nourish in our bosom the most declared enemies of our Faith and the greatest enemies of the Christian World. In order to be alone in India, on the score of refreshment for their ships, they erected a new fortalice in the Bay of Saldanha with the intent of closing that essential passage to all European nations; and what we ought to have done almost two centuries ago, has, through a study of our omissions, become the pernicious design of their Council. What will it cost Holland under the shadow of that praça, to keep near that Cape three or four sail, or more if necessary, in the season of the monsoons and become mistress of all who pass there to and fro? Could an easier means be found of becoming the complete mistress of this trade, and of all whom their arms can subdue? Can there be a greater fear for European nations than that they are lawless men, and masters of all the wealth of the East? At the point of the Cape we discovered a large river, and no pains were ever *P 6* taken to see whether it was suited for a praça, though

experience had shown that the fury of the storms came either from off Tristaõ da Cunha or from the coast of Natal, and not from the point of the Cape, if one goes there before winter. When Holland will have done it, we shall realise our mistake, and Angõla, whence we drove them so gallantly, will feel the proximity of the one and the other.

When we made peace with them, was it perchance that they might under plea of peace enter further into our conquests? Yet they found a claim to Queyxume, Island of the Kingdom of Ormuz; but the Persian did not let them have it. In Bantam under pretence of helping the Son, they took the praça from the Father, and the peace with the Portuguese did not avail to prevent their pinnaces from becoming part of the plunder. They did not even allow our ships to winter in their ports. They have no trade whatever in our [ports], and in the seas of India they claim that we should strike the flag to them. During the time of the recent truce they robbed Tutucurim; and they never kept faith except when it suited them, for where divine Faith is lacking, there is no room for human faith, and as they have the wind on their sails without any opposition, the more they prosper, the more difficult will be the remedy. They have seized the whole of the Eastern trade, and it is a saying among them that if their arms do not defeat us, our poverty will ruin us in India, as they said to the two Generals, Francisco de Melo de Castro and Antonio de Souza Coutinho, when they despatched them from Columbo. But *P 204* as the dictates of ambition are ever greedy, this very thing which in them seems a great | power in the East can, if well considered, be the forerunner of their ruin. And though their actual power on sea will always assure the safety of the praças, incredible is the expense they incur over so many garrisons, and if they are defeated in a naval battle, they are so disliked by the Natives, that the very stones will rise against them. The Nayres of Malavar, the Paravaz of the Coast of the Fishery, the Chingalas of Ceylon, the Belâlas in Jaffnapataõ, those of Negapataõ and Paleacate, those of Samâtra and of Malâca, those of Jâva, Macassar, and Malûco, would all drink their blood, and they are either going about with arms in their hands or are ever yearning for their Deliverance, and there is not a single nation that does not desire to oust them from India, and their diffusion can be as efficacious for their undoing, as it was for our dwindling, for if by their deceptions we had the Natives against us, by still greater disillusions we shall have the Natives for us and against them.]<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. xi., n. 1.

Portuguese India has come to such a pass, that it is absolutely necessary to take a final decision, and this can be no other than to take measures to come to its aid, for it cannot be abandoned nor can it be kept up by the ordinary reinforcements. I take the supposition of its abandonment, for to my great grief I have heard it said, that there are not wanting those who propose this desperate plan, and the eloquence of an authorized person is sometimes so powerful as to make people believe that the silliest mistakes of the understanding are the outcome of good judgment, introducing the most absurd political heresies as statesmanlike wisdom in government. They say: 'India in its present state brings nothing to Portugal, and if we have to go on incurring such expenses on it, with loss of men and without profit, it is better to give it up.' This is a maxim of that false policy which, even when only dreamt of, should be reprov'd, both for what is false in it and because it is rooted in impiety, as if the Portuguese who live there were not lieges also, and the Christian subjects had no need of protection. And considering what matters most and comes last to the minds of politicians, namely the conservation and increase of our Holy Faith, what excuse can we give to God and to the world for not proceeding in the enterprise begun and continued by us alone, and which has won us so much glory before God and before man? Shall we thus abandon and lose the actual Christianities of Solo, K<sup>1</sup> . . . Ayanô, Tunkim, Cau-KinKina, Camboja, Siaô, Pegû, Bengâla, San Thome, the Fishery, Malavar, Madurê, Maysur, Canarâ, Goa and of our territories of the North and of Mogol? Shall we thus leave in the hands of Heretics the Christianities of Malûco, Malâca, Ceylon, Jafanapataô, Negapataô, Coulaô, Cochim and Cananor? Shall we thus lose all hopes of the Christianity of Japan and Ethiopia? For I do not speak of Persia, Armenia, and the rest of Africa, as I do not know whether this stupid proposal extends to those countries also. Shall it be left to the pleasure of the Moorish and Pagan Kings to preserve without our assistance or to destroy altogether the Christianities subject to their dominion? What welfare and prosperity can Portugal expect, if she does not carry out the purpose for which God gave her the Crown and the right? How will she persuade foreign nations that it was zeal for the Faith that brought the Portuguese to India, if they see that this is regulated by our gain, and that when the latter ceases, there cease also the conservation and increase of the Faith?

Illegible.

Shall we allow it to be said that the change of the Crown was in India the destruction of religion? And that by abandoning altogether the possession of so much of the world, they may accuse us more openly | of having lost the right? P 7

Put in the balance of merit and of credit and of honour on the one side all the temporal profits which India can give, and on the other the Patronage<sup>1</sup> of the whole of it, so vast that it is unequalled in the world, and there can never be a greater, because there is no greater world to discover, and the spiritual welfare of so many souls converted and to be converted, and it will clearly appear that the temporal advantage is so inferior to this right, as goods of fortune are to honour, the temporal to the spiritual, and noble and Christian disinterestedness to covetousness and interested gain. The ancient houses of the Kingdom hold in great esteem the limited patronage which they enjoy, and will they wish His Majesty not to do the same with the most glorious Patronage in the world, changing their guard and making it a mere question of Religious [orders] what is really one of the Order of Christ and of the Crown to which it is united? And if they find that from their patronages they can draw some profit for their children, in the way of presentations and pensions, is it a small profit to the Kingdom and to a King to have the wherewith to reward its children and his subjects? If in the beginning of Christianities they made shift with suitable allowances, in course of time they can lawfully get other revenues wherewith to maintain themselves decorously, for the Kings on becoming Christians will give them what they had granted to the Ministers of Idols, when they were pagans, which in India was a very generous portion, or as the noble Abyssinian Kings gave to their Masters, who were given for this purpose their *gultres* or lands for sustenance. As soon as there was a Constantine the Great in Christendom, the Ecclesiastics who previously lived on alms and by the labour of their own hands, soon received goodly revenues, for he who serves the altar is rightly maintained by it. Against this it can only be said that nowadays there are no other politics nor any other piety in the world than those of self-interest; and not to have to descend to other terms. I stop here, for I speak to Portuguese only.

<sup>1</sup>The Padroado, or the Ecclesiastical Patronage which the King of Portugal claimed over the Churches of India. This claim was greatly modified in 1826 by a concordat between the Holy See and Portugal.



Let us come now to the question of abandoning India, and speak only of the temporal. Does he who says this know what India has cost the Portuguese in blood and lives, in wars in divers climes, and in long voyages and shipwrecks? Does he know that all this was foreseen and that nothing availed to prevent the undertaking? Does he know that besides the general right of conquest, navigation and commerce of so much of the world, we have special rights by treaty, donation and inheritance, not only to many smaller States but to its Kingdoms, some of them equal to that of Portugal, such as that of Tigrè in Ethiopia, that of Ormuz and of the Maldivas, of Ceylon, of Pegú, and under the same title, those of Maluco? Are all these to be given up spontaneously? It should rather be asked whether our Lords the Kings of Portugal can validly and licitly do so. What more can Holland seek or desire than to master and enjoy without opposition the drugs and the spiceries and the riches of India? This is not a question of herrings and codfish, but of diamonds, pearls, seed pearls, rubies, gold, silver, pinchbeck, copper, white and black, cloves, cinnamon, pepper, cardamons, galingale, musk, silk, tapestry, wrought cloth, and other immense riches and manufactures which God distributed over these vast regions and seas, and which the industry of the natives can greatly increase, were it not for the tyranny of their Princes. And he who is the master of these, at least by commerce, cannot fail to astound the world. I do not deny that the opposition and the ambition of European nations have greatly raised the price of the riches of the East, and that the high price of gold and silver in Portugal and consequently in India, greatly reduces the profit of that trade, but he who brings it under his dominion, or under the single hand of a company, will not experience this inconvenience so much, for the natives will become reasonable and will do freely what they like with their own, as the Belga<sup>1</sup> does, selling cloves, nutmegs and cinnamon and the rest, which passes only through his hands, at very high prices, and if other remedies are unavailing, he will moderate the price of foreign things.

They say they know all this, but that it is dealing with impossibilities, for the Kingdom finds itself exhausted of money for so great a work, and even if this were got together from India and Portugal and from abroad, the men needed for so great an undertaking can never be obtained from the Kingdom and the Islands, and that what is obtained will soon be consumed in India, as has happened in the case

<sup>1</sup> Hollander. The author uses Hollander, Belga, Batavian, indiscriminately.

of such large fleets which were sent at the beginning of these conquests, and even after the European nations begin to infest it. And therefore a man of good judgment, who had often made this voyage, once said that each time he came to India, he found a different Goa, but returning to the Kingdom always found the same Lisbon. This shortage of men was ever remarked by foreign writers, and the Duke of Mercurio insinuated the same in Rome, for when a Portuguese Religious gave him the news of the recovery of Arrecife and of the whole of Brazil, after listening attentively and making him repeat it, he rose and exclaimed: 'Terrible men! Terrible men! There are not more than three, one defends Portugal, another conquers Brazil, and another keeps India in hand, Terrible men! Terrible men!'

Even here I cannot reconcile two things. The first that we know the channels through which the money of Portugal flows out, but do not seek to close them, perhaps to connive at passions; but this is not the place for me to enlarge on this subject. The second that we know we are few, and do not like to employ other nations. Holland receives all the nations of Europe into her Company, because of the same drawback, and in India she makes use of Malays and Bandansee, and in the siege of Cochim [she made use] of the Chingalaz and all others whom she found fit. We did the same on some occasions, making use of the Nayres of Cochim, and of other subjects and foreigners, putting the bit on Persia by means of Persians, on Arabia by means of Arabians, and on Ceylon by means of Chingalaz; and if this was useful then, why can a company not do the same? On the advice of the Council of India and after discussions in Europe, our Lords, the Kings of Portugal, saddled themselves with the praça in the Red Sea, in order to check, first the might of the Sultan of Egypt, and then him of Turkey who conquered it [Egypt]. Five powerful fleets led by the Governors of India entered that Strait, and they were all defeated after fighting only with the storms and winds and hunger and thirst. I never understood what use there was in seeking out an enemy entrenched in his own house, when we could defeat him in our own, as did D. Francisco de Almeyda and D. Afonso de Noronha, when it was so difficult to seek him out with lesser vessels in the crooked channels of Jida and the shallows of Sues, in order to burn his fleet, which they never succeeded in doing, without ever heeding the suitability of the island of Macuá, especially after D. Christovão da Gama entered into a treaty with the Abyssinian regarding the Kingdom of Tigrè which belonged to him. Nor could the Portuguese have a praça in that Strait of greater consequence, for it is the only port of the

Empire of Abyssinia and is able to hold galleons, and with two small frigates they could have forced all the ships that entered by the gates of that Strait to go there for provisions, as the Turk afterwards did with two galleys, when he first took it from the Abyssinian, laying hold of the large trade, which afterwards he deflected upon Moca and Camarãno, and of the Fishery of pearls and seed pearls between Macua and Suâquem; and moreover, facilitating in this way the reduction of the Abyssinians to our military discipline, we could have made them masters of a great part of Africa, and once on our side, they could have made us masters of a great part of India, where they are greatly feared and respected by the natives. |

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From this discussion, which can be but short here, I only conclude that because India now yields little, it does not follow that it must be given up, but that in any case it should be helped. In the course of this History, it will appear that it is Ceylon which must be kept in view, and which must give greater concern for reasons which we shall give at length.

P 22 | Besides by the authors of printed [books] who relate the successes of Ceylon, I was greatly helped in the completion of this work by the diligence of Afonso Dias da Lomba amplified by Antonio Barbosa Pinheyro with the knowledge he had of Ceylon in the beginning of that conquest; by the work of Bento da Silva who was a soldier and magistrate (Ouvidor) there, and by that of Father Francisco Negrao, Religious of the Observance, who died in our days; but none of these gave a continuous history of it. And though I also found other private documents, and took information from many persons very familiar with that island, I did not succeed in obtaining full information about many deeds worthy of remembrance, nor from the Secretariate of State was I able to procure anything more than a few modern writings, though the Lord Conde de Alvor, the present<sup>1</sup> Viceroy of India, greatly desired to help me. But in India that interest was ever lacking, and the worm soon destroys documents. The Lord Conde de Lauradio, Luis de Mendonça Furtado de Albuquerque,<sup>2</sup> assured me that Ruy Dias da Cunha had given him two volumes of a History of Ceylon, and when he gave them in Lisbon to D. Francisco Manoel de Melo, he read them and afterwards told him that it was only necessary to improve the style. If this work comes to light, some one interested can well supply what is lacking in this, for I have no hopes of discovering any further information in India; and this, I think, will be sufficient to form a right judgment of the importance of recovering Ceylon, which is the purpose which led me to this work.

<sup>1</sup> See *ante*, p. ii n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Viceroy, 1671-1677.

P 221 FIRST PROTESTATION OF THE AUTHOR

IN conformity with the Apostolic Decree of the Most Holy Pope, Urban VIII. issued in the year 1625, and his declaration made in the year 1631, and its confirmation in the year 1634, before beginning this work of the Conquest, Temporal and Spiritual, of Ceylon, I declare that, though I speak therein of virtues and miracles and martyrdoms and of men of holy life, approving their spirit as that of men of great virtue, it is not my intention to assert these things with any greater authority than is usual in history | and P 3 human testimony and the fallible judgment of an individual person, though the documents I follow, when compared with each other, show that there is moral certitude. And I do not pretend to assign them any cult or veneration whatever, or reputation or fame for Sanctity or Miracles or Martyrdom, based on the authority of the Catholic Roman Church, which in this matter has not yet interposed her irrefragable decision, to which I submit my judgement in all things related in this book. And I desire all to understand that it is my intention to observe in its entirety and inviolate the aforesaid decree in its proper meaning, as has been declared and confirmed.

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BOOK 1  
OF THE  
CONQUEST OF CEYLON

CHAPTER 1.

OF THE POSITION, SIZE, AND NAMES OF THE ISLAND OF  
CEYLON, AND OF THOSE WHO PEOPLED IT

THE celebrated island of Ceylon lies in front of the Cape of Comorim in this vast Indian Sea at the gullet of the great Bay of Bengal. It extends along the Coast of India which lies southward below the Ganges, towards the rumb which the mariners call North-East, forming a rampart to the Coasts of the Fishery and Choromandel, being connected in such a manner with the mainland by the chain of the shoals<sup>1</sup> of Chilaō, that there is even more reason to say that it is united to the continent than that Sicily, as tradition asserts, has been separated from Italy; for between them there are only two channels, one, the broader, between Manâr and the point of Cardiva, capable of foists<sup>2</sup> only, the other near the island of the Pagode<sup>3</sup> of Ramdecoir, of less depth, where it is necessary to 'tanear',<sup>4</sup> that it is to say, to disburden the rowing ships of their cargo and take them to the other side. The most Southerly point is at a latitude of six degrees, and the most Northerly nearly at ten.

<sup>1</sup> By 'bayxos de Chilaō' is meant the modern Adam's Bridge. From 'bayxos' come the names Great 'Basses' and Small 'Basses'.

<sup>2</sup> 'Fusta', one of the many names of vessels which we shall often meet with. A foist is described as a long and flat vessel with lateen sails and oars, two-masted, and used for transport as well as for a ship of war.

<sup>3</sup> In Indo-Portuguese this word is used in three different senses (1) a temple, as here, (2) an idol, (3) a coin, which is called a pagoda because of the Boar avatar of Vishnu figured on the coins.

<sup>4</sup> 'Tanear', a mistake for 'tancar', a word taken from Uamil, *Tanukiradu*, to unlade gradually.

With regard to its size, Geographers differ widely, for the Calvinists in the Logbooks of their voyage to Ceylon in the year 1602 err enormously, giving it sometimes a circumference of 900 leagues, at other times 360. Afterwards they corrected the mistake in the Hydraulic Map. The Portuguese also sometimes confounded the Ceylon leagues, which are much greater, with the geometrical and our popular leagues. Measured by the last named, reckoning from Columbo, to the Mound of Mapane<sup>1</sup> they give 2, thence to Panaturê 3, to Calaturê 3, to Macûni up to Barbiri another, to Alicaõ 2, P 2 to Corbûre 2, to Bilitoti 1, to Madana 2, to Guindurê 3, to Gâle 1, to Biligaõ 5, to Maturê 3, to the pagode of Tananâre<sup>2</sup> 1, to Nacolegaõ 4, to the village of the washermen 5, to the headland of Jala 7, to Batecalou 15, to the river of Ransom (Resgate) 17, to the river of the Christians 20, to Triquinemalê 6, to the river of the Cross 4, thence to the red Claypits F 10 (Barreyras) 2, to the Ponta das pedras 3, to Patanão 2, to the point of Columbo 1, where there is the Quay of the elephants<sup>3</sup>; thence to Manâr 11, to Mouraõ 1, to Gudramâla<sup>4</sup> 3, to Cardiva 2, to Chilaõ 12, to Caymel 4, to Nigumbo 2, to Columbo 5, making a total of 150 leagues in circuit, 78 in length, 44 in breadth, where it is broadest, because being in shape nearly oval, it is not altogether regular, but very narrow towards the North.

Ptolemy<sup>5</sup> places it in front of Cape Corii, which we call Comorim; Pliny off cape Colaico, for he, it would seem, gave it the name of the noblest people and the port nearest to that Cape which is called Coulaõ, the Metropolis of one of the many petty Kings of Malavâr; and they are followed by Ortelius in his Geographical Treasury. Nor is it an objection that Ptolemy places it at thirteen degrees and a half to the North, and Pliny beyond the Equinoctial to the South, for both are excused by the crudeness of the information of that time; and much more is Ptolemy [excused] by the constant tradition of the Natives that with Ceylon were united the lowlands of the Maldives, which the sea

<sup>1</sup> 'Morro de Mapane', modern 'Mount Lavinia', Sin. Galkissa. The stretch of land from Galle Face to Mount Lavinia is called Mapane by Portuguese writers, probably from *Maha-pana*, the Great Plain. Mount Lavinia is from *Lihini Karda*, 'Hill of the Seagulls'; but see Mrs. H. H. Dulling 'History of Mount Lavinia'.

<sup>2</sup> Panadure, Kalutara, Maggona, Beruwala, Alutgama (Corbure, Bilitota, Madana), Gintota, Galle, Weligama, Matara, Deundara (Dondra).

<sup>3</sup> Point Pedro, (Jaffna)patam, Columbuturai, Kayts (Caes).

<sup>4</sup> Kudramalai.

<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy—*cf.* MacCrimdale's Ancient India; Couto V. I. 7.

has since devoured for the most part, dividing them into innumerable Islands, the beginning of which in the North, is now seen at 10 degrees and is distant 70 leagues from the point<sup>1</sup> of Gâle; all of which together makes a notable expanse. Nor does it seem a surprising thing that the sea has swallowed up such an extent of low countries, for other examples are pointed out [*e.g.*] of the great island Atlantis, Helice,<sup>2</sup> Bura and of the two islands which the sea submerged near Zealand; and in many other parts of the world great shores have been eaten up, as those of the Frisians, Caninefates, Cauci; and of the gulf of Cambaya it is known that it was formerly a river; and the sea is ever eating up some part or another of the shores.

It has very different names; for the Arabs call it Zaylon, which is the very name we use modifying it according to our language, Tenarezim and Ternasserî, which means delightful land; the Persians, because of its extent, Serandid; the Indians in their language the land of winters,<sup>3</sup> because of the two [winters] which water and cool it, the first is the one of the Coast of India which blows especially in June, July, and August, at the time of the hottest weather in Europe, the second is that of the Coast of Choromandel which begins in October and lasts another three months, besides other rains frequent in lands under or near the Equinoctial. Arrian, a Greek Author, names it Pallessimonda in the Treatise on Indian Navigation, and, if he does not agree in the name, he agrees in [the position he gives to it. F 2] Erasthenes calls it Tapobrâna<sup>4</sup> in the Eoan Sea, distant P 3 twenty days sail from Persia; and Onesicritus, [Captain of Alexander the Great, places it to the South among the Islands of Mamôle. That this Island was the celebrated Tapobrâna seems manifest, for this word in Greek means 'unknown dwelling' or 'hidden land', known only for its fertility, and it is not a proper name, but appropriated as [in the case of] Sicily and Cyprus, to which also they give this name; and no other land does it fit with greater propriety because of its fertility than Ceylon; and the more so when the lowlands

<sup>1</sup> 'Ponta de Gale', whence 'Point de Galle' of our books of Geography.

<sup>2</sup> Atlantis, a great island west of the Pillars of Hercules opposite Mount Atlas. The legend of its destruction in a day and a night is given by Plato in *Timæus*. Helice, ancient Capital of Achaia, said to have been swallowed up by an earthquake together with Bura. These classical examples are from Sa y Menezes, 11, Journal XI., 452.

<sup>3</sup> By winters is meant the monsoons: Cachao (Tam. *Kachchân* South-west wind) and Vara (Tam. *Vadai*, North wind).

<sup>4</sup> Metathesis for Tapobane.



of the Maldives were united to it, for it was of a very remarkable size ; and as they rise little above the sea there may still be seen in them vestiges of precious spices, as are the health-giving properties of its coconuts ; and as they are all low-lands they cannot fail to be most fertile. But what remains in Ceylon of spices and fertility, as we shall see, cannot be compared with any other island in these seas, because none can compete with Ceylon, nor, for that reason, can that name be applied to any other with equal propriety, though some applied it to the Island of Samatra, which does not tally with the aforesaid bearings, nor with regard to the Greeks and Latins who so applied it and discovered it only by way of land ; the distance of Ceylon is also well known, though the distance of innumerable islands of the Archipelago, of which they had peradventure no notice, be greater.

There agrees well with this name the one which the Natives give it, namely *Lancab*, which is equivalent to 'Oderiferous land', it being preserved by tradition that it was given by the first King on seeing the beauty of the land, the mildness of the climate, the abundance of the fruits, the excellence of the waters, the fragrance of the woods, the wealth of the mountains, the riches of the gem lands (*agras*,<sup>1</sup> and the variety of the animals. The Chinese, who either\* conquered it or\* traded therein, call it *Simonda*, marvel of the world. \*Others say that it was called *Chinilao*, because of a great shipwreck which the *Chinas* suffered on the shoals of *Chilaõ*, and that remaining in the island, they adapted the name to their own pronunciation. But [the word] *China* is pronounced *Kina*, and *Chilaõ* is called *Alavata*,<sup>2</sup> which means 'honeycomb', because of the abundance there is of it there ; and because the neighbouring sea<sup>3</sup> was called in the *Chingala* language *Silama*, the Portuguese corrupted [it into] *Chilaõ*, and thence originated this false conjecture.\* | Other nations in conformity with the information they had of its fruits and wealth, by this word '*Scrilanca*'<sup>4</sup> call it *Paradise*. And others are of opinion that the name *Ceylao* is derived from the word *Celão*,<sup>5</sup> which means merriment. Pliny calls it *Salica*, because of certain noteworthy and abundant Salt pits

<sup>1</sup> *Agras*, which the author derives from *Sin. garanawa*. It is rather from *ākara*, gem land, cf. *Agrapatana*

\* ..... \* What is between these signs is so marked in the original. Note of the copyist.

<sup>2</sup> *Sin. Halavata. Salawat* (Ibn Batuta).

<sup>3</sup> The Gulf of Mannar was called by the Portuguese the Sea, or Gulf, of *Chilaõ*, by the Tamils *Salapam*.

<sup>4</sup> *Sri Lanka*, the Radiant Lanka.

<sup>5</sup> *Sin. Sellam*, pastime. This kind of word derivation we shall often meet with in these pages.

formed by nature in the lands of *Valave*, a day's journey from *Panêva*, which are filled with salt water in July, August, and September, because the first Indian winter does not prevail much on that side, and being kept in by the heat of the sun, it becomes very white, and so abundant, that there is no end, increasing in proportion as it is taken away. Lastly, the *Malavares*, instead of *Ceylon*, say *Tranâte* or *Ilerane*, which means Kingdom of the island, in remembrance of the ancient *Rajapurê*, the first Metropolis of *Ceylon*.

Similar and not less uncertain is the variety of the name of its Natives ; though others from the likeness of the name which Pliny gave to the country call them *Salis*, the name *Chingalaz*, which they think was formerly *Siaõ Gala*, was for others an argument, added to the nearness of the countries, for believing that the people of *Siaõ* and *Bengala*, from which they derive the name *Siaõ-Gala*, were the first inhabitants of this Island. What has some better foundation and is more constantly affirmed in their books and by tradition handed down from father to son is the following : In the year 1896 before our Redemption (though the *Chingalas* themselves, as we shall see later, in a petition to the Governor *Diogo de Melo de Castro* in the year 1636, say that *Vigiã Rajã* began to reign in that Island more than 2200 years before, in which they do not speak consistently), there came to this Island a Prince by name *Vigiã Rajã*, and putting into port in the land of *Mantôta* in front of the island of *Manâr* (though others say in *Periaturê*, between *Triquilimalê* and the point of *Jafanapataõ*, and some others think that he landed in the bay of *Valavê*, six degrees to the North) with 700 persons who accompanied him, and making his way inland built Cities and villages, being the first in a political manner to rule *Ceylon*. They say he came from the Kingdom of *Telingo* or *Calingo*, in the neighbourhood of that of *Tanacerim*, of the King of which he was a son ; and because his magi had foretold him that this son would be the cause of his ruin, on their advice he banished him and all those who were born on the same day, which, if they were so many, is no small proof of the size of the Kingdom ; all in punishment for grave offences in civil wars which he waged against his Father ; and that with contrary winds he chanced to come to this Island. With this limited number he entered, by way of *Manâr*, into the region of *Mantôta*, and being pleased with the land, he managed to get possession of it ; and more people joining him, he came to be styled Emperor of *Ceylon*, whose battles and victories the *Chingala* Chronicles celebrate, narrating in the first place the one he gained at *Præaturê*,

a port between Triquilimalé and the point of Jafanapataō ; erecting in thanksgiving some temples to their Pagodes and a new city for the new settlers ; a clear proof that the country was first peopled either by the Siamese and Bengalese, or by some other nations. Once settled in Ceylon, he treated for a marriage alliance and married from the mainland Poēni, daughter of Choleā Rajā, a Prince of that Coast, making his neighbours believe the fable of his lineage, afterwards believed also by those who descended from them, who recite P 5 it in ancient romances which they sing | at their festivals, to which they give the same credence as we to the documents of our antiquities. He styled himself the son of the Sun under the equivocation of coming from the East, so as not to omit this trick of foreigners who are not content with saying that they also are warmed by the Sun, and if they meet with credulous people, easily make them believe they are the children of the Sun and the Stars. And as the Asiatic heathen believe other greater fables, they also believe that the blood of a Lion was the raw material on which the Sun impressed the form and figure of this Illustrious Prince, to whom we cannot deny some kinship with the Sun, considering the scorched colour of his descendents and of the other Chingalas. For this reason the Kings of Ceylon style themselves Suriavaṅṅa, which is equivalent to 'The race of the Sun', and this encomium is so familiar to the Chingalaz and to their neighbours, that if in someone they observe a noble deed, they forthwith call him son of the Sun. The ancient Kings took the title of Bau which means Lion's Tail. This pretension about their origin obtained them the title of Emperors, though their dominion never exceeded the narrow limits of this Island, and led both Kings and lieges to think they are the best blood of the East. On account of this fabulous respect all the other Princes of India, especially P 6 Heathen, acknowledge a certain advantage | and excellence P 7 in those of Ceylon, and deem it a great fortune to give them their daughters, in order thereby to become related to the Sun.

This Prince lived ten years in good harmony with Poēni by whom he had no children, but coming to mistrust her virtue, he took her life and married again one of the relations of his wife ; and founding the City of Tammāna, to immortalize her, he gave the new city her name, which it keeps up to this day, the Natives calling those lands Tammāna adauia<sup>1</sup> which means 'the wilderness of Tammāna'. Here this Prince died after 28 years of government, leaving for heir his son Abeanāo,<sup>2</sup> and as a crest and arms to his successors

<sup>1</sup> Tammēna Adāvia, Raj. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Abhaya.

a Sun and Lion, whence it seems more reasonable to suppose *Cap. 1.* this nation took its name, for *Le* among them means blood, and *Çinga* a Lion ; whence they formed the word Cingāle, and in the plural Cingāles, which they afterwards corrupted into Cingalias and lastly we into Chingalaz. Others say that the Malavares called them Gālas because they were exiles, which together with their name of Lion, became Cingālas. Let the Reader judge what he likes of these old wives' tales.

And as all nations seek to glorify their origin, and the heathen almost always imagine fabulous ones, those of Ceylon also say that when the people dwelling beyond the Ganges and on this side of China, wherein are comprised the Kingdoms of Pegū, Tanaçerim, Calingo, Telingo, Siaō, Camboia, and other smaller ones of that region and extensive promontory, were living without law, without King, or any other polity P 6 to differentiate them from brute beasts, | one day at the rising of the Sun, which they worshipped, they saw the earth open and there sally out of the bowels thereof a man, so handsome and dignified in appearance, that he was altogether different from all other men ; and amazed at such an unheard of marvel, they asked him who he was and what he wished. He replied that he was the offspring of the Sun and of the earth and that he came to rule and govern those Kingdoms and those peoples ; and the marvel and his own majesty bearing him testimony, he was worshipped by them and received as Lord and King ; and forthwith he became their Lawgiver, governing them with laws suave and gentle and introducing other politics which they afterwards observed ; and having governed for many years a Monarchy so vast that it extended to 40 degrees North, which Empire lasted in his descendants for more than 2000 years before the coming | of Christ, he P 4 left many sons among whom he divided those Kingdoms ; and to those who descended from him they gave the name of Suriavaṅṅa, as we said ; and it is from him, they say, their Vigiā Rajā was descended. Nor are the fables about this son of the Sun less than those about Memnon, the son of Aurora.

## CHAPTER 2.

### OF OTHER MORE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF CEYLON

Of the first inhabitants of Ceylon it is said (building upon a history, which seems to be true, a fable which they believe to be infallible of the transformations of their Vixnu, of whom we shall give an account in another work,<sup>1</sup> as now

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

we are only concerned with the history and tradition of the Chingalas, and meanwhile one may read Manoel de Faria e Souza, Vol. 2 part 4, ch. 2.) that they were Magi, enchanters, and sorcerers; and that because of great crimes which by these arts they committed in the Kingdom of Parquâ which borders on that of Persia, and in the City of Ageddi of which they were natives, especially because they had robbed the wife of Rama Chandri, the Lord of the land, named Sinta, of as rare beauty as the other Cynthia, not considering themselves safe, they crossed this Hindustan, and passing over to Ceylon, took the port of Triquilimalê; and inhabiting and cultivating the land, they gave it the name 'Lancave' which means 'distant and delightful land'. Afterwards they built the City of Sintavâca, giving it the name of the stolen Sinta, which it still retains more corrupted than the one given by the Portuguese; for they call it Hitavaca, and the Portuguese Seytavâca, situated in the interior seven leagues from Columbo. There they practiced Necromancy to such an extent that they were reputed to be Demons, and for that reason they call that country Rocosabumi,<sup>1</sup> which means land inhabited by Demons. And these people were governed by the famous magus Rauâna, whom they represent with ten heads and twenty arms, though he was not a son of the hundred armed Briareus; and being Lord of the whole Island, by the art of the Devil, he found many mountains of gold and silver which were therein, and learning that his adversary Ramâ Chandri (the heathens here in Concaõ call him Ramâ-Chandrû) was seeking him with a powerful army, and making a bridge for his passage across the shoals of Chilaõ and the Island of Manâr, had marched as far as Palanchêna, near the port of Nigumbo, there the magus Rauâna with another like force of his own people and of the opposite coast awaited him. A battle was fought with great loss on both sides, but at last those of Rauâna were defeated, and there was killed one of his sons, by name Ingrutîla, of whom they relate great fables. Thence Ramâ-Chandri went to Seytavâca, and after entering it and plundering therein great treasures of silver, gold and precious stones, he set fire to it, and recovered his spouse Sinta, with whom, without further delay, he returned to his own lands. In memory of this feat and of the celebrated passage through the shoals of Chilao, heathendom built the pagode of Ramen-coir on a small island, which is the beginning of those shoals, and is separated from the continent by the channel Vtiar. This Pagode was most famous, and

<sup>1</sup> *Râkshasa 'humia* (*Rakusa-Bima* cf. *Rakwana*).

even to-day it is much frequented by the whole Asiatic heathendom, and it appears that it was also visited by the Arabs before they became Mahometans, and that, when that memory was fresh, they introduced into Spain the word *Ramera*, taken from the public women who served this pagode Ramen, just as in their language they called Senhor the great Captain Sidî Ruy Dias de Bivar, just as strangers in our days called General Mathias de Albuquerque, Senhor Mathias, before he became Conde de Alegrete; though the Spaniards and Portuguese, who took from them many other words, contracted Sidî into Sid.

Rauâna, seeing himself defeated and dishonoured, carried away by his feelings, hid himself in the lands of Mayogâma in the borders of Sofragaõ and bewitched the gold and silver from the mountains, that they might never more be seen or found. So great is the credulity of these people, that they are convinced that they do not see what every day they tread under their feet. In one of these mountains, they say, he fell asleep, and is still sleeping, believing that he who offers a sacrifice of the husk of *nêle mari*<sup>1</sup> (*nêle* is rice in the husk) and of the oil of the coco, will wake him and heal him of the wounds which so many centuries ago he received in battle; giving this so much credit that for more than ten leagues around, for this reason, they do not sow *nêle*, because as his memory is much detested by the very natives, they do not wish to give opportunity to offer him this sacrifice. The other Magi, after the departure of Ramâ-Chandri, celebrated in Seytavâca the sad funeral of their Captain Ingrutîla; and to deposit his bones with great decency, they hewed in a rock facing the City of Cobodura-Gâla<sup>2</sup> a sumptuous sepulchre of costly work of first [rate] workmanship, wherein they laid him in a large golden chest set with many precious stones, engraving on it also an account of the past battle, and blocked the entrance with another stone with such art that the secret remains completely hidden. They built in that Island other sumptuous edifices, of which no memorial is found except for a labyrinth in the county of Biligal-Corla in the village of Columboa, which means the abode or dwelling place of the nymphs. They hold that these Magi lived 372 years in Ceylon, where they were sought out from all these Asiatic regions to learn from them Necromancy, which they call *gapuluvigiva*. But in the reckoning of times, they are mistaken, because though they say that the arrival of

<sup>1</sup> *Neli*, from Tamil *nellu*, unhusked rice, paddy.

<sup>2</sup> *Kobottara-gala*, termination of the range on which Maniyangama Vihare lies.—Bell. Keg. Rep. 66.

these people in Ceylon was 1258 years before the coming of Christ and that they lived in that island 372 years, they place the arrival of Vigiâ-Rajâ in Ceylon 1896 years before the coming of Christ, affirming that he exiled them and extirpated them; wherefore neither here, nor in the rest, is there any fixed foothold in their histories and traditions.

On frivolous grounds others pretend that in the times of the first Kings descended from the Sun, a Chinese fleet was wrecked off Ceylon, and that they also dwelt there, landing at the port of Chilao, and infer that from the half breeds born of the native Galas, and from the word Cim, was formed that of the nation, calling them Cingalas. But it is certain according to the statements of Father Nicolao Trigaucio in his Chinese History, that the Chinese never attempted any conquest outside that vast Monarchy, though they might have traded in these seas; and that the port which we call Chilao is called Alavâta, which is the same as 'honey in its comb', or 'honey comb', because of the great abundance of it that is produced in that country, and they say that Chilao was the name given by the Portuguese, who derived it from the [name of the] sea, which the natives called Cilâma. And even if we have recourse to the times of the Chinese King, Saymon Babarim, the Conqueror, who, they suppose, reigned 2750 years before the Redemption of the World, and nothing is irreconcilable with the antiquity of that vast Monarchy, which is such in the common opinion of more than 500 Writers, revised and approved of by their tribunal of Rites, that after the separation of peoples and the building of the tower of Babel, the monuments of its antiquity do not tally with the computation of our Vulgate; and there are too few years in the reckoning of the 70 Interpreters to allow for the setting up of so extended a monarchy, which at present under the Tartarian Kings holds sway over 60 leagues outside the walls of China; nor is there known in the world so great a power <sup>P 50</sup> united in one body—it can scarcely be proved therefrom that in the times of the first Kings of Ceylon, the Chinese possessed themselves of any part of that Island, though it seems impossible to deny that they traded therein, at least the Chincheos [who are] more inclined to navigation. And if we are to give credit to those who are versed in the Chinese <sup>P 9</sup> language, the word Kina must be written with a K and not with a C or an S; from which also it would appear that the word Cinga-las cannot easily be formed. And the diversity of features of the Cingalas from those of the Chinese is as great as has been observed between the other nations of the world, in which may be made at most four noteworthy groups.

for the whole of Europe and Asia, South of the Caucasus and as far as the Ganges, disregarding the colour, including also the Mediterranean Africa, are countries peopled by men of the same features more or less delicate. The whole of Asiatic Tartary and also Cithia and the peoples of further India have a tendency to the same symmetry, of noses flatter and the eyes less opened: all the country of the Negroes, which in a broader acceptation is called Ethiopia, is either peopled by Caffirs or by nations that tend to the same type, and they occupy the greatest part of Africa. There remains the fourth part, that of the New World, in the inhabitants of which is seen also a remarkable diversity from the European. And it has been observed, that the colour at least is not changed by changing the climate, if there is no mixture of blood.

All this variety and uncertainty about the first inhabitants and of names, as well of the island as of its inhabitants, is left to the consideration of the reader, for I do not undertake to make certain what is uncertain, and every one is free to give as much credit as he likes, and one must not seek for evidence in uncertain antiquities. Abeanam, as we said, succeeded to this Kingdom which he ruled for 30 years, who was succeeded by his first born son Panducabea<sup>1</sup> (others say Panducabeca) who reigned 70 years, in whose time the whole Island was peopled. Then his son Mutania,<sup>2</sup> to whom they give another 70 years of Reign, and in a rebellion he lost both life and state. It was occupied by a son named Acelania, and on the day of his coronation [named] Divinapencâ<sup>3</sup> [according to] a custom still observed by other peoples, to change names when they are crowned Kings. This King has amongst them a great name, and he, disliking with good reason the site of Tamâna, founded in the County of Mangur-Corla the Metropolis Rajâpurê—Rajâ | among these peoples <sup>P 6</sup> is the same as King—whither he transferred his Court, and thence he opened commerce with the Oriental nations, and he amassed great riches by the exchange of the spices of Ceylon. This City grew so much in size that they give it a circuit of twelve leagues and a length of four, with walls, bastions, and towers of brick, wherein were contained nine thousand one-storied houses and ninety thousand ground-floor houses, three hundred and sixty Temples of unusual grandeur with monstrous pagodes. In one there was an Idol of meta, as large as the Colossus of Rhodes; and though they greatly

<sup>1</sup> Paṇḍukābhaya.

<sup>2</sup> Muṭasiva.

<sup>3</sup> Devanampiya Tissa.

extol the grandeur of these edifices, some little memorial of them is found. Constantine de Sâ de Noronha, when General of Ceylon, on the order of the King, sent [some people] to discover these antiquities, but they did not find at the time  
 P 10 any vestige of them, in spite of a march of 15 days | through these forests capable of hiding much greater things. Father Francisco Negrão says in his work<sup>1</sup> that searching for this place, being incredulous of what they told him, he even found two rows of pillars, of which he counted 1600; and measuring one, he found it was fifteen palms high, and that according to tradition, which, when purely human, is an archive of confused truths, they believed these to have served as supports to extensive houses, covered with tiles of metal, wherein the poor and pilgrims were sheltered; which means a large hospital. At a short distance he found a hundred pyramids of fifty and sixty and hundred fathoms in diameter, if so they can be called, for the top is of the same size, made of brick like those of Egypt, dedicated to their gods for their sepulchres. He also saw there a tank of water of twelve leagues in circumference and walled all around. He found two other tanks of two and four leagues circumference which served to irrigate the fields, and still retain traces of their magnitude, for besides large mounds of earth, the inside is all stone work, with arches and sluices for the distribution of the water and channels underground, in some places a quarter of a league [long] whereby large fields of rice are watered. It is a work no way inferior to, and more costly and magnificent than, the dams of Cavery here in India and of the Ebro in Valencia. Others make mention of a temple with 366 Pagodes sacred to the days of the year, 24 of which were of wonderful size and wrought in stone. The rest was consumed by time, which is permanent only in changes, and lies hidden in those thickets. Of this King it is said that he was the first to receive the law of Buddum or Buddu, | and that the foundation of that City was 706 P 60 years before the coming of Christ and that it lasted for 1805 years, up to 1099 of Christ.

The first founder, Asselania, was succeeded in the Kingdom by his son Vey-Rajâ, and he by Maha Rajâ, who greatly enlarged the City with various fortalices, which was still more enlarged by his son Su-ratî Rajâ, and he recalled some Magi to teach Necromancy there, who were not less favoured by his successor Vacha-Rajâ. Some think that ninety Kings;

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction. Father Negrão is thus the first European to mention the ruins of Anura-Ihapura.

descendants of the first Vigia Rajâ, Reigned in succession, but Father Negrão says that besides the above-mentioned, he found in their Chronicles<sup>1</sup> mention of only the 52 following, whom we name here :—

<p>Asela Rajâ            Italatica            Dutugê            Chandramu            Choiananga            Parauia            Anula Rajâ            Mahadiliris            Cura Baya            Sandu            Mahap Rajâ            Malumana            Cuhuana Rajâ            Veratuâ            Sangatica            Sangaboy            Mahacen            Elala Rajâ            P 11   Gulabay            Tulana Rajâ            Valagan            Curatica            Vasuquia            Macalançia            Andagemnu            Cingaualea</p>	<p>Sasaselu            Vanahi            Batiania            Curana            Sirimaga            Demeneçeris            Cocabay            Gayaba            Mahana Rajâ            Cauantissa            Calumna            Chula Bau            Vatuca            Balaçia            Baty Rajâ            Quiriri Rajâ            Calumna Rajâ            Subabala            Gayaba            Chulatica            Cundaçiris            Vigia Rajâ            Veratica            Calacanditica            Vira Rajâ            Quiri Rajâ</p>
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It appears from their *olas*<sup>2</sup> that all except the two last were of Royal descent, and even in this smaller number the years of government could not have been many, because there were also civil wars among them, and the very name of this ancient capital Anu Rajapure which means the 'Mansion of 90 Kings' is no small proof that they were more in number, and it can well be seen that it is a name given after their reign, for only then could this number be known.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to verify these names, and the list does not tally with the lists compiled from the existing texts of any of the Sinhalese or Pali chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Palm leaves, from Tam. *olei*. The author, like other Portuguese writers, uses the word *ola* for (1) palm leaves (cadjans), (2) writings on palm leaf, (3) any letter, (4) Sannas.

In the time of Claudius, Emperor of the Romans, between the years of Christ 42 and 56, when these Kings were ruling over Ceylon, Pliny relates that a freedman of Anneus Proclamus, while sailing along this Coast of Arabia was carried away by a North Breeze, and that after 15 days he came upon the island of Tapobrana, and being well received by the King thereof, was by him, after some months, sent back with his ambassadors to Rome, where was made an agreement about dealings and trade; of which some find a confirmation in that, as Laguna<sup>1</sup> relates, in the time of Pope Paul III. there was found in Rome a piece of cinnamon wood kept there from the time of Arcadius the son of Theodosius, 261 years after Claudius. And João de Melo de S. Paya, Captain of Manâr, in the year 1575, ordering the destruction of some ancient buildings near that fortalice, there were found in their foundation some coins of gold and copper with the letters C. L. R. M. N., which seem to mean: Claudius Romanorum: according to their wonted abbreviation.<sup>2</sup> Though these arguments have less force than the authority of Pliny, because coins and trade articles, when they are good, circulate over more lands than the merchants of the same nation, and I know a time in India when the commonest coins were the Spanish patacas<sup>3</sup> and the Venetians of the figure,<sup>4</sup> even among Moors and Heathens. Some few years ago on digging some foundations near the custom P<sup>12</sup> house of Diu, there was found among others, a gold coin like the one mentioned by Father Cerda in his Commentary on the Eclogues of Virgil explaining these hemistiches—*Inscripti nomina regum Nascuntur flores.*<sup>5</sup>

I saw it; it was thicker in the middle with a *fleur-de-lis* on one side and around it the inscription *Tiberius Caesar Imperator et Pontifex Maximus*, likewise abbreviated. On the other side there was a sort of castle, and the rest was engraved with letters so small that they could scarcely be read without first colouring it. In like manner are found many other coins as ancient and even more ancient, than are the informations of Pliny.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Andres de Laguna cf. J. XX. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ceylon Coins and Currency, by Mr. H. W. Codrington, ch IV.

<sup>3</sup> Pataca, the well-known Spanish piece-of-eight, which with the Venetian ducat or sequin attained almost world-wide currency. The name subsequently was applied to the silver six-dollar and survives as *patāgaya* in Sinhalese. It is the Tamil *iraiyā*, real.—H. W. Codrington.

<sup>4</sup> 'Venezanos de figura.' The Venetian sequin or ducat. Document No. 69, dated 1624, in Aragão's 'Moedas cunhadas em nome dos Reis, Regentes e Governadores de Portugal,' Vol. III., mentions Venetians 'of two figures', as well as old and new.—H. W. C.

<sup>5</sup> 'Flowers spring up inscribed with names of Kings.' Vergil Ecoll III 106-107.

A stronger argument would be the buildings of Roman workmanship, of which likewise, they say, are found traces in the place of Anu-Rajâ-purê and in other places of that Island, far different from the ancient fabrics of this Asia, some of which, especially Pagodes are [worthy] of Barbarous [and] Tyrannic [Kings] and of enormous cost, but commonly show no art in the work. They say that there was in that court a separate quarter wherein lived the Hudôs, which means 'Whites', and that they had there a garden, very fresh, and that they traded in cinnamon, which they went to fetch from Cap desert places at a goodly distance from the City, though now-a-days cinnamon is found nearer to that place. In a village two and a half leagues from Manicrauare,<sup>1</sup> called Timbay-Pale, there is a rock, and under it a Cave, as vast as that of Donda, which can shelter 3,000 men, wherein may be seen some Greek characters almost entirely obliterated by time and parts of other Latin [letters] among which are distinctly perceived a G and an F. F<sup>70</sup>

In all centuries was this Island coveted, since men came to know what God had deposited therein. At times war was made on it by the Kings of the opposite coast of the continent, and once with a powerful army they did great damage and plundered many lands, but in their retreat with the spoils, they were defeated by the Chingalas with the death of many adversaries. On various other occasions they gained many victories over these nations; and once they captured 12,000 foreigners with whom they peopled the County of Dolasdz-Corla<sup>2</sup> and from these, they say, are descended the Chalez who are obliged to get the cinnamon. On another occasion the Metropolis was surrounded by a numerous army of various nations and they were on the point of wishing to surrender, [but] they were in good time advised by one of their priests to open by night the dykes of the great neighbouring lake called Tapadua, whereby they were able to flood the field on which the enemy was encamped; and profiting by the advice so often used by the Hollanders, they submerged in those waters eight million of the enemy as they exaggerate in their stories. But as all P<sup>13</sup> human prosperity has its limits, and great riches become an incentive to great vices, when this City and Kingdom was most prosperous, then were they ruined entirely, there preceeding a protracted civil war followed by a contagion of smallpox, which is the plague of these nations and warm climates, where it attacks the same person two or three times.

<sup>1</sup> Menikkadavara.

<sup>2</sup> The Twelve-Thousand Korle or County.

There was added to this a lack of provisions and an invasion of poisonous rats, and by these scourges the greater part of the people of that City perished in punishment, as they confess, of the unspeakable crime, introduced doubtless by the dealings with the foreigners, Chinese, Arabs, and Romans, for neither among the Chingalas nor among the Heathen of this Further India is there any sign of such a turpitude being familiar to them. The king Vatimi Boneca | <sup>F 8</sup> Bau also died after a reign of 30 years. And as he had no sons, he was succeeded by his brother Sedenia Bau, who, to escape this contagion, went with his Court to the place Damba Diní Bandar in the county of Calu-gambala-Corla. There they lived 15 years and gained a good victory over the rebels of Jafanapatao, their tributaries, who confederated with other bolder foreigners, in order to defeat them the better.

### CHAPTER 3.

#### THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED

The Common people, who were not able to follow the Court, either remained in the town of Anu-Rajâ-purê, or fleeing from those calamities, betook themselves to the forests in those mountains; and being deprived for a long time of the urbanity of the Court and communication with men, in those mountain ranges, they became altogether wild barbarians, and they are the Bedas,<sup>1</sup> which means brutes. They live between Vilaçem<sup>2</sup> and Batecalou, and from thence to Triquilemalê spreading as far as Jafanapatao. They have no law or King, nor do they worship any Deity nor use any other clothing save the barks of trees, cut and fashioned in their way, though they have an abundance of hides from the beasts they kill. They have no settled abode, but wander in bands through the woods in chase of the beasts on which they live, being most dexterous with the bow and arrow of wood hardened in the fire. They preserve meat, putting it in honey, wherein it becomes soft and fitter to be eaten, without any further cooking or seasoning save that of their stomachs. Thereby they become very robust and very strong, and so nimble by the practise of running over those mountains, that, they say, they despise those among them

<sup>1</sup> Veddhas.

<sup>2</sup> Welasse.

who cannot catch a stag running. There gather together for these hunts a hundred and more men every three months in four different places to kill and feast, and they leave the game recently killed in the same | wooden vessels from which they ate what was previously killed. They are almost intractable, and the natives understand only a few rough and badly uttered words. Those of the parts of Vilaçê, when they want arrows, the only arms they use, have recourse to the Blacksmiths of that Vidâna,<sup>1</sup> and with two quarters of meat and the measure and number of arrows hung up by night at the doors, they indicate who they are and why they come. They return, when two nights are past, to find the arrows hung up in reply; | and if they want knives or <sup>F 89</sup> hatchets, they bring wax and ivory, and in the same way they understand them and make bargains. Those who live from Batticalou to Triquilemalê, when in the same need of arrows, go in like manner to Batticalou, and those who live thence to Jafanapatao, bargain there, and they are held to be more civilised, because they trade with those of that Kingdom, bartering wax and ivory for clothing, arrows, knives and hatchets. In the places where they keep the vessels of meat, they have houses covered with thatch; and into one of these wandered a Portuguese, who escaped from the rout<sup>2</sup> of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, whom they received and nursed with great humanity, treating him as a son of the Sun, and when he became well, they led him to Baticolou; which has happened at other times.

Though these people are so wild, in no other has the King of Candea greater confidence, for in men left to their own nature, where shrewdness grows there grows malice. The Bedas of Vilaçem have in their keeping the treasure of that King, for which he chooses twelve of these men, and as a distinction he gives them twelve ear-rings of silver and canes with ornaments of silver with garments different from the others, that they may be known and respected; and they come by night to speak with the King on what concerns his service. In the straits of war, as on the occasions when the Portuguese entered Candea, the Kings entrust to them their wives, and they have made for them houses in their fashion in those jungles and woods, very clean and with many flowers; and as they have little elegance, they must have done it on the instruction of the same Kings. For a

<sup>1</sup> Like Dissâva, Vidâna (Sin. *Vidâne*, 'the one who conveys the orders of Government to the people') is used both for the official and for the district.

<sup>2</sup> 1630.



space of twelve leagues of inaccessible thickets from Vilaçem to the first Chain of mountains of Baticalous, they must have built about fifty houses, one athwart the other, where our arms neither reached nor were able to cause any damage, because of the careful watch they kept, and because of the incredible ruggedness of those places, sought for and varied on purpose.

About the inhabitants of the lands of Batecalou, the most constant tradition is that of this second Paris and other Helen. A Prince of Tanacerim robbed the daughter of the King, with whom he had for some time an understanding, and having prepared forty vessels, with her and with his relations, friends and servants, he embarked making for Jafanapatao with the intention of peopling the neighbouring Islands; but the Kinglet of the country not letting them, the Prince died of grief, and the Princess with the rest took P 15 port | at Batecalou, where the Lord of the land gave them F 9 for a dwelling one of the Islands which are within the bay, on which the Portuguese afterwards built a fortalice. There they lived three months, till they arranged with the Kinglet that he should marry the foreign Princess, and in reward give them lands on which to live, since it was for her sake that they had lost theirs. The espousals being celebrated, they, now considered as natives, were distributed among the seventy-two villages of which that Kinglet was Lord. In course of time the Kinglet had by her three sons, and the Machuas<sup>1</sup> (which is the name of those foreigners) persuaded them that the King, being afraid of their strength, was meditating to kill them all without sparing even his own sons. For this reason on the following night, they beheaded their father, seized the lands and divided them equally among themselves, one at Xabandurê,<sup>2</sup> the other in Palugaô, the third in Hira-hura. They imprisoned the Pandari-pûlos,<sup>3</sup> or noble men and soldiers who escaped their arms; and from reign to reign these Princes called Vaneaz,<sup>4</sup> continued until the times of General Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, who killed and exterminated two. The third was killed by the Prince of Matale, when in 1632 he came down upon Batecalou with the intention of going over to the service of His Majesty, which was not carried into effect, because of that death, because as he did it only to plunder him, he tarried in this business, and his intention becoming known

<sup>1</sup> Malaya. *mukkuan*, divers.

<sup>2</sup> Samanturai (Sampan-port) in Batticaloa, etymologically same as Hambantota.

<sup>3</sup> Tam. *Pandara pillai*.

<sup>4</sup> Vanniah (vanniyar) ruler of one of the divisions of the Wannii.

to his people, they rebelled against him, and on the day they declared themselves, he would have been killed by the 22 Portuguese who were with him, out of those who had remained prisoners in Candea after the rout of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, but he humbled himself so much, after he saw himself abandoned by his own people, that changing their minds for the while, they animated and defended him. The Machuas, taking advantage of the success of the aforesaid treachery, freed themselves from all sort of tribute and bound themselves only to cultivate for the Princes, without other fields of their own, save those that were allotted to them every year; giving in return only a *beatilha*,<sup>1</sup> and a *tupeti*<sup>2</sup> which is another kind of thicker and shorter cloth wherewith they clothe themselves; and this payment alone they give to-day as tribute to the King of Candea. This country has better Xaya<sup>3</sup> than that of Rayagaô, of which we shall speak later, much wax, ivory, rice, fish, fowl, and butter because of the many cattle they rear. They eat no kind of meat whatever; hence also it happens that it is there very cheap, for in religion | they F 9v are different from the Chingalas and are more like those of Jafanapatao, though their principal god is not Ramâ, as of the latter, but Perumal, to whom in the village of Palugaô they dedicated a Pagode with his most shameful figure. For the crime of killing their Father and their King, they incurred the Infamy of being reputed for a low caste.

But these are not the only castes of low people in Ceylon, for there are seven others which they consider so low, that P 16 they will not | eat anything touched by these people without considering themselves polluted; and though they do well in war, as do the Pachas, this is not enough to raise them from this wretched state, which is very common among other castes of the heathen of this Asia, wherein for every mechanical office of trade and of the cult of their idols, there are special castes with different garb and customs; and considering the genius of the people how much they are given to ease, and the more so the nearer they are to the Equator, because of the slackness caused by the greater heat of the climate, one sees in this a special providence; because if they were not forced by caste, no one would be disposed to follow the mechanical arts of greater labour. The low castes of Ceylon, besides the Bedas and Machuas, are the following: Chandaz, Careaz, Chaleaz, Pachas, Palaraz, Berbayas, and Roriz.

<sup>1</sup> Beatilha, a sort of very thin linen.

<sup>2</sup> *Tuppottya*, waist cloth.

<sup>3</sup> Xaya, Choya, Chey, Chayroot (*Oldenlandia umbella*) Sin. *Sanam*, a red dye called Indian madder, 'Dye root,' 'Ramswarama Root, &c.'



The greater part of the Chandaz live in the environs of Nigumbo, though they are likewise found in other places of the Island, for as they are those who draw the liquor or toddy (*sura*)<sup>1</sup> from the Palmeyras (whom the Canarese of Goa call Xindos<sup>2</sup> and those of the North, Bandaris<sup>3</sup>) and who make from it wine, vinegar and *jaggery*<sup>4</sup> (something between honey and sugar); they go where there are palmgroves and mostly to Nigumbo, because the largest are there.

There flock also the Careas<sup>5</sup> or fishermen, as those shores are more provided with fish, though they are not wanting in the other Dissâvas.<sup>6</sup> The Chalez, of whom we have spoken already, prepare the cinnamon in Mabâda<sup>7</sup> and are also spread over the three other neighbouring Dissâvas on the North. The same work is done by the Pachas,<sup>8</sup> the greater number of whom live in the four-corlas and in the seven-corlas.

In them live also the Palaraz,<sup>9</sup> Lascarins<sup>10</sup> or soldiers by calling, because among those nations Lascar is the [word for the] whole of an army |; though the Portuguese and # 10 Moors also call any sailor lascar.

The Berbayas<sup>11</sup> are weavers and those who beat drums, which in Ceylon give a very warlike sound. These are scattered over the four Dissâvas, and it is so low a caste among them, that not even the Pachas can eat in their houses.

<sup>1</sup> From Kon. *sur*. (Sk. *sūrā*, Sin. *rā*) spirituous liquor, toddy.

<sup>2</sup> 'Sindo', 'Xindo', is a word formerly used in Portuguese India for toddy drawers. Sindā, Kindā is Maharatti for a caste descended from slaves, but known to be engaged in toddy drawing. (Dal. II., 307.) cf. 'Chanda.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Bandarim,' a man of the Sudra caste engaged in drawing toddy and making arrack, from the Maharat-Cone *bhondāri* (Dal. II., 91).

<sup>4</sup> 'Jaggery' is only another form of 'sugar' being a corruption of the Skt. *sarkarā*. The Indo-Portuguese word comes from Malayal: *chakkārā*, Sin. *hakuru*, coarse brown sugar made from the sap of various palms. Cf. Hob.-Job.

<sup>5</sup> From Tam. *Karetyar*.

<sup>6</sup> A Sinhalese word meaning district. Under the Portuguese administration the country was divided into 'dissavas' (Matara, Sabaragamuwa, Four Korales, Seven Korales and Negombo), each under an officer called the Dissava, a term subsequently adopted by the Dutch, and still used in Sinhalese for 'Government Agent'.

<sup>7</sup> Sin. *Mahābadda*, the great tax, monopoly (i.e., cinnamon).

<sup>8</sup> Pacha, Sin. *pajā* "born from the foot," also *Paduwa*, Sudra or low caste.

<sup>9</sup> Sin. *pallaru*, 'washerman for low castes'.

<sup>10</sup> Lascaryn, from Pers. *lashkar*, army, camp. The Dutch and the English adopted the word, which now survives in two forms (1) 'lascareem', a native soldier, (2) 'lascar', East India sailor or camp follower.

<sup>11</sup> Sin. *Berawaya*.

The Roriz<sup>1</sup> are like gipsies, for they have no houses of their own. They live by singing and dancing and are the lowest people in Ceylon. Those who live in Candea cannot look at the face of the King, and the vassals they address as Highness and Majesty. Even the animals they bring with them, like buffaloes and hunting dogs, incur the same infamy, and if they enter the houses or the fields of the natives, though they cause considerable damage therein, they deem it a disgrace to drive them away. And though they deserve everything for their barbarous manners and lack of shame, for they are not ashamed to marry their own daughters, the extravagance of heathen pride and their superstitions prevent the good use of the division into castes, which has come to be P 17 one of the greatest obstacles to their conversion | to the Faith of Christ, and to their admittance by the other Christians to the communion of the faithful and to the intercourse required by the Charity of our Religion. Later on we shall speak of their priests. Those called Vagueaz are not a separate caste, but a generic name of this Hindustan for all banded thieves in the forests.

Already when the Portuguese entered Ceylon, there were Moors in Columbo and in other parts of the island, but afterwards they increased in great numbers on occasion of commerce and attracted by the healthiness of the land, and they not only lived in the ports, but also in the interior. The Chingalas of Columbo call them Da-Kinis,<sup>2</sup> because the first were from Deccan, but generally they call them Iona,<sup>3</sup> which means circumcised, from the *Ioncalavuddanawa*, which means to circumcise. In this Industan the Heathens call them Turks, as in Italy, the Portuguese generally Moors, for the first whom they knew were from Mauritania. In its place we shall describe the harm they did in Ceylon.

As for the character of the Chingalas, they are generally proud, vain and lazy, the first on account of the presumption of their celestial descent, especially those who are of blood Royal; the second because of the antiquity of their Kingdom and nation, and the liberty in which they were always brought up; the third on account of the position, climate, and riches of the land, which being so fertile both as regards what springs from it and what is entrusted to it, they have

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *Rodiyu*.

<sup>2</sup> This term was used by the Portuguese to mean the people belonging to the Mahometan Kingdom of Bijapur, which they called Deccan. Hind. Dakkan, from Skt. *Dakshina*, the South (i.e., on the right hand).

<sup>3</sup> Yona is the Skt. *Yavana*, Ionian, Greek, in later times, Mahometan, European or any foreigner.

no care for agriculture, nor do they care to acquire riches, being content with little, | not because they are not covetous, <sup>F 100</sup> but because they are presumptuous, and with three Larins<sup>1</sup> (which make a xerafim<sup>2</sup>) they think themselves rich and aspire to great things. They dress, as in all other places, according to their means and are pleased with red caps and Portuguese coats, and when caps are wanting, they make use of their *rūmal*,<sup>3</sup> which is a fine white cloth, tied above the ears with the corners falling on the shoulders for elegance. Even the poorest wear a cloth decently adjusted below the knees; and we have seen the Prince of Matale himself riding on horseback here in Goa in such apparel; the feet generally unshod and invariably so in the case of women, as in all heathen India, though in the rest of the apparel [they appear] with great splendour and much jewellery of precious stones, gold, silver, ivory, according to their means, with bracelets, bangles, necklaces, ear-rings, ear-drops, both the one sex and the other having ears so pierced, that they place in it a great part of their beauty. It would be quite strange in Asia to try any change in this, either partial or total, because Moors as well as Gentiles according to their castes are most resolute in conserving their own dresses, because thereby are they all distinguished from one another; really a great reproach to the Portuguese nation who, in spite of so great a conceit in themselves, adopt all foreign fashions, and it is enough that a fool admits it, for the wise to follow suit, to the equal detriment of credit, and in the case of women, <sup>P 18</sup> of modesty | as well as of money. As they are all Pythagoreans and believe in the transmigration of souls, they bury their treasures in their lifetime to escape the *Marâlas*<sup>4</sup> or confiscations at death, and they hide them even from their children, keeping them for their rebirth. In obeying their native Kings, they have always been various and inconstant,

<sup>1</sup> Larin, a coin consisting of a silver wire, doubled and stamped with a legend. So called from Lar in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, where it is supposed to have been first struck. In the early seventeenth century rated at Goa at 90 reis, and in Ceylon at 100 local reis. It became a money of account.

Its use long continued in the interior of Ceylon, where it was bent into the shape of a fish hook.—H. W. C.

<sup>2</sup> Xerafim = 3 Larins. The Ceylon Xerafim or 'pardão de Ceilaõ' in 1645 worth about 272 Goa reis. It was the debased silver Xerafim. On its disappearance from circulation which was complete by 1634, the 'pardão de Ceilaõ' became a synonym for the sum of three larims. H. W. C.

<sup>3</sup> From Pers. *rūmal* 'face rubber', towel, handkerchief—Anglo Indian 'Roomaul'.

<sup>4</sup> Death duties, hericēs.

but most stubborn to admit any foreign dominion, and when the Portuguese entered Ceylon, at first foreseeing the future vassalage and afterwards experiencing the foreign dominion, they did not hesitate to submit to any bold rebel, in order to recover their liberty.

We must, however, admire some of their moral customs, which may well be an example to us, for they have such a horror of theft (probably because of some great punishment which had preceeded) that in the doors of their houses they use no locks. Of Rajû<sup>1</sup> it is said that to test their probity, he ordered the cattle to be let loose on the fields with golden collars and bangles: and in our days there reigned a blind Caffre in Marâve so strict in observing this trustfulness, that if a Caffir of the Portuguese being tired left his *motoro* or | pack of clothes on the road, in no other place could it be <sup>F 11</sup> more safe on account of the severe punishments he used to administer. Wonderful is the constancy and strength of mind wherewith they await death without a complaint or change of countenance. They deem it a shame to kill by poison, and as their greatest occupation is soldiering, and they enjoy peace only as an accident, and war is the custom, those who are their captains are also their judges; and as war obtained for them the Empire, it is also its conservation. This exercise has made them warlike, and already they are habituated to contemn the fear of death, for practise is able to turr. cowards into valorous men and to discipline the uncouth.

#### CHAPTER 4.

##### FOUNDATION OF THE CITY OF COTA

We left King Sede Dissa Bau in the town of Dambadinî; and as the scourge and disease, which their histories attribute to the bad water of that region, did not cease, lest they perish altogether, he removed the Court to a place called Ruqueli-poluata.<sup>2</sup> It is at this time, they say, that the city of Cota<sup>3</sup> had its beginning, which afterwards became the Metropolis of the Island; and they say the following was the occasion. In the County of Salpeti, one league from Columbo, there lived a foreign merchant, who going a-hunting to the site of Cota, at the time uninhabited, the greyhounds gave chase to a hare, which seeing itself pursued by them, turned against the dogs like a Tiger and put them to flight without heeding

<sup>1</sup> Raja Sirha of Sitavaka.

<sup>2</sup> Village of Polwatte in Galbođa Korle.

<sup>3</sup> Kōtte, Jayawardhana Kotte.

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the shouts of Alagueçêra,<sup>1</sup> for such was the name of this merchant. Wondering and amazed at an event so unusual, he returned home pensive, and consulting soothsayers, as all these heathen do in their doubts, they replied that the courage of the hare was due to the climate and peculiarity of that place [which was a] nursery of courageous souls; and seeing that the land was temperate in climate and the place suited for a strong and large town,<sup>2</sup> and that it would be proportionately wholesome to the spirits of men who should be born and live there, he determined to remove thither his family and those of his kindred and faction; and he was the first founder of that noble people, who increased in a few years, and there increased also the pride and arrogance of Alagueçêra and his confederates. To escape the violences they committed, one of the principal men of these parts | *F 11v* sent one of his daughters of handsome appearance to the house of a relation who dwelt at Ruqueli-Poluata; and King Sedetissa-Bau, coming to know the reason of that removal, made inquiries about that woman and was so pleased with her qualities, that he married her, which estranged his lieges so much, that they gave him poison, from which [he died] having reigned 18 years, and leaving a posthumous son whom they call Paracrama-Bau, and on account of the place in which he was born, their histories call him Ruqueli-Paracrama-Bau,<sup>3</sup> the Kingdom being ruled in his infancy by Regents. Scarcely had he grown out of boyhood, when on the advice of his mother, Alagueçêra being already dead, he seized the new town of Cota and ennobled it with buildings and Pagodes; and they say that this change took place in the year of Christ 1144 in the time of King Afonso Henrique<sup>4</sup> of Portugal. He reigned 79 years, leaving as his heir his son Javira-Paracrama-Bau, giving the Kingdom of Candea to one of his Uncles, by name Boneca-Bau, with a certain tribute and token of vassalage, who; because he fixed his Court in the County of Ganipola, received the name of Gampala-Boneca-Bau, from whom were descended the lawful Kings of that Kingdom, whose eldest sons were Princes of Uva.

<sup>1</sup> Alakēswara.

<sup>2</sup> This is an old legend. It determined Sakya's choice of Kapilavastu (J. XXII., 14 f. n.) of Bidar in Decan, (Couto J. XX. 68) of Kandy. In the place where this city stands it is reported by Tradition that a Hare gave chase after a Dog, upon which it was concluded the place was fortunate' (Knox, Hist. Rel. 53); which became 'a jackal chased a hare . . . which suddenly stopped, turned back and commenced chasing the jackal.' W. L. R. III. 376. Cf. Sewell, Forgotten Empire, 19, 299. Ferguson in J. xx., 68, n. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Fukula Parākrama Bāhu.

<sup>4</sup> Of the House of Burgundy, first King of Portugal 1140-1185.

Javira was a prudent and liberal Prince: he ruled 79 years; ennobling as much as he could his Capital with buildings and fortifications, surrounding the City with walls and bastions of stone and mortar and with a good moat; increasing his treasures by trade, especially in cinnamon, which already in times past issued from Columbo to various parts of India and to the island of Coz in the Persian Gulf between Queixome and Cape Habaō on the coast of Lestan, whence it passed to Syria, now Suria, thence to Greece and the rest of Europe under the name of Caizligna, as wrote Aristothenes and Arianus, the Greek Writers. Their Religious, called Changatares,<sup>1</sup> picture this King as one so friendly to the poor and to the worship of Buddum, that for this reason they gave him the name of Darma, which means Almsgiver, and that whilst he was sheltering some Changatares, they caused the Sun to stop, because in order to get alms from these heathens, they are wont to invent no smaller fables.<sup>2</sup> There succeeded *P 20* him his son Boneca-Bau, who reigned 60 years | to the great satisfaction of the people, but not of the grandees, because he was even in justice like another John II. of Portugal.<sup>3</sup> His heir was a son of tender age, whose mother Danamanica Ratnavali ruled for a space of six months; but troubles usual | in the government of women increasing, they elected *P 11* Regents until the Prince was ten years old, when, taking possession of the government, he was called Pandita Paracrama-Bau, and ruled 58 years reforming Laws and customs. He had as successor his son Vira Paracrama-Bau, others say Paracumbe-Bau. He reigned 73 years with the reputation of being slack and negligent, at variance with the people, because he ordered to be dug by main strength a broad and deep canal<sup>4</sup> of six leagues navigable by boat, from Cota to Nigumbo, making<sup>5</sup> the lands bordering this strait salty,<sup>5</sup> because of the tides which enter by the bar of Nigumbo, with damage to himself and his vassals. There arose against him the inhabitants of the County of Alicur and of the Seven

<sup>1</sup> 'Changater', represents Sanghatthera, elder of the assembly (of monks).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Kurunegala Vistaraya*, J. XIII. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Surnamed the 'Perfect' (1481-1495)

<sup>4</sup> This piece of information is not found in any other writer. Resolution of the Dutch Council of Ceylon 1767 contains a confirmation of it. W. L. R. II., 87-88.

<sup>5</sup> When the Dutch completed the canal 'the salt water which introduced itself from both sides and spread over the greater part of the low countries, was the reason of the inhabitants being compelled at last to emigrate therefrom.' *Ib.*

Corlas, laying seige to Cota for three months, but his other lieges coming to his aid drove them away with many deaths. His son Paracrames-Bau assumed the government on the death of the Father, being the second of the name and the sixth in order among the Kings of Cota, and he pardoned the guilty and rewarded those who had been loyal to his Father. He was contemporary with King D. Manoel of Portugal,<sup>1</sup> and in his days D. Lourenço de Almeйда came to the port of Columbo, as we shall see.

It was from these Kings that the Kings of Portugal finally obtained the Crown of Ceylon by the death of D. Joaõ Perea Pandar without heirs, and for this reason I was anxious to inquire more closely into this genealogy, because it seemed to me unlikely that there should reign in Cota only six Kings, whilst in Portugal there reigned fourteen; and that some should die after so many years of age and government, leaving sons so young, as has been related; nor do the years of their government agree with ours. For this reason I always thought that this document was defective. Others make a distinction between the Rulers of Cota who were subordinate and tributaries to the King of the Island and the independent Kings who became lords of it. They say that Boneca-Bau, natural son of Aselatica, ancient King of Rajapurê, was the first Ruler of Cota, who at once arose against Vigia Rajâ, his brother, and not only defended himself against him, but won great victories over him. He was succeeded by his son, Mani-Bau, who kept up the exemption from tribute, and after a long life was killed by poison by his own people because he turned out a tyrant and was seeking to succeed to the heritages [of his deceased subjects] as the Moors do; but afterwards they accepted this law. He was not imitated in this by his son Viria-Bau, born of Bantaula, daughter of Mani-Bau, who spent his treasures with the men-at-arms and obtained victories over those of Rajapurê; and showed himself so grateful to those who did him good service, that

*P 21* every vassal held it nothing to lay down his life for him. He was succeeded by Indara-Bau, the worst man who up to that time was seen in government, for not satisfied with what he possessed, he used to go at night robbing his lieges and doing other violences, for which he was killed by Cita-Rajâ, an ordinary person, who found him in his house, some say, without recognising him. The little Kingdom was seized by Tupaz, Captain of the Field, and he avenged his death, wishing to show his gratitude for the benefits [the King]

<sup>1</sup> 1495-1521.

had conferred on him. He fortified the City of Cota better and brought foreign people into his service, by which means he made peace with those of Rajapurê. He kept it up all his life, and when he died, his son Vanut-Bau, a man of talent, allied himself with their Emperors by marrying Santoca held by them to be an extraordinary beauty, and by this alliance these Rulers began to be more esteemed, and their lieges, though many were foreigners and refugees, married from the principal houses of Rajapurê. Then succeeded him, as he had no male child, his relative Sacala-Bau who, they say, was a great musician, skilful in playing [instruments], a lover of Letters and the principal Author of the Chingala Histories. He was long remembered, because besides these parts for which they looked upon him as a second Arion, they canonized him for a Saint and placed him in the Catalogue of their Pagodes. As he was childless, a nephew became his heir under the same name, but of unlike deeds, for becoming a tyrant, he was delivered to him of Rajapurê, who gave him his due. This was the greatest decadence of those Rulers and of Cota, because being again subjected to Rajapurê, it did not obtain its freedom till the time of Henaraz-Bandar who made himself independent, and from him the Chingalas continue the genealogical tree of their Kings without caring for those who paid tribute.

Of this independent King are related great deeds of prowess which, if true, deserve our esteem; and [they say] he had a long life [and died] leaving Cota in a position to make greater progress. And when King Manimal was reigning in it, he subdued the lands of his Emperor [who] at this time was less flourishing, for fortune does not always sleep on one side. On his death, they say, his son Boneca-Bau peopled the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ, adding those lands to his domain, being up to that time almost uninhabited. This line was continued in Vigiapala, his son, less warlike but shrewd, so much so, that by bribes he almost conquered that Kingdom. He had no heirs and he was succeeded by Eloagora, though with great opposition, for the tributaries rebelled, but he subdued them cutting off many heads and making himself so dreaded, that they remained faithful to him. There succeeded him in order Videamal, Manil-Bau, Heranaz, Boneca-Bau, Aputulo, Arala, Itacon, Idam, Ecoraçinga in whose time, they say, the City of Rajapurê was deserted for the reasons related, while Cota retained nearly all the power which those Kings had, though Candea pretended to be the

*P 22* Head, on the ground that the succession belonged to him,

to which Ecoracinga did not agree [and] he called upon Javira, the King of that Kingdom, to pay tribute, and because he did not do so, he at once made war on him and defeated him.

The City of Cota having obtained the dominion of the whole Island, Coraçinga was succeeded by his son Rajâ-Cinge-Bau, an altogether unlucky man, for some of his lieges rebelled against him, his reign was short, and he ended in the claws and teeth of a tiger. The Kingdom was taken by Vigibau, his Brother, equally unlucky, for marrying for love Puspuce, a plebian woman, he was deposed from the Throne. In his place came Hina-Rajâ-Bau, his nephew, whose age the Chingalas greatly exaggerate.

He was succeeded by his son, Sacala, who did not wish to marry, but [wished] to live like a *yogi*<sup>1</sup> on the peak of Adam where for a long time he held Court, but as the place was unsuitable for the petitioners, because he could not hear complaints, he renounced the Kingdom to Boneca-Bau, the son of his sister Capuru, a youth warlike and acceptable to all. He reigned for many years, till his son Hina succeeded him, who dying without heir, there came on the Throne Paracuba-Bau, and after him another Paracrama-Bau in whom we are in the other line, and of whom and of his descendants up to D. Joaõ, who left as heir the King of Portugal, we shall give more abundant information later.

The diversity of these lines after the ruin of Rajâpurê is already apparent, for in the first, beginning with Seditissa Bau, are reckoned seven Kings up to Paracrama-Bau; the second beginning with Coraçinga, reckons nine up to the same Paracrama Bau; and there is no small diversity in the names, nor is the distance of time from King D. Alfonso Henriques to the time of King D. Manuel, so small that more Kings could not reign in Cota after it became the Capital and Metropolis of that Island. But we must not make much of the difference of the names, because some are wont to name them by the names they had before the coronation, others by those which they took afterwards. Nor has the argument from age equal force in the case of Christian Princes, who keep vigil for the good of their lieges, as with heathens, who seek only their own comfort and do not go against their will in anything; above all in the documents I found I could not discover greater clearness. Henceforward we shall speak with all certainty of what was seen by the eyes, and it had for many years the Portuguese as witnesses.

<sup>1</sup> 'Jogue' used in Indo-Portuguese for the Indian penitents, though *yogi* is only one who practices *yoga*.

Cota was one league distant from Columbo, being situated like a peninsula in the midst of a lake of fresh water which in those times could not for the greater part be waded. There were in it plenty of alligators,<sup>1</sup> so that it could not be crossed swimming, because of the ferocity with which they killed any living thing, swallowing calves and other animals as if they were but a small mouthful. They say that the first Ruler of Cota ordered them to be cast into it, because there escaped by swimming the people whom he employed to build the City. It had a circumference of twenty thousand geometrical paces<sup>2</sup> surrounded by mud walls (*taypa*)<sup>3</sup> and bastions of stone at the shallow passes, without any other way by dry land save a sort of Isthmus of seventy paces in breadth fortified with a curtain and a moat which defended Parea-Cota a strong place at a short distance from the City, with a wooden drawbridge where, they say, was obtained a great victory over the Emperor of Rajâpurê, who seeking to subdue this new town, being ignorant of the preparations and mistaking for land what industry had turned into a lake, instead of the victory he looked for, found himself defeated. This pass is called [the Pass] of Ambolam,<sup>4</sup> and the Portuguese made use of it on their journey to Columbo. Another pass is called [the Pass] of the Mosquitoes, the common plague of places low and marshy. There were seven others somewhat dangerous, which were all fortified in time of war. This peninsula was very cool and not a little strong by position, if the fortifications were regular. What the Portuguese did there in the service of those Kings, friends and already vassals of the Crown of Portugal, and the reasons why they abandoned that place, will be seen more in detail in the course of this history.

Near the Metropolis of Cota is Calane,<sup>5</sup> a place where is the best air and water in the whole of Ceylon, on the bank of the river from which it took its name, and which discharges in Mutual,<sup>7</sup> or Mondorâ which means 'port of the sea'. The

<sup>1</sup> 'Lagartos', lit. lizards. The English 'alligator' is from its Spanish form 'El Lagarto'. For the alligator the Portuguese also used an American word, Cayman, which now survives in the name 'Kaymans' Gate, Colombo.

<sup>2</sup> Five feet.

<sup>3</sup> *Taypa*, Taipe (said to be from Arab *tabra*) a mud wall. The word has come into Sinhalese as *tâppe*.

<sup>4</sup> Tam. *Pira kottai*, 'outer fort,' Sin. *Pita kotte*, *Raj.* (Sin) 54, Anglice Pettah (Tam. *pettai*) the extra mural suburb of a fortress.

<sup>5</sup> Tam. *ambalam*, a resting place for travellers.

<sup>6</sup> Kelaniya.

<sup>7</sup> 'Mutwal' represents a Portuguese corruption of the Tam. *mutu-hathuvâram* Sin. *môdera muvadora*, river mouth.

place was also called Mahadrê,<sup>1</sup> which means 'great island', because in former times the floods of the river Calane made it an island; and for this reason a branch of this river which at the pass of Nacolegao<sup>2</sup> enters inland and approaches Columbo, is still called Madadua,<sup>3</sup> which means the 'Island in the middle' where were many fresh orchards and in the time of the Portuguese beautiful villas, large and pleasant houses; and Calane was ever the Bom Retiro<sup>4</sup> of the Kings of Cota, and as long as it was a City, it was called Calâne-purê; and some say it was founded by Calanetiça Raja.uvo and that from him it took its name. Others [say that it was so called] because it was built for the amusement of the emperors, from *Quelinawa*,<sup>5</sup> a Chingala verb, meaning to recreate, and *Quelinide* means recreation, and that thence came the name. It was a place of great trade, and it is not a little likely that from Calâne, according to the corruption of foreigners, came the name of *Canêla*<sup>6</sup> (Cinnamon) which they took from that port. Their Chronicles say that there reigned forty-six Kings in it, Calanitiça marrying a Sister of the King of Ceytavaca, and being jealous of certain verses which his brother-in-law made in praise of that Queen, and not knowing the Author of them, suspected a Ganez,<sup>7</sup> who, as we said, are their Religious, and the intercession of the Queen was not powerful enough, as being suspicious in this case, to save him from punishment. They relate that he ordered him to be put in a cauldron of boiling oil, in which he remained seven days uninjured.<sup>8</sup> At the end of them the sufferer said speaking to God: 'O Lord, show thy power in my weakness defending my innocence; though I am such in this accusation they make, | not long ago I committed another no less grievous: Grant that by this fire I may atone for it, the body suffering to save the soul.' And when he had made this prayer, he ended his life. They say that in punishment of this tyranny not only was Calâne destroyed, but also the greater part of that

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *maha-dûva*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nakolagam-tota*, 'Nakolagam ferry', on the south bank of the Kelani River.

<sup>3</sup> Sin. *Meda-dûva*, near Urugodawatta in Colombo. Cf. Almanac 1852, p. LXXI.

<sup>4</sup> 'Bom Retiro' is the name of a palace of the King of Spain, whither he retired for seclusion.

<sup>5</sup> Sin. *kelinawa*, play, disport.

<sup>6</sup> 'Canêla' is only the diminutive of 'cana', reed, the cinnamon bark being so called because of the resemblance.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ganez', Sin. *Ganinmanse*, a term of respect applied to Buddhist monks.

<sup>8</sup> Raj. p. 18.

large island<sup>1</sup> which had 1400 leagues in circumference, which in their reckoning make 350 *judus* [Yodun<sup>2</sup>] each being equal to four Portuguese leagues. And though even among these heathens God often works such wonders in justification of the truth, I cannot help thinking that this is not free from the fabulous exaggerations of the Ganezes.

## CHAPTER 5.

### THE PORTS, KINGDOMS, AND PRINCIPALITIES OF CEYLON, AND IN PARTICULAR OF THE PROVINCES AND COUNTIES OF THE KINGDOM OF COTA

Beginning with Manâr, Ceylon has these ports, Aripo, Calipitim or Calpitim, which, being an island, has two entrances, and that of the South is called Putelaô, Chilaô, Caymel, Nigumbo, Matual, Columbo, Paniturê, Caliturê, Macûm | or Berberî, Alicaô, Madampê, Raygaô, Guidurê, Gâle, Beligaô, Maturê, Calheta, Paneva, Tricovil, Affurtaô, Cudâva, Batecalôa, Apulerte, Cutiar, Triquilimalê, Ponta das pedras, and Jafanapataô. Soundings of these ports appear in the large chart of the Hollanders. That of Triquilimalê is one of the most capacious that there is in the whole world, and in it, as well as in the Bahia dos Arcos, to which it leads, many thousand ships can anchor in great safety. But the drawbacks are not a few, as we shall see. The Bay Apulome has six fathoms at the entrance and four within. The port of Cutiar has a depth of five fathoms. In that of Alicaô there once entered a galleon of ours; that of Gâle, near the fortalice has five fathoms, in front of it four, on the side of the hill Dûnavato<sup>3</sup> nine, inside it has six, four, and three near the islets. Columbo, outside the small bay, has seven, eight and nine fathoms, and inside it has depth for rowing boats. All the East and the South-west coast of the Peninsula of Jafanapataô is clear, especially near the Ponta das pedras with a depth up to six fathoms.

<sup>1</sup> 'The guardian deities of Lanka having become indignant . . . . . eleven-twelfths of Lanka were submerged by the great sea.'—Raj. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *yoduna*, 'a measure of distance equal to four *gau*, or about 16 miles': pl. *yodun*.—Carter.

<sup>3</sup> *Ūnawatuna*, the present Buona Vista.

As long as Rajâpurê was the capital of Ceylon, the whole Island was subject to one King; but after the inundation of the low lands and after the City of Cota became the Metropolis, there were in the Island 15 Kinglets, subject to the King of Cota, who therefore was considered to be Emperor, and the same title is in these days claimed by the King of Candea. These Kinglets were he of Dinavâca, Uva, Valavê, Putelaô, Mantôta, Tanagâma,<sup>1</sup> Muliauâli, Triquillimâlê,  
P 25 Cutiar, Batecalou, Paneva, Vintêna, Orupûla, Maturê, Candea | and of the point of the North, Jafanapataô, which together with the Kingdom of Cota makes 16. This the ancient Kings of Cota signified by certain celebrated processions called *Pereâs*,<sup>2</sup> which lasted 16 days, some being held by day and others at night, which amounted to thirty-two, and those by night were more famous; in them women alone took part with the same licence as in the feasts of Bacchus. The Kings used to go in them with a bangle on one foot made up of fifteen heads, which represented those over whom they dominated. From this number and obedience the first to try to escape was the Kingdom of Candea, which was the most powerful. The others became extinct from various causes, of which there is a confused and obscure recollection, as likewise [the principalities] of the petty Kings of Gâle, Badulê, Runa, Putalaô, which lasted but a little time. Afterwards the Island was divided, at divers times and occasions, into four Kingdoms and three Principalities. The Kingdoms were, that of Cota, Ceytavâca, Candea and Jafanapataô; the Principalities, Seven-Corlas, Uva, Matale, with other smaller Lordships and titles of Vaneaz, as were those of | Panêva, Batecalou, Runa, Putelaô F 15 and others; and all ended in course of time, leaving only the Kingdom of Candea, which ever gave much trouble to the Portuguese; and they are also wont to give some of these titles to the younger Brothers of the King.

Dissâva, or as others pronounce it Vissava, is among them the same as Province, and [the lands lying] from the Mountains, which lie in the interior of the Island, to the low lands on the Northern and Eastern parts up to the sea Coasts, the Kings divided into four Dissavas: Maturê, Sofragaô, Four-Corlas, and Seven-Corlas,<sup>3</sup> which are the best portions of the whole Island; and mainly in these does the cinnamon grow, and as much as one wishes to cultivate. In each of these four

<sup>1</sup> The Ajuda Ms., referred to in the Introduction, has 'Panamgama'.

<sup>2</sup> Ajuda Ms. *perera's*, Sin. *perehera*, procession.

<sup>3</sup> All of which begin from the city of Cota, court of the King of Ceylon, and during the Portuguese domination they began from the City of Colombo.' Ajuda Ms.

there was a Captain with the same name [i.e., Dissava] <sup>Cap. 5.</sup> who governed it in peace and war; and in time of peace he dwelt in a town in the midst of it, the better to expedite affairs. The Dissâvas are divided into Corlas or Counties, and each one has its Magistrate (Corregedor) who rules it, whom they call Adigar<sup>1</sup>; and those who govern villages [they call] Vidânas or Atacorlas. The Corlas are divided into villages, and each of them according to size has four, six, ten or more Majoraes whom the other villagers obey; they obey the Vidane, and all obey the Dissava, to whom they are subordinate, and who is their Judge both in criminal and civil matters. The Portuguese, after they became masters of these countries, kept in each Dissava a Chingala with the title of Vidâna, to whom they entrusted some affairs concerning the government of the Province.

Of all these low and maritime lands the King of Portugal was Lord; and in these four Dissâvas he had in these last days not more than 4.700 Lascarins or soldiers, 1500 in Maturê, 200 in Sofragaô, 1800 in the Seven-Corlas, and 1200 in the Four-Corlas; while there could have been in each of the three first 4000 [Lascarins], as that of Mature had in the  
P 26 times of the Captain-General D. Jeronimo | de Azevedo, because, though the wars consumed some people, the lands were not deserted; but owing to the lack of zeal, the *paravenias*<sup>2</sup> (which there take the place of quarters, and consist of the distribution of lands) were given to the one who paid or to whom they liked, and the King lost that great number of soldiers. Constantino de Sâ wished to restore the former manner of government, but he could not get in the Seven-Corlas 700 Lascarins more than what that Dissâva had, because it was impossible to carry this out by force without the General displeasing the very people on whom he depended in Council and in the carrying out of war. This business required a special Minister who could distribute those service lands (*comedias*)<sup>3</sup> among other Lascarins, as many or less in number than there were in past times, according to their increase in the subdued countries. | The Lascarins of Maturê F 150 proved themselves best in our wars, and it is they who speak the Chingala language with less impurity than others. I come now to the particular description of these Dissâvas.

<sup>1</sup> Tam. *adikar*, chief, Sin. *adhikârma*.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *paraveniya*, lands, the possession of which was ceded by the Sovereign.

<sup>3</sup> *Comedias*, 'meat and drink allowed to the king's officers', used here for the Sin. *badavedilla*, lit. 'stomach support', i.e., landed property granted for one's maintenance. See Perappanmulla sannas J. XXVIII., p. 50. From 'Comedias' came the Dutch 'Accomodesants', Anglice, *Accomodesan* (Cord, 1 19).

Maturê is divided into the these seven Corlas. Salpitim, Raygaô, Passudû, Valaviti, Valâla<sup>1</sup>, Gâle, Viligâma, Dolasdaz, Maturê<sup>2</sup> and Colona. This Dissava took the name Maturê from a River which crosses it, and which at two musket shot distance from the place where it flows into the sea expands into a large mouth, which the natives call Matorê,<sup>3</sup> which means 'great ferry', and the Portuguese Maturê; others say the Chingalas call it Malatota, which means 'great port.' This was the place of residence of the Dissava, a gun shot from the sea, as it was a strong place surrounded by two stockades in two narrow places, at a distance of half a league towards Gâle, and less towards Tanavarê. It was a large town, wherein lived also some Portuguese casados.<sup>4</sup> The Corla of Gâle was subject to that Captain, and that of Passdû to the Captain of Calaturê. This Province includes the lands of the Mabâda, a word which means 'great omen,' six leagues distant from Gâle, northwards along the coast, whence came in recent times the greatest quantity of cinnamon which His Majesty had in that Island, not because it is wanting in the other Dissâvas, but because the inhabitants of this district, called Chalez, were obliged to make one thousand and eight hundred bahars<sup>5</sup> and without any other payment than thirty or forty *cachas*<sup>6</sup> or as many *patacoens*<sup>7</sup> instead, distributed and paid through their mayores. And for all the rest of the cinnamon they are ordered to make, they gave them 800 *reis*<sup>8</sup> for each quintal. There are also annexed to this Dissâva the lands of Valâvê, whence is obtained some wax and ivory, because they are rugged and sparsely inhabited, for as honey in Ceylon and in all this India and Africa is not cultivated, the bees prefer the solitude of these woods, the chosen abode likewise of elephants, of which they could

<sup>1</sup> The Ajuda Ms. has Ratgam-corle.

<sup>2</sup> 'Morabat Korle'. Ajuda Ms. (Morawak-Korle).

<sup>3</sup> 'Malo-te', Ajuda Ms., i.e., Mâ-tote.

<sup>4</sup> Casado, lit. 'married man'. The Portuguese who came to the East were either 'soldados', soldiers in the King's pay who were obliged to war, or 'casados', who were the settlers and were not bound to go to war. They correspond to the Dutch 'Burgher'. Cf. Pyrard II. 125.

<sup>5</sup> Bares, bahars, 'a weight used in large trading transactions'. It varied according to localities and articles of merchandise. On P. 73 the author states that half a bar was equal to two quintals, Couto says the same, bar = 4 quintals. (VIII. 1. 2.).

<sup>6</sup> Tam. *Kachan*, a roll of cloth.

<sup>7</sup> Patacão, patacão d'ouro. According to Queyroz equal to a cruzado, or according to the Thombo to 4 larins. A coin of account worth 400 Ceylon reis. The 'patacão d'ouro' seems in origin to have been the gold S. Thomê or the pagoda.—H. W. C.

<sup>8</sup> *Reis* plural of 'real', the unit of Portuguese currency.—H. W. C.

have greater hunts to the greater profit of the King. On the P<sup>27</sup> coasts of this Dissâva from Gâle to Columbo | is found also some amber; and four leagues around Gâle very good *xaya*, which in effects corresponds to the woad of our Islands, and is bought at a good price to make dyes. The best areca in Ceylon all came from Calaturê southwards as far as Tanagâle, five leagues distant from Maturê.

Half a league beyond Maturê there was a Pagode, which | P<sup>16</sup> next to that of Triquilemalê was the one of greatest resort in Ceylon, where are found stone pillars (padroês) which the Kings of China ordered to be set up there with Letters of that nation<sup>1</sup> as a token, it seems, of their devotion to those Idols. There was afterwards in that place a church of the Religious of St. Francis<sup>2</sup> transforming the worship of Vixnude Vira Jurica<sup>3</sup> into the worship of the true God. On this spot the Kinglets in times past had their Court, calling it Janûra,<sup>4</sup> which means 'City of God'. The Portuguese called it Tanauarê from the name of a neighbouring village in which lived the dancing girls of that Pagode. The word Tanauarê is also a corruption of the Portuguese, for the proper name must be Natan-uarê which means in that language 'come and dance.' Here is done very good casting work in copper, silver, and gold, and at the mouth of the river are made muskets and spears for the use of the arrayals.

In the middle of this Dissâva is the port and fortalice of Gâle, which can be resorted to throughout the year, because it is the country of two winters and two summers, and it is the landmark for oriental navigation, and one of the most important towns which the King had in Ceylon, because it is surrounded by lands abounding in rice, cinnamon, and other products. Its name should be Galgue<sup>5</sup> which in the Chingala language means 'stone', for the town is situated on a rock. The fortalice we had there was large in area, weak, and in part low, irregular in its construction, and was provided with less artillery and garrison than was required for its defence, especially since the European war began. It has a bay, in shape almost round, and in diameter three-quarters of a league, which our people thought to be capable of pinnaces, but the Hollanders found depth in it for their largest ships on the two occasions they entered, whilst it was in our power.

<sup>1</sup> An inscription was discovered in 1911. Cf. Archæol. Report. (1910-1911); *Spolia Zeylanica* VIII., 122 & sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The foundations of this church are still visible.

<sup>3</sup> Vemuda-Virá Turua. Ajuda Ms.

<sup>4</sup> Dewunuwara, modern Sin. Dewundara, Anglice 'Dondra'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Gal'. Ajuda Ms.



In the Dissáva of Sofragaõ are included the ten Corlas, Evagaõ, Curuviti, Nabadum, Cururu, Mede, Cadabatu, Atacalaõ, and the lands of Pulatgama which comprise the three Corlas of Dahicambale, Panaval, and Atalugaõ. The town of Sofragaõ is nine leagues distant from Columbo, towards the interior, where Constantiño de Sa de Noronha built a strong place<sup>1</sup> the first time he went to Ceylon, because the rebel, Antonio Barreto, becoming Prince of Uva, it was from that frontier that he used to make war on us. In [1]630 the King of Candea dismantled it, and Diogo de Melo de Castro rebuilding it a second time on a goodly plan,<sup>F 16v</sup> it again had the same fate. The lands of Sofragaõ are extremely cool and abundant in provisions, but sombre and gloomy, because there are very few days in the year which are without rain there. Some say it must be called Hapregâma,<sup>2</sup> which means 'Village of yams' [*inhames*],<sup>3</sup> others Atragâme,<sup>4</sup> which means 'Village of the mines of precious stones', but the yams are more easily found than precious stones, though no doubt they are there, as we shall say, (and) because in the river which waters this Dissáva are found in summer some sapphires, topazes, and rubies, and it has been ascertained that the floods of Winter carry them down from the mountains. There is also in it better Crystal than that of the mountains and beyond all comparison better than that of Cambaya.

A league and a half from the strong place of Sofragaõ, the residence of its Dissavas, there is the mountain of Dinauâca, from which that Kingdom took its name; and it must be pronounced Dinauâque which means 'strange and unheard of mountain', for as the Chingalas are very superstitious, on account of some freaks of nature (if freaks they are) in that mountain, as for instance that in a rock was formed a snake and a foot print, they thought it would be an insult to the unknown divinity whom they acknowledged in those figures, if the country and the Kingdom did not take the name of that mountain. Two Corlas of this Dissáva, Curuúti

<sup>1</sup> Forte, which I have often rendered 'strong place', as 'fort' is misleading.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. Habara-gama, the village of *habara* or *sabara* (*Alocasia macrorrhiza*, *Araceae*), *Sabara* also means *veddah*. The use of Sabaragamuwa as the name of a Province is due to the fact that the Portuguese Dissava lived in the village of Sabaragamuwa. Geiger's note in the *Mahawansa* (p. 60 n. 5) is erroneous.

<sup>3</sup> 'Inhames', an African word, from which the English 'yam' is derived.

<sup>4</sup> Sin. *âkara*, mine.

and Calatu,<sup>1</sup> though rugged by situation, abound in rice, and their inhabitants are as rustic as those of Uva, on which they border. In those Corlas there is great plenty of Myrobalans and of another fruit called *careca*<sup>2</sup> [pomegranate], used for purges and to make dyes, black or gray according to the other ingredients, and there arises in these [Corlas] a mountain of sulphur adjoining the mountains of Uva.

Five leagues from Sofragaõ and fourteen from Columbo in the interior there towers above the other mountains of Ceylon the one which they call the Peak of Adam, celebrated throughout the heathendom of India. It may be seen almost from every part of the Island and around it for ten or more leagues out at sea. For two leagues around, on the side of the lands under obedience to the King of Portugal, and four or five leagues in circuit on the side of [the lands belonging to] the King of Candea there are no villages at all, because on account of the altitude, though it is near the Line [Equator], all the year round the cold is great there. On the summit of that very high mountain there rises a Peak, which from afar looks like a pyramid which is hidden in the clouds, it being noticed that the other mountains and the groves of trees around it are all inclined towards it, about which some people wonder<sup>3</sup> very much, but I think without reason, because it is natural for the trees to grow straight upwards to the Sky, and in steep places they consequently appear to be more inclined to what is highest, and in the hills that are around a higher one there is seen the same phenomenon. They ascend to the top of that Peak by means of two fathoms' [length] of a chain; in other places they make use of ropes with such great danger, that some fall, and after being roasted by the sun, they venerate their relics. Half way there is a bell which the Pilgrims ring, and if it sounds well, they think they are pure and worthy of kissing the footprint.<sup>F 17</sup> In the middle there are two tanks so teeming with water snakes, that in only one of them, they say, there will be about six thousand. On the top there is a flat surface, 150 paces long and 110 broad, and almost in the middle of it a rock, nine palms high, and 22 long, in which they say was the footprint of a man, six palms long and two and a half broad, though to-day there is nothing besides a hole, far from clean, on account of the many candles and oil which the *Yogis*, the penitent pilgrims of all that heathendom, place there, and because they take from that place dust and stones as

<sup>1</sup> Cadavatu', Ajuda Ms. (Kadawat Korle).

<sup>2</sup> Careca, Sin. *Karaka*, *punica granatum*.

<sup>3</sup> Allusion to Couto (V. 6-3). Cf. Skeen §4-6C.

relics. They come to this pilgrimage from all the East and specially in the months of April and May going through Sofragaõ. At the foot of this Peak there is a cavern like the Donda cave of Pelayo capable [of holding] 2000 souls, in which the Pilgrims are sheltered; and on the side of Candea there is another of the same kind; and before visiting this footprint, they wash themselves in the lakes which are at foot of the Peak, convinced that there they also wash away their sins; and putting on fresh or new washed clothes, they climb to the top, for without this care they hold it a great crime.

About the Author of that footprint there is found little trace of the truth, and as the heathen of India are capable of believing any fable, they do not hesitate to believe that their Buddum, placing one foot on that rock and the other on the mountain Maritu-mädle, on the opposite coast of Tutucurim, impressed there that footprint, without heeding the monstrous body this giant [must have had] who took in his stride more than 70 leagues; nor the disproportion of so small a foot with such a great stature, and of so small toes, for the largest has only a little more than half a palm, as is seen in Candea, where on a rock is engraved the shape and figure of that foot, and, though rudely wrought, it is highly venerated. The Colossus of Rhodes can scarcely be compared with such a size of body, though it was one of the wonders of the world and a true one. It would be easier to say that the Devil wished by that fable to remedy the vision of the Apocalypse, in which St. John saw an angel with his right foot on the sea and the left on land, but the fable of the Chingalas | has a more ancient origin than the vision of St. F 17<sup>e</sup> John. The natives call that peak 'Land of God' in their language *Deorata*; the Portuguese called it Adam's Peak, and as we do not know the reason for giving it that name, we suspect that they gave it because they heard the Chingalas say (rightly or wrongly understood by them in those early times) that it was the footprint of the first man. We find signs of its having been of due proportions in the beginning, and impressed by the Apostle St. Thomas, of whom Vaz Concellos relates another similar one in Brazil, near the port of Baía, where there is a Hermitage of that Saint, and in the Province of Tucuman in the mainland of Perú, in various places there are two similar footprints, as testifies John P 30 Rodrigues de Sâ e Menezes in the 'Rebellion | of Ceylon',<sup>1</sup> for as God made him Apostle of the world, so everywhere did he leave traces of his presence, and even in China there

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 2, p. 19.

resounded to such an extent the new Law which he preached and the wonders with which he confirmed it, that one of its emperors sent in those times Ambassadors to bring him information of it, and the Devil, profiting by the opportunity, instead of the information of the Religion of Christ, introduced through them into China a new Idolatry, which from that time took root in that vast Monarchy, as was recently verified by our Missionaries who labour in that Christianity; and the memorials which are in China of St. Thomas and of the ancient Christianity may be seen in Emanuel de Faria e Souza, Volume II. Marco Polo, the Venetian, and Nicholas de Conti gave to that mountain the name of Amalála Saripadi<sup>1</sup> which means 'mountain of the footprint'. But there is not found in Ceylon any memory of such a name, nor of Segomombarcão, whose son, they say, was the founder of the Idolatry of India. And a greater fable is that of Dorotheus,<sup>2</sup> Bishop of Tyre, who thinks that there is venerated in that footprint the memory of the Eunuch of Queen Candace, though there is the whole Indian Ocean between Abyssinia and Ceylon.

## CHAPTER 6.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCES OF THE KINGDOM OF COTA CONTINUED

One of the documents I have testifies that in the books of Ceylon is related that this Peak [of Adam] was not covered by the deluge of Noe, because, as the waters increased, | the F 18 mountain also rose. And though it does not seem unlikely that in that great révolution of the world the surface of the earth was changed in many places, just as the sources of the four Rivers of Paradise were changed, yet the statement that this Peak rose in proportion with the waters shows at once that it is a fable, and even though these changes did not take place, as Holy Scripture says that the waters of the deluge rose forty cubits above the highest mountains, it

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *samanala* (*Samanta-Kûtaya*, the peak of the God Saman) *Sri-pāda*, the holy foot.

<sup>2</sup> Dorotheus is alleged (by Maffens Hist. Ind. Lib. III.) to have said that the Eunuch preached the gospel in Taprobane. The statement however is not found in the writings of Dorotheus (Migne, Patrol. Græca 92) but an earlier writer Sophronius (A. D. 560-638) has said it (Patrol. Græca 23, 721). Couto quoting Maffeus connected the legend of the Eunuch with the footprint. (*J. Ceylon Antiquary*, VIII. 186-188.

would be necessary to make an exception of this and to take the universal proposition as an indefinite proposition. Some Hebrews falsely asserted that our first Parents, Adam and Eve, were Giants and so enormous, that from the first land near Paradise they crossed the sea on foot to Siria, though some conclude from Holy Scripture that the Giants began after the death of Adam, and it appeared to others that from the hands of God there could not issue such perfection and beauty with such great stature. And though this argument is for me of little value, because just as nature can make surpassing beauty in a child, much more can God delineate it in a Giant; for beauty does not consist in size, but in the proportion, and what in our eyes | seems ungainly may in respect of other likenesses seem proportionate. And if it be true that in the time of Constantine the Great the tomb of Seth was opened, in which was found the following inscription: *Christus nascetur de Virgine; credo in eum*<sup>1</sup>. *Tempore Constantini et Irenes, o Sol, iterum me videbis*: and that the bones were those of a Giant even in the life-time of Adam, it cannot be said there were no Giants, nor will it be necessary to pervert a tradition so pious, as that Adam was buried in the same spot on mount Moria on which Christ was crucified; because as Scripture says that Adam Magnus was buried there, it will either be necessary to understand that of another Giant, as some say, or to take the word Magnus for some other pre-eminence and not for stature. But leaving this to the Interpreters, and holding it an error that Adam was so great a Giant, as to be able to cross the sea on foot, the Calvinists who care little for these trifles or for the sword of fire which God placed at the gate, that it might not be seen, following the opinion of the Moors, said that the Terestial Paradise was here; this mistake being confirmed by the name 'Holy' given to that mountain, and the fertility of the Island, the delicacy of its fruits, the fragrance of its woods, and above all by the resemblance to the four Rivers which flowed from Paradise just as from this mountain, not knowing that there are in the world such similarities, and it seeming | to them that some of the great rivers could easily receive the names which the Scripture gives to those of Paradise, for it is left to the will of men; for if the Nile be one of them, the Scripture calls it Geon, the Abyssinians Abagui, and other nations, Nile. I have no doubt that the Portuguese called it the Peak of Adam, not because of the reality, but because of the resemblance.

<sup>1</sup> 'Christ will be born of a Virgin; I believe in him. In the time of Constantine and Irenus, thou, O Sun, wilt see me again.'

At its foot is formed a small lake, from which flow the four greater rivers which the Island of Ceylon has; that of Triquilemalê which, crossing the Kingdom of Candea and Uva, goes to discharge at the bay which they call Cutiar, five leagues from Triquilemalê on the Western side. It is called Maueviliganga, which means 'the great river of *Curiz*', which are certain roots used for ropes and which fall on its waters from the trees that overhang growing on its banks; for this word *Ganga* in all this India is a generic [term] and means fresh water river, for the river Ganges is so renowned that they seem to take occasion from it to apply its name to all others, though they have other proper names. This is the mightiest river of Ceylon, though one of the most rapid, like another Zezere which either took or gave its name to its Zezeraes, for it flows 54 leagues from its source to its mouth and in this distance it receives twenty other courses of water and brooks. It is not at all navigable on account of the rocks which it dashes against or turns round. Near Candea there are found in it some precious stones of goodly value, which must be carried to that place by the waters running down from the mountains.

<sup>P 32</sup> | Another river which rises from that lake waters the lands of Sofragaõ, flanking the strong place which we had there, whence it flows almost in a straight line to Calaturê, where it has its mouth, six leagues from Columbo, and enters the sea near that fortalice after a course of 15 leagues through lands which make it navigable, though in summer, because it has less water, some rocks give trouble. Near the strong place of Sofragaõ there are found in it some precious stones, as has been said. The natives call it Santoga Ganga which means 'river of joy', because at all times it is pleasant and delightful, as the lands which it waters are very cool and are shaded by groves of trees.

The third river is that of Valavê, where it flows into the sea after a precipitous course of twenty leagues over rocks, which make it altogether innavigable and poorly shaded. Though this is the only reason, they say that the demons are dwellers in its | waters and for this reason they call it <sup>F 19</sup> Iacaganga or 'River of the Devil'

The fourth and last is the one we call Calâne from the town of that name by which it flows a course of 10 leagues to its mouth of Matual, where it pours into the sea less than half a league from Columbo. It is most cool and agreeable, and its water is excellent. From its source to Seytavâca it is not navigable; thence downwards there sail on it throughout the year many boats, and from Maluâra to Matual it has

depth for ships of the fleet because the waters flow more quietly, and this part is much more delightful because of the cultivation of its banks, though others say that it does not rise from the same lake but further down. All those four rivers have in their beds alligators and some of monstrous size. Others say that the river Guïdurê, two leagues from Gâle towards Columbo, is the fourth that has its source in that mountain, not the Calâne; but this diversity of opinions is a proof that neither the one nor the other has its origin far from it; and I cannot decide what I have not seen. Besides these, the island of Ceylon is watered by 34 rivers, large and small, all of which flow into the sea, though some in Winter only, and the water courses of that Island, rivers, rivulets, brooks ever flowing, they say, are five thousand.

All around the Peak of Adam and the two mountains neighbouring it there are large mines of cat's eyes, which the Portuguese did not find out because they were hidden from them by the Natives, who hold them to be riches of Buddum, and that it would be a sacrilege to show them to us. They also say that for two leagues around that Peak there is not a single poisonous reptile, which they consider a miracle, but without a miracle one may see the same in the islands of Portugal, and here also it must be due to the cold to which they also attribute that the rivers have no fish in that district. I would ascribe this rather to the speed of the water, because the coldest streams of our Kingdom teem the better with  
 P 33 trout, and howsoever | high the Peak of Adam may be and the neighbouring lands, I cannot be convinced that they are colder than those of the interior of Portugal, and of the Baltic Sea and others of Norway, in which there is no lack of fish. And though the water snakes are very warm [blooded] and without poison, they would not be so numerous in the aforesaid tanks, if the water were equally rapid.

Let us return to the Dissâva of Sofragaõ, where in the village Hebaregama there was a Pagode less renowned and venerated than that of Maturê, sacred to their god | Perumal Betal who, according to what they believe and relate of his life, was in everything like Priapus. The heathen of the Concaõ of Goa call him Betâlu, and his sculpture is the most obscene that can be represented to the human eye, worthy of being venerated only by brutes to whom sensuality is happiness. F 19v

It had its dancing women up to the year [1]630, as in all other celebrated ones, so that one may infer from it the profanity of heathenism and the purpose which leads them to those pilgrimages, because from that shameful practise

they also drew revenues for their Pagodes. But when the Prince of Uva entered that Dissâva in that year, he transferred them to Uva till peace being made, out of the 16 that were there only seven went back, (quite a needless matter), the rest being dead, and they had formerly even their service lands or rents, on which they lived.

Four leagues from the village of Habaregama are the Agrads or fields where the precious stones are dug. It is said to be a name derived from the Chingala verb *Garavâna* which means 'to dig for gems'. But as the corruption is so great I am inclined to think that the Portuguese gave it the name Agrads of our language. They include four villages, two in Curuuiti and two in Nauadû, and because they were dug every year, whilst it should have been done only once every 12 years, as the Kings of Ceylon did, giving time for the Sun to mature them, they turned out as a rule to be of little value. It may be true that the Kings had other mines which the Chingalas conceal, and though a Rebel in the time of Constantino de Sâ offered to show 22 places, it was on such conditions that it did not seem convenient to accept. They are also found near the fortalice of Sofragaõ, and the floods due to rain expose them, and the soldiers occupied themselves in searching for them and not without profit, and when they were able to dig by stealth, they did so also. We will describe later the manner of digging them. In all the mountains above those Agrads, for a circuit of three or four leagues, there is much cardamom of extraordinary size, for each grain is [as large as] the middle finger, but as it lacks the cultivation of Cananor, except for the peculiarity of the climate and the abundance of rain, it is of little virtue. In some mountains of this Dissâva is found Crystal, and in the villages of Menerpiti, two leagues from Sofragaõ, and from Seytâvaca to Maluana there is produced a large quantity of nutmeg, which has been ascertained to be of the same kind as that of Banda. The General | Constantino de Sâ de Noronha ordered it to be collected every month, to find out in which of them it was riper, as the climate is different | from that of Banda, but at his death this diligence ceased. The King had also in this Dissâva a smithy: the Dissâva resided in the village Hebaragâma. F 20

Continuing to the North there is the Dissâva of the Four-corles, being in reality divided into these seven, Ina, Apitigaõ, Beligal, Adapanduna, Quiribada, Paranacune, and Galba; and I could not find out the reason why it is called the Four [Corlas] when there are seven, except that in former times it was divided into four only, or as others suppose, because

a certain Prince called Quiri'levela<sup>1</sup> was lord of four and this was enough for him to be thought to be so of all, and the name four prevailed. The Dissâva resides in Pitigaldini half a league from Manicrauarê on a mountain fortified with a stockade.

The people of this Dissâva hold themselves to be the noblest of Ceylon, because it is the Province in which was the Court of their ancient Emperors, and there are still among them some families of the blood of their former Kings as that of Quirivêle, Acayna,<sup>2</sup> and others of whom I could get no information, [and] as there are in Ceylon four different classes of people inhabiting it, the first being that of the nobility, the second of the ministers of Pagodes and of their Religious, the third of Husbandmen and workmen, the fourth of Macuaz, Bedas, and the other low castes already mentioned, setting aside the Bedas and their Priests and religious, from all the other castes soldiers are enlisted with the distinction in those times of archers, lancers, firelockmen and musketeers. The nobility which we experienced in the people of the Four-Corlas was that they were the worst enemies of the Portuguese name, their hatred increasing with the vicinity of Colombo, as always happens between nations opposed and neighbouring. The Lascarins of the other Dissâvas used to throw it in their face, calling them rebels, and though in the whole of Ceylon rebellions, which they call *perliz*<sup>3</sup> were continual, they do not fail greatly to resent being called traitors, because they should like to be regarded as brave. They had a greater

<sup>1</sup> Kirawella.

<sup>2</sup> Hakahinna (now in the Kandupita pattuwa of Beligal korale), which according to the Portuguese Tombo, Vol. II., fol. 72, was claimed by four princesses as their ancient paravenias.

The Tombo also mentions lands held by other princes in Beligal korale:—

- (1) Kiraweli pattuwa. Paradenia bamdara (Paradeniya) by a prince of the same name as his ancient paravenia. Folio 10. Lennagalla (Lenagala) by two princes ttiruwanagama capuramy (Tiruwanagama Kapuruhami) and galca puramy (Gal Kapuruhami) as their paravenias. Fol. 14. Maha Pallegama by Dom Jeronimo Quereuele bandar (Kirawelle Bandara) as his paravenia. Fol. 31.
- (2) Kandupita pattuwa. Galygamua (Galigamuwa) by a prince as his paravenia. Fol. 57.
- (3) Gandolaha pattuwa. Atanagora (Attanagoda) by Atanaguore apuami (Attanagoda Appuhami) as his ancient paravenia. Fol. 75. Galcarua (Galkaduwa) claimed by Galcarua Bandar as his ancient paravenia. Fol. 75.—H. W. C.

<sup>3</sup> S.n. *perali*, rebellion.

occasion to foment this hatred in the nearness of Candea, the mountains of which divide this Dissâva, and on the borders of which in the county of Beligal, in the village of Manicrauarê, 9 leagues from Colombo to the interior, we generally had our arrayal encamped, surrounded by | very <sup>P 20v</sup> high mountains, in which one can hardly see an entrance or outlet, and because of its site and other conveniences. it was the best that could be chosen, for it is 6 leagues from Candea, and lies between the Four and Seven Corlas, and though it rains in the island of Ceylon almost the whole year and sometimes for eight and ten days running, when the rain ceases there is no mud seen in that place because of a kind of stony soil, and because the barracks (*estancias*) are on a height whence the water drains easily making for the fields which <sup>P 35</sup> surround it. | It is surrounded by a river, and in the hills from which it rises there are also various springs and tanks; and as the Captains had their service villages in those two Dissâvas, it remained less burdensome to the Natives.

Mani-cauarê, and not Manicrauarê as they call it, means 'Come here my precious stone', words with which, they say, the Father or Rajû called to his son.

In this Dissâva is also included the post of Maluâna, two leagues distant from Colombo to the interior, on the river Calâne, where the Captains General usually had their residence. The name is corrupted, because in Chingala it must be Maluarê which means 'Come here my flower', in allusion to a fable of a goddess who with such wooings called her lover who was running away. The name applied to the place suits it well, because it is held as the most fresh and pleasant in Ceylon, and the climate is excellent. In it the General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo built some strong houses in which he lived nine years; and the General Nuno Alarez Pereira therefrom directed the war against a rebellion, which lasted three years. Constantino de Sâ de Noronha built a more defensible stronghold in front of those houses, but the one and the other edifice the King of Candea dismantled, when on his death he [came upon Colombo. Diogo de Melo de Castro] tried to rebuild them, but owing to his death the work did not go beyond the foundations. There the King of Portugal had a good smithy. In this Dissâva is Colombo, and the Metropolis of Cota stood at a league's distance from that harbour towards the interior, and both the one and the other fortification will be described in a more suitable

<sup>1</sup> The words within brackets are missing in the Ms. and printed text. The omission has been supplied from the Ajuda Ms.

place. Up the Calâne river, in front of, and near Ruanela, which is a port of great traffic, are these Corlas of Inhaõpala, Val, Atulugaõ, Buladgâma, which were ruled by a Vidâna named formerly by the General but afterwards by the Viceroy.

The Dissava of the Seven Corlas includes the following ten: | Alut, Pitigal, Calugambala, Deuamede, Urupula, <sup>F 21</sup> Curunagal, Hiriála, Madurê, Veli, Magul. The reason why we call it Seven, when there are ten, it seems, is the corruption of the first Portuguese who misunderstanding a strange language instead of Eti-Corla, which means 'many Corlas' called it Sete-Corlas, a word which prevailed afterwards even among the Chingalas. Others look for another explanation saying that three of those Counties, Madurê, Curunagal, and Hiriála, are not counties, but extensive villages, as are the Conçelhos in Portugal. The district of this Dissava is larger than any two of the other three.

In the county of Mangul was the ancient Court Anû-Rajâ-purê, which, as we said, was abandoned on account of a protracted pestilence, though the captain sent by Constantino de Sâ discovered nothing, because just as there are men who admire everything, there are others who laugh at everything. Mangul, Hiriála, and Maturê, border on the mountains of Candea, to which Kingdom they offer good ascents, especially <sup>P 36</sup> one which they call the Garaueto (Kadavata) | of Veura,<sup>1</sup> and they are very rugged lands. The rest on that side is fresh like the other lowlands of Ceylon. The Dissava had his residence in the village Matiagama where there was smithy for the arrayal. From Nigumbo to Jafanapataõ they speak the Tamil language better, and they are the people who in Ceylon received the Faith of Christ most readily.

Nigumbo is five leagues distant from Columbo to the North, and they also say that the name of the village should be Migombo, which means 'Buffalo Dung', because of the many stalls (*curraes*)<sup>2</sup> of them that are in the place. Lourenço Teyxeyra de Maçedo built there a small praça and D. Jeronimo de Azevedo gave him that village for three lives, of which he enjoyed only the first one, which is the more usual thing in India. It is watered by a river, which, as we said, was a canal (cava) opened by industry, and being flanked by a stretch of wall, it makes a large estuary and communicates with the river of Calane, and as it forms its bar 1300 paces from Columbo, there is formed between it and the sea an Island five leagues [in length] called Municarê. It is capable of much cultivation, if the cultivators had not died out owing to

<sup>1</sup> Weuda-Kadawata near Galagedera Pass.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *migon-panti*.—H. W. C.

the treasons of the Chingalas and the wars originating therefrom; and it forms another bar in Nigumbo with five palms of water at low tide. These lands lack rice, because unlike the others of Ceylon, they produce many palm trees and are fresh, pleasant, and well provided with fruits of thorny trees. In the neighbouring sea die many fish. From the fortalice one can go to a small Island which lies at the mouth of the bar, | of which we shall speak at length in another place. <sup>F 21a</sup> These are the lowlands which the King of Portugal possessed in Ceylon to the North, which in great part face the opposite coast of Comorin, and all belonged to the Kingdom of Cota, and these four Dissavas have the following boundaries: That of Maturê from Mapane near Columbo along the sea coast up to Valavê. Sofragaõ of twelve leagues, from Calaturê on [? to] the borders of Candea marches with that of Maturê on the other side by the river, and with the Four Corlas as far as the river Calanê. The Four [Corlas] lie from Calanê to the North, from Manicaurê to Alâua, four leagues from Candea, and extend to the coast of Nigumbo as far as Chilaõ, where begin the lands of the Vani, which belong to the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ. The Seven Corlas begin four leagues from the sea and two days journey from Columbo, and extend to the borders of Candea, touching on the other side the lands of Triquilemalê and of the Kingdom of Jafanapataõ. I could not get more certain or more detailed notice of this division; on the contrary I found not a little variety in the documents, but it matters little to my purpose. The Dissava of Maturê was the first in authority over the natives, both in peace and in war, with the title of Captain-Major and with the devise of a white shield, different from that of the General in that it is red in the middle. He had power of the halter and axe, and other things that go with it.

## CHAPTER 7.

### P 37 DESCRIPTION OF THE KINGDOM OF JAFANAPATAM

Before treating of the Kingdom of Candea, I shall speak of that of Jafanapataõ, the whole of which also belonged to the Crown of Portugal and was wholly Christian. Its head lies in the form of a peninsula at the Northern point of the island of Ceylon at 10 and two third degrees of altitude. Its name without corruption is said to be Jafana-en-Putalam,<sup>1</sup> which means the 'Town of the Lord Jafana', and is the name of

<sup>1</sup> Tam. Yälppānanin-paddanam (?), (the town of Yälppānan).

him who first peopled it. Others say the name was Jafana-Patanaōture,<sup>1</sup> which means 'long harbour'; whence it appears that it was called by mockery Napunay-Patanaō,<sup>2</sup> which translated means 'Land of bad people'. This land was for long years without cultivation and subject to the Emperors of Ceylon, and though it abounded in groves of trees, its inhabitants lived more on fish and game than on other fruits of their labour. Its government at the beginning was only that of Vidānas |<sup>F 22</sup> or stewards (abegoes), afterwards industry increasing, and with it profit, it came to be governed by Araches and finally by Mudeliars. Under this [form of] government it remained for many long years until, with the progress of the natives and commerce of the foreigners, when the Court of Ceylon was already in the Metropolis of Cota, in the Reign of Mha Pracura Mhabau there came to that City a certain Panical,<sup>3</sup> a foreigner, native of the mountains of Malavar from a village called Tulunar, an expert Master in arms, and for this reason he was welcomed by the King, and being by him raised to the dignity of Modeliar, was called Panical Modeliar. There he married and had two sons, who being educated in the Palace, were most beloved by the King, who afterwards considering that on the side of their Mother they had many kinsmen, that, as he had no heir, he had sworn in a grandson as his successor, and fearing that the two brothers, being less well affected because of what there was of a foreigner in them and very powerful because of their kindred, would disquiet his Kingdom after his death, determined to kill them. He communicated this intention to one of his favourites, who advised him not to kill them, but to send, with some title of honour, the one who was more to be feared to subdue Jafanapataō, because the Modeliar whom he had placed there had seized the lands and had done many wrongs and violences to his lieges.

The King adopted this advice, and the Modeliar himself who had given it to him went on his order to call the son of Panical who was called Chambā-pera-Mali.<sup>4</sup> He gave him men, wherewith he became master of those lands with the title of Prince, ever acknowledging the King of Cota and paying him tribute faithfully. He, they say, was the first who ruled Jafanapataō as King. In course of time there came some Bramanes, natives of Gzarate, called Arus, who claimed<sup>P 38</sup> Royal descent; and with the favour of | the Nayque of Madurē

<sup>1</sup> Tam. Tālvāna-paḍḍanat-turai (?), (deep harbour).

<sup>2</sup> Tam. Nai-punai-paḍḍanan (?), (town of cats and dogs).

<sup>3</sup> Tam. paḍḍikan, teacher, professional man, barber.

<sup>4</sup> Champaka-Perumal. Sapumal-Kumaraya of the Sin. Chronicle.

they erected the pagode of Raḥmanacor, whence they began to have trade and friendship with the Kings of Jafanapataō, and one of them married a daughter of that King; and finally his descendants became heirs to that Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Of these the first that tried to free himself from the subjection to the King of Cota, was Ariaxaca Varati,<sup>2</sup> who being naturally proud and not brooking the haughtiness of the officers of that King, took the life of the one who governed there, and the King of Ceylon preparing to punish him, they say, he went to meet him at Ceytavaca and took him some verses wherein he so flattered him with praises of him and his ancestors that he left him completely vainglorious and satisfied, and the verses being helped by a goodly present, he not only made him desist from war, but also obtained *Olas* from him (what we should call Provisions) and the title of King of Jafanapataō, which his | successors preserved paying in acknowledgment<sup>F 22v</sup> only some tribute; and because this was the beginning of their greatness, his descendants from the name Aria, were called Ariavance, which means the generation of Aria.<sup>3</sup>

Already in the time of Jorge de Melo de Castro Captain of Manār those of Jafanapataō had a great quarrel with their King, called Cachim-neyra<sup>4</sup> because the Kingdom did not belong to him, but to one of his other kinsmen. In this dispute they made Jorge de Melo arbitrator, and he having listened to their law and reasons, declared him an intruder and at the request of the people he put him in prison, and another was raised King, but Cochimneyra, after Jorge de Melo returned to Manār, managed with those of his faction to kill the elected one, and taking him from prison they crowned him again. Jorge de Melo was so incensed, that by gifts and promises he persuaded a bold Lascarin, a native of Jafanapataō, to kill him. He did so with great courage and resolution, and escaped to Manār by swimming. Melo being informed of the matter, hastened to Jafanapataō and with the approval of the people set up as King, Pera-Puli, who was succeeded by Perea-Rajêrâ-Pandarâ [who was] killed by Andre Furtado de Mendonca, as we shall see later on, because as Constantino de Braganza thirty years before took prisoner the Prince, only son of Xagua Rajâ, these quarrels must have arisen about the succession of his relatives, — for we could not get any information about the end of that Prince. —<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ceylon Antiquary V. 176.

<sup>2</sup> Ariya-Chakkra-varti.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Raj. 66-7; Fr. Gnana Prakasar, Kings of Jaffna, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Kasi Nayinār (?).

<sup>5</sup> What is between these marks is marked with asterisks in the original.— Copyist.



This little Kingdom or Province adjoins the other lands of Ceylon at those of the Vani and the River of the Cross, in which the district terminates, being four leagues in breadth to the North and six leagues across and in length, in the Northern extremity of Ceylon. It was well peopled in the time of the native Kings; in that of the Portuguese, leaving out women and children, about 20,000 men. They are very poor people and extremely weak, because they are Balalaz,<sup>1</sup> a race<sup>2</sup> different from that of the Chingalas, and they are P 39 said to originate | from Bramenes of the continent, a people who never fared well at arms, because they never professed them, and the Kings were obliged to keep a garrison and a guard of Badagas<sup>3</sup> from the opposite coast, and they are commonly held to be Malavares, not of the Moorish pirates who settled on this coast, but of the heathen inhabitants of the land; and neither in language nor in religion are they at all like the Chingalas, though they are equally superstitious, and hold tenets so extremely brutal, that only men who deliberately wish to err can accept the nonsense they practice. They never had any other City save Nelur, | which is not half F 23 a league distant from the town and praça of the Portuguese. Nor is there in that place anything else worth recording save some tanks, almost devoid of water, wherein grow some flowers of excellent scent, which they call *Manil Mal*<sup>4</sup> which means 'Blue Flower,' because of its colour, of which they say, and what is worse they believe, that in the time of Rauâna its smell was noticed at a distance of five leagues, because there was transformed into this flower a lady, of whose breath this remains as witness, falsely robbing nature of it; though with greater fitness than in the conversion of Ajax the Telamonian<sup>5</sup> into a Hyacinth, because the scent of a flower suits a warlike man less, though in his sighs are represented his

<sup>1</sup> Tam. *Velâlâ*, Cultivator caste of South India.

<sup>2</sup> Casta, means race, lineage, kind. Portuguese writers also used the word to indicate the social divisions they found in India, whence the English word 'caste'. But I abstain from rendering *casta*, by 'caste' except when the context is quite clear.

<sup>3</sup> Badaga from Canarese *badaga*, Tam. *vaḍagar*, 'northerners', a name given by Portuguese writers to the Telugu people of the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

<sup>4</sup> Sin. *Mānil-mal*, lotus flower, *nymphaea stellata*.

<sup>5</sup> Ajax, the Telamonian, killed himself, and from his blood, there sprung up a purple flower bearing the letters α τ on its leaves, which were at once the initials of the name and expression of a sigh. The legend is also told of Hyacinthus, the Spartan, from whose blood sprung the flower of that name with letters as above.

feelings for not having borne Achilles' arms in the competition he had with Ulysses. And the women of this race in Asia ever smell of Nard. Many are Weavers, and though they have the *xaya* at home, they make only rough cloth.

This modest Kingdom is not confined to the little district of Jafanapataō, because to it are also added the neighbouring lands, and those of the Vani, which is said to be the name of the Lordship which they held before we obtained possession of them, separated from the preceding by a salty river, and connected only in the extremity or isthmus of Pachalapali, within which were the lands of Baligâmo, Temerache, Bedamarache, and Pachalapali<sup>1</sup> forming that peninsula, and outside it there stretch the lands of Vani crosswise, from the side of Manâr to that of Triquilemalê, being separated also from the country of Mantôta in the jurisdiction of the Captain of Manâr by the river Paragali<sup>2</sup>; which [lands] end in the River of the Cross in the midst of the lands of the Vani and of others which stretch as far as Triquilemalê, which according to the Map appears to be a large tract of country. These lands are divided into Pâtus<sup>3</sup> and the first near the River of the Cross is Tanamavaraddi,<sup>4</sup> a very fine country, but almost uninhabited because of war, and because it was the route of our arrayals, the husbandmen who escaped from the war betaking themselves to the woods, leaving very few for cultivation. From thence to the side of Manâr is the Province of Muliauali,<sup>5</sup> which consists of three pâtus, Varcama, Valadadi and Melpâtu. This Province is the principal one of all the lands of the Vani, and is fruitful, though badly peopled on account of war and because it is unhealthy. Next comes P 40 Carnapâtu<sup>6</sup> and | the province called Panagâmo,<sup>7</sup> the name of the Vaniâ who resided there. It consists of the Pâtu of Urugare and of Valavi which border on the lands of Mantôta, and along the coast of the sea or gulf of Ceylon there are the villages Parangâli, | Uerauil Punari, and others of lesser F 23v importance.

Jafanapataō is low land, and in the neighbouring mainland there are no high mountains and there is lack of fresh water, and what there is, is bad; and for want of it they make use of tanks to irrigate the fields, nor are they amongst the healthiest places of Ceylon. These lands did not pay anything

<sup>1</sup> Valikānam, Vadamarachy, Pachohilaipaly.

<sup>2</sup> Perunkaly.

<sup>3</sup> Sin. *Pattūwa*, subdivision of a Korale.

<sup>4</sup> Tennamara-vādi.

<sup>5</sup> Mulliāyavalai.

<sup>6</sup> Karunāval-paṭṭu.

<sup>7</sup> Panankāman.



more than the tithe, or *Aretane*<sup>1</sup> of paddy and *uarôgo*<sup>2</sup>; and the Province of Muliauale some tribute per head, and of butter. The most essential and of greater utility to the Royal revenue was the tribute of elephants and *aleaz*<sup>3</sup>; of which many more hunts could have been held to the profit of the King. Those lands were distributed among the Portuguese without precise and distinct titles and without determining clearly what each one owned, and every one wishing to have the best and the nearest, they were provided for, and the natives became dissatisfied and fugitives, not knowing what was left to them.

This Kingdom has very few rice fields, but large forests of wild palm trees (palmeyras)<sup>4</sup> much rougher in bark and more straight and not less high than our cultivated pine. In place of the coconut, [which is] the fruit of the cultivated palm trees, they produce *trafuliz*,<sup>5</sup> which is a sort of fruit like big citrons, and when the rind is removed, there appears a red mass, which they call *punâto*,<sup>6</sup> the chief food of those people. When they are green, they have inside three or four kernels not a little tasty, and at the foot of the same trees they sow the stones which they call *panagayos*,<sup>7</sup> and when they strike root, which they call by the word *Calango*,<sup>8</sup> they either eat them raw, or, when dry, make flour of them, on which they live. In our lands in this Northern coast there are many of these palm trees from which they take toddy and make wine, like that of the cultivated palm trees, but they have not such esteem of the *trafuliz*, nor do they derive as much profit from them; and it must be, because they have not the same virtue as the country is colder. The cause and manner in which the Viceroy Constantino de Bragança conquered them in the year 1660 [sic], the war waged on them by Andre Furtado de Mendonça, and other more modern events will find their place further on.

<sup>1</sup> Tam. *Arattanai* (?) 'so much in six (parts)'. One sixth was the royalty among Tamils.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *Varagu*, a kind of millet. Anglo-Ind. 'Raggy'—Hob.-Job.

<sup>3</sup> Sin. *aliya*, elephant.

<sup>4</sup> 'Palmeyra brava', wild palm, is the palmeyra, Sinhalese, *tal*, Anglo-Ind. 'Brab-tree' from a corruption of the Port. 'brava'—Hob.-Job s. v.

<sup>5</sup> 'Trafuliz', 'Trafolim', Indo-Port, fruit of the Palmeyra.

<sup>6</sup> Tam. *pinuttu*, the dried pulp. Dal. s.v. suggests a Malayan origin for the word.

<sup>7</sup> Tam. *panankai*, palmeyra fruit.

<sup>8</sup> Tam. *kilangu*, edible root.

From the port of Columbo<sup>1</sup> up the river they sail for ten leagues, and at a distance of five leagues in low tide one can wade across to a certain place called 'good water'; I do not know whether it is, because there is [good water] or because it is wanting. In this coast there are hidden rocks where Constantino de Bragança was in danger, before he anchored at Patanão; and because he was the first to find this channel P 24 which is to the North it was afterwards called 'D. Constantino's Opening'. It lies near Cardua with two anchorages, one of P 41 which they called | the false bay, though it is the true one, where galleons can winter, because there is no lack of tallow, coir,<sup>2</sup> and carpenters for repairs, all cheap.

The King Xaya Rajâ, thankful for the good services done by the Badagas, a people always esteemed for bravery and rebellious against the Nayque of Madurê, besides those he already had, brought others from the opposite coast and gave them the three villages, Palâlê,<sup>3</sup> Vayavalaô in the Province of Beligaô, and in that of Tamarache the village of Matuuil, with the title of foreigners whom they call *Paradezes*,<sup>4</sup> and allied them with the native Belas, and gave them lands for a period to be determined by his successors, and on their deaths the Kings were the heirs, as in other parts of Ceylon and almost all over Asia; and though they were not captives, they were never exempted from this tribute, in order to differentiate them from the natives. But finally in course of time, as it happens everywhere, they began to enjoy equal state by way of marriages, whereby the former indignity was forgotten, Nor for this reason should the law of Theodoric be approved, who ordered that in a Republic there should be no distinction in quality or rank. And since we touched upon this matter, [let us add] that it is the custom in that Kingdom that the ascendants cannot inherit, and of the descendants only the male children; and if they are emancipated, they are admitted to the partition of the household goods during the Father's life, and by the Mother's death to the part of the heritage, but not to the Castrenses property acquired by war service or quasi Castrenses. If there are no sons, the heritage devolves on the Brother, for they cannot adopt a stranger unless it be a nephew, the son of a Brother, and if of a Sister, it will be with the consent of the one to whom the heritage is due, or if he is a Belâla or a Paradeze,

<sup>1</sup> Colombothurai.

<sup>2</sup> Cayro, Tam. *kayiru* 'cord', whence the English 'coir'.

<sup>3</sup> Palâlê, Vayâvilam, Maçduvil.

<sup>4</sup> *Paradesi*, foreigner. A clan so called is still found in Valâvilam and Maçduvil (Fr. Gnana Parakasar, O.M.I.).

to obtain the heritage, it is enough to appear before the Adigar (the Almoxarife or Receiver) and to pay a *chocorão*<sup>1</sup> receiving an *ola* to succeed in the patrimonial goods of an Uncle; because if they were of the Crown he must have permission from the Prince and pay *Marâla*, or division of a moiety to the King, if it is granted to him. Nor can he who has a lawful heir adopt another, either collateral or a stranger, without permission of the Prince.

The Taliars<sup>2</sup> or Mayoraes of the villages who serve as helpers to the Receivers of the King, if they have sons who can succeed them in the office, either during life or after death, compound this *Patão*<sup>3</sup> (as they call it) with the King to the amount of 60 *chacorões*. If he had no legitimate son, to substitute another, he must pay the same amount during his life, | and the substitute as much again after his death. <sup>P 240</sup> In all the above mentioned [cases] certificates of receipt are given by the officers of the treasury (*fazenda*) and not by the Captain-Major or Canacapule,<sup>4</sup> as was done at first.

The Belâlas, to be exempted from the service of the King, which they call *ulea*<sup>5</sup> from the payment of poll tax of a *chacarão*, used to pay 60 *chacorões* as *Marâla*, which was suppressed in 1631 by the Vedor | da *fazenda*, Amaro Rodriguez, who made a new *tombo*,<sup>6</sup> because it was harmful to the service of the King, with such abuse that the Modeliars and Taliars gave the privilege of exemption from tax, service, and *tale*<sup>7</sup>; and there remained only the tax of *Paradezes*. There was another *Marâla* in the time of the heathen Kings on the dead bodies, which could not be burnt without the permission of the King and without paying four or five *chacorões* according to the means of the heirs, a custom which lasted till Phelipe de Oliveyra conquered the whole Kingdom, and all were converted to the Faith of Christ, when that tax was commuted into a funeral alms, likewise the *chorarão* which the contracting parties paid to the King was also applied to the payment for the banns of marriage.

<sup>1</sup> *Chacarão*, *chacorão*, *chocorão*, Tam. *chakram*, the gold fanam. In Jaffna a coin of account, 20 *mas*, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the Jaffna 'pardao', which was double of the Ceylon *pardao*. — H. W. C.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *talaiyâri*, headmen.

<sup>3</sup> Tam. *Paṭam*, (?) title.

<sup>4</sup> Tam. *Kanakappillai*, 'account-man'.

<sup>5</sup> Tam. *ūliyam*, service.

<sup>6</sup> 'Tombo,' Port. *register* (cf. English 'tome'), whence Sin. *tombuwa*.

<sup>7</sup> Tam. *talei (vari)*, poll (tax).

The Kings were wont to give gifts of lands or money collected from their rents called *Vitazaô* and *Rentaraô*<sup>1</sup> and for a limited time, at most for one life, in satisfaction for services. When he dies, the son, nephew or relation, had to say to the King: 'You, Sire, granted to my Father, Uncle, Relation or even friend, such and such lands for services, marriage or of mere grace. He is dead. Be pleased that I may succeed him in the favour he received from you: To this effect I will do whatever you are pleased to ask.' As a rule by paying half of the concession he would get it. Such *Marâlas* were usually uncultivated and concealed<sup>2</sup> lands; and they were still so on account of the changes and alterations that took place in the Kingdom and by many private arrangements and secret sales; because even in Republics it was always impossible, and strict equality becomes great disproportion, if merits are also taken into consideration. These lands like the others of Ceylon were very well populated, but the wars consumed them to such an extent, that they were half abandoned, as we said of those of Jafanapataô.

These territories have near their coasts eight islands, two deserted and six inhabited. *Tanadiua*,<sup>3</sup> which is the best, with a circuit of six leagues, forms the port of the quay<sup>4</sup> of the elephants, and it will have about 1200 inhabitants large palm groves and some fields. Above the quay on a rock we had a small fort, | as badly built as it was planned, <sup>P 25</sup> and near it, according to the Dutch soundings, there is a depth of two fathoms, farther on [the depth] is three and four where the boats are not safe during the *vara*<sup>5</sup> which means the North Wind; they are also not safe in the *Ponta das Pedras*,<sup>6</sup> where there was a redoubt, because the coast there made an opening with a depth of five and six fathoms from point to point, and disembarkation was easy, though they had to take care because of the reef which lies nearly in front, at a distance of a league and a half, with two or three fathoms depth; and it extends towards the South-East for a space of ten leagues with three and four fathoms, and in <sup>P 43</sup> width three quarters of a league | forming a channel between the reef and the island nearly two leagues in breadth and of unequal depth, from five to twelve fathoms.

<sup>1</sup> Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> Concealed, 'sonegadas', surreptitiously kept out of the Register.

<sup>3</sup> *Tana-divayina*, (Kayts).

<sup>4</sup> 'Quay' is the origin of the name Kayts.

<sup>5</sup> 'Vara', represents the Tam. *vada*, North wind. Cf. p. 3. n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Now Point Pedro.

In front of that inland is Cardiu,<sup>1</sup> which will have about 600 inhabitants, some palm groves and fields, and a circuit of four leagues, a cool and pleasant place to live in. Congardiu<sup>2</sup> of two leagues and a half in circuit had 800 inhabitants, palm groves and rice fields, and in them there were in former times horses and wild asses, the latter not fit for work, the former of no use. The island Nerundiua<sup>3</sup> called D. Clara's with a circuit of two leagues had about ninety families, some fields and palm groves. The same is seen in the island Portugaldivo,<sup>4</sup> which they call 'of the Cows' and in the island Nayadadiua<sup>5</sup> called 'of the Snakes', with this difference that the former will have 300 families, and that 'of the Snakes' about sixty. In that 'of the Cows' there is a kind of goat, which if killed in the month of July, there are found in the stomach, excellent bezoar stones. These islands could be better peopled, if life were there more secure from the pirates. Their population, however, increased under the Portuguese rule, on account of the energy of the triennial Captains of Jafanapatao the natives finding it more convenient to have a permanent Lordship, which would treat them as their own, because all those islands belonged to different Portuguese. Palatiuzo<sup>6</sup> is uninhabited, but it is useful, because of the *Xaya*, to the inhabitants of the neighbouring island of the Cows. The other uninhabited one belongs to the King and has only trees, but could be better utilised. The last is called 'two Sisters',<sup>7</sup> on the side of Manâr, and to render it profitable it was leased out on a small rent to Thome Vaz, Patangati-Mor of Manâr.

There are others in continuation, like Izanatiuo,<sup>8</sup> called also by the name 'of the Buffaloes' near the main land which runs from Manâr to Jafanapatao | in front of the village Vizuil,<sup>9</sup> the land uninhabited and the sea teeming with fish. That 'of the Bragmanes' frequented by the Natives lies to the North-East. To the North is that 'of the Forçados' which acknowledged the lordship of Tristaõ Galayo de Castelbranco. Immediately to the East there is Tanadiua

<sup>1</sup> Karaitivu.

<sup>2</sup> Punkuduttivu.

<sup>3</sup> Neruntivo.

<sup>4</sup> Now Delft.

<sup>5</sup> Nayina-tivu, called after Nayinar, a clan of people living in Rameswaram. Sp. Zey. XVIII. 12. The Dutch called it Haarien.

<sup>6</sup> Pâlai-tivu.

<sup>7</sup> Iranaitivu, double Island, 'de Twee geborveden,' (Hoorn and Enkhuysen) of the Dutch.

<sup>8</sup> E-unaitivu.

<sup>9</sup> Vêravillu (?).

with a Church of St. John the Baptist erected by Fr. Pedro de Betancor, and near the bar there is a bastion erected by Lançarote de Seyxas under the Viceroy Ayres de Saldanha to prevent the passage of munitions that were carried to Candea. It is of three leagues and at the point it forms a channel of two fathoms. There was there another island, smaller, but surrounded with reefs, called 'of the Challenges' either because it was considered fit for duelling or because some took place there. From Patanao to the East there is another channel for smaller boats on account of a reef 600 paces long which makes the haven so safe, that the more it expands the deeper it is. This which they call Columbâ,<sup>1</sup> has a better landing place than that of Patanao<sup>2</sup>. There is here a headland called Calamune, through which they go to the fortalices of Manâr and Columbâ.

P 44 | The island of Manâr is separated from the territory of Mantôta (which ends in the River of the Cross, where also ends the district of Jafanapatao in the interior) by a creek half a fathom deep; which [island] will be about seven leagues in circumference, the head of which is in the shoals of Ramen-coir (the Portuguese call it Ramanacor) which with a headland six and a half leagues long terminate in another smaller Island, which gave them its name. Between this and the mainland there lies a small channel less than two fathoms deep, which they call Vtiar,<sup>3</sup> and for rowing boats to pass from one sea to the other it is necessary to unload them, or as they say 'tanear'<sup>4</sup> and it is wonderful to go over those shoals and to see the fury with which the waves break against them at the time of the North wind, for at that time the waves in the gulf of Manâr are still; and on the contrary the latter are furious at the time of the South and East winds, and the others are absolutely calm. In the Island of Manâr the most celebrated thing is *Xaya* which has a good output to all that coast, being five leagues long and two where it is broadest.

In that of Ramanacor, which belongs to the Marauâ, a neighbouring Kinglet on the mainland, a rebel against the Nayque of Madurê, is the Pagode of greatest concourse in all this Orient, which they call Ramanadacoil, which means the Temple of Ramen of whom they relate and believe stupid and stupendous fables. | The one that gave rise to the worship in this pagode is briefly the following. All this heathendom between the Indus and the Ganges admit

<sup>1</sup> Columbuthurai.

<sup>2</sup> Paḍḍananthurai.

<sup>3</sup> Uriyâru.

<sup>4</sup> See page 1. n. 4

three main gods Brumâ, Rutrên, and Vixnu (though other nations whose language is different from Tamul give other names) for in such a way did the Devil anticipate in perverting in India the belief and the worship of the true Trinity. Of Vixnu, they say, that he transformed himself and was called Ramen, and among other Herculean feats of his he killed in Ceylon a giant by name Viraden, and to obtain forgiveness for this sin, which heathendom thinks not unworthy of a god, he went to offer sacrifice in the Pagode of that Island, from which they should have concluded, if they were good Divines, that by this action he acknowledged the other to be superior; and thus gave his name to the Pagode, because he obtained pardon therein. Here, some think, lie buried great treasures of which others doubt; but as they consecrate them to the devil, he takes care to keep them in such a way that only by such sacrifices can they be found out.

There was sent from Jafanapatam to Columbo no little succour of provisions and coarse cloth; and from the time that the Viceroy D. Phelipe Mascarenhas wintered there before going to Goa and made a new tombo, its revenues not only yielded enough for the expenses of its garrisons but even increased to more than 45000 xerafins, which were applied to the conquests and garrisons of Ceylon; and on this subject we shall again speak in another place.

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## CHAPTER 8.

### P 45 OF THE KINGDOM OF CANDEA AND OF ITS LANDS

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The Kingdom of Candea consisted, besides its own lands, of the Principalities of Vua, Matalê, Gampala, Batecalou, Paneua, and Cutiar, which were wont to be divided among the Brother Princes, from which have resulted various rebellions. It included moreover the Vidânas of Vintêna, Vilaçem, and Maturâta. That Kingdom is divided into the Dissâvas of Arciapâtu, Panciapâtu, Hurunûra and Hetanûra,<sup>1</sup> and together with these States it was the largest Kingdom in Ceylon, the metropolis of which called Badulê, was in the heart of the Island, where it is at its broadest, situated on a plain two leagues from the river Maueuili protected by the natural walls which surround it, because around it on every

<sup>1</sup> Haraciya-paattuwa, Penciya-pattuwa, Uduuwara, and Yatinuwara.

side are mountains which crown it, with enormous precipices on both sides and so high, that they | give it two leagues. P 28v On the west is the mountain of Balanê, on the South what they call Tambor, on the East the Penedo<sup>1</sup> [Rock], which is about one mile long, whither the Kings can retire, when the Kingdom and the Metropolis are invaded by enemies. It is cut from top to bottom by a path in the middle, which a single man can defend, because in some places it is ascended by ladders of iron chains or of rattan. On the sides it is girt with huge rocks arising from deep valleys. On the top it expands into plains, fields, groves of trees, springs and brooks. A great deal of what the Kings and the grantees acquire they offer to their idols, and placing it in coffers of sweet smelling wood on the shoulders of their greatest friend or nearest relation, they climb the Rock, dig a deep hole, wherein they bury it, and over it they behead the friend or relative who carried it, making a sacrifice of everything to the Idols; an action altogether barbarous, but this is not the only tyranny of the Devil among the heathen. On the Northern side there flows the river which empties itself at Cutiar, and though on that side there are no similar mountains, yet the slope is very steep.

The mountains of Ceylon are not so high as the Caucasus which can be seen by sailors at a distance of 560 miles, as Aristotle states, and for a third of the night it reflects the twilight of the sun; and the same says Pliny of the mountain Casius. In the Canaries the Tanarife has a height of 60 miles, and the Peak which I saw at sunset against the setting Sun itself is nine and a half miles. Of the mountains of Perú Costa narrates such height and size that the Alps and Pyrenees seem flat in comparison. Those of Ceylon, however, over which rises the Perk, are so steep and precipitous, that they make ascent altogether difficult more especially for purposes of war, it being impossible to march in ranks through such *candes*<sup>2</sup> or defiles. The walls of the King's Palace are a little less than a half a league in circuit, making a turn over the top of a hill the foot of which is washed by the River, P 46 and besides the enclosure of stone, | there is another of ditches. The houses of the King are many but very low, and the apartments in which he dwells, below the average. Near the Palace there is a Pagode, which they look upon as a fine building, and it has some appearance of being good, besides

<sup>1</sup> The Rock, used like a proper name. Gale Nuwara on the top of Medamahanuwara Peak (4372 ft. above sea level) Law. Gazette 572.

<sup>2</sup> Ind.-Port. from Mar. *khând*, meaning defiles or narrow passes of the Ghatts, Skt. *Khaṇḍa*, gap. chasm.

being better lighted than the others, because, unlike the others, it has two skylights which let into it the light by means of which, under an arch of the altar, can be seen Demons whom that heathendom venerates as gods, with snouts of pigs, monkeys, dogs and elephants; a thing | so frightful and savage, that it is quite in keeping with the blindness of their worshippers. They call it *Daladaz Guey*,<sup>1</sup> which means 'house of the tooth', because there is on the very altar under seven golden caskets, each inside the other, the tooth of a buffalo, holding it for certain that it is of Buddum, which the Devil makes them believe by means of miracles, imaginary and ridiculous. Another tooth of Buddum the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança brought from Jafanapataõ, of which our historians make mention, and of the piety and nobility with which he acted, ordering it to be reduced to powder without accepting the great ransom which the King of Pegu offered for it; though they call it an ape's tooth. I will show later the grounds for what I say here. Within the precincts of the Palace there is an enclosure which occupies it almost entirely, and within are two other Pagodes, dark and ugly.

The name of that Kingdom without corruption is Candi-hure,<sup>2</sup> which translated means 'the Mountains above', for this word Candi even in the other languages of Hindustan means a way or narrow path between mountains, with which all those heights are crowned. The Metropolis has well-built houses and streets, cleaned and adorned. The buildings are of masonry, thatched with leaves of bamboo and rattan, good material for fire, though the Pagodes and the Palace of the King, they say, were covered with copper, silver and gold. In the City there will be 2500 inhabitants, because they are not obliged to live there except the Captains whom they call Araches and Modeliares, and even those who govern Provinces or arrayals reside in other places. The greatest part of the other inhabitants are merchants, Moors and Parauz from the Coast of India, who, to sell their goods, have there a large street, which serves them as a fair or *vazar*<sup>3</sup> as they call it therè. The Chingalas are more inclined to woods and love to live in the lands they plough and cultivate, which they call *paravenias*, and for this reason they have their houses far from one another, and the whole Kingdom is peopled, and this [Kingdom] of Candea better than the others of Ceylon,<sup>4</sup> by those who escaped from the lands conquered by us.

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *dalada* (tooth relic of Buddha), *gé*, house.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. Kande-uda- (rata), 'country-)on-the-hills.'

<sup>3</sup> Bazar.

<sup>4</sup> 'Especially in the time of the present King' Ajuda Ms.

The Hollanders held it a most ample and powerful Kingdom, giving it 14 Kings as vassals, but they are altogether mistaken. The soil is fertile, but as the mountains rise some two leagues P 47 amidst the clouds, it is always cold, and in the violent period | of wind and rain, it is almost unbearable. They have an abundance of fruit from the bounty of nature. All their care | and pleasure they place in arms, in which they constantly F 270 exercise themselves. Some say they have mines of gold and silver, but the Portuguese never saw any sign of them, and the saying that 'it is a state secret', I presume, is like what is said of all Spain, whence the Romans at first carried a great deal of these metals, as appears from the Holy Scriptures and from other Authors. They are regardless of life, brave, robust, light footed, and the continual practise of arms makes them so well disciplined in their own way, that its conquest may be compared with the rebellion of the United Provinces, though Ceylon is not capable of European discipline, and in what concerns arms, they imitated the Portuguese in everything. Though they lack other instruments of war in such abundance as in Europe, it is partly supplied by the ferocity of the elephants, a warfare ever horrible. They make use of artillery, well wrought of iron and metal, carbines [cravinas], muskets, many gingals (de forquilha) [carrying shot] of three and more ounces. They are most skilful in the use of arrows, because they do not make use of darts (setas) like the Persians and Moguls and therefore cause great damage and hurt. They use *zargunchos*<sup>1</sup> as javelins, or *brichis*<sup>2</sup>, a short spear, easier to handle in these woods, and in the fury and dash with which they attack, they do not yield to Europeans, though in the open field they are not steadfast. They deem it a sign of weakness to bear only defensive arms.

Beginning with the Dissâvas; those of Ançiapâtu and Pançiapâtu are the best lands which the king of Candea possesses, more inhabited, better situated, with better water and climate than the others, with few woods and many fields, through which the arrayal can march in ranks; and as they are on this side of the river Mauaueliganga near the mountain of Balanê, he who has a garrison there will be the master of them, or the inhabitants will be forced to abandon them, as they did at the time when we kept up a garrison there, which would not have happened, were we the masters of the

<sup>1</sup> Zarguncho, a throwing spear.

<sup>2</sup> 'Barachim' or 'brichi', a short throwing spear.

rest. Arciapātu means 500 villages, and Pançiapātu 400,<sup>1</sup> and though they are so many, the circuit is only 15 leagues. In our last days they were diminished by the war which consumed them altogether. They furnish 3600 lascarines.

The lands of Hurunūra and Hiatanūra<sup>2</sup> are also cool, in circuit 18 leagues beyond the same river, shaded by high and rugged mountains, one of which is the Rock which we already described. The names are not corrupted, and mean the 'lower City' and the 'upper City'. Let us pass now to the Vidānas.

| The Vidāna of Maturāta consists of a mountain of one <sup>F 28</sup> league and a half, which ends in the Principality of Uva, and of 50 villages within a circumference of 10 leagues. It is a rugged country, situated at the foot of the same mountain, not as cool as the highlands of Ceylon generally are, very <sup>P 48</sup> unhealthy, as its very name without corruption is | Marrapurata which means 'Land which kills'. Nevertheless it is abundant in rice, *tana*,<sup>3</sup> *varāgo*,<sup>4</sup> and *nachini*<sup>5</sup>: it enlists 3000 Lascarins.

The Vidāna of Vilaçem has a circumference of 30 leagues. The Portuguese corrupted the name, because its proper name is Velaçiaçay which means 'one hundred millions of fields', as when we say with some exaggeration one million, because though they are not so many, they are indeed numerous, divided into 42 villages, which commence at the mouth of the river, and only those of the middle, between 18 to 24, are unhealthy, though they are the coolest and the best shaded of all Ceylon; the remaining ones are well supplied with rice. The woods consist of mulberry trees, myrobalans cassia fistula, pomegranate, orange trees, which produce the best oranges of Ceylon, lemon trees, citron trees, though with remarkable difference of nature, the lemons and citrons of this district are poisonous, whilst in the other parts of Ceylon they are wholesome. They collect a great quantity of honey and of wax, without any other labour or bee hives save the trees and the rocks, and without the precautions which they take in Portugal to get the honey, for they smear themselves with some herbs, the smell of which drives away the bees, just as amongst us the smell of the wild mint, garden rosemary, rosemary and other herbs which husbandry has discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Rather the other way: Haraciypattuwa, the pattuwa of the 400 (captives) and Pançiyapattuwa, of the 500 (Gampaha Korale) cf. Cassie Chetty, Gaz. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Udunuwara, Yatinuwara.

<sup>3</sup> Tana, not identified. But see Knox. *Hist. Rel.* p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> 'Varago' see n. p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> 'Nachini' from Conc. *nātne* (Dal. II. 87) is kurakkan, *eleusine soracana*.

The inhabitants, to be free from war, pay the King a buffalo per day, a handful of wax, and two loads of oranges.

The Vidāna of Vintēna,<sup>1</sup> without corruption Vitienū, the meaning of which is 'land abundant in paddy' (*bate*)<sup>2</sup> or rice in the husk, lies within a circumference of 27 leagues and therein very high and barren mountains, with many cultivated fields scattered over 42 villages in the valleys and the mouth of the river of Candea which divides them, 18 on one side and 24 on the other; they are cool and pleasant, nevertheless it is a country better suited to wild animals than to men, and for this reason it is the usual exile of the criminals of Candea, who may escape death, but disease never. Let us pass on to the Principalities.

The lands of the Principality of Vua are the highest in Ceylon, rugged, unhealthy and badly shaded, and all those mountains are almost bare; | the houses are covered with a <sup>F 28v</sup> kind of grass which has some resemblance to flax, wherewith the Natives instead of thatching, cover them. In the depressions of the mountains there is much rice, lemons and oranges of good sort.<sup>3</sup> The people are good-natured and simple though they are more barbarous than the rest of the Chingala nation, but better lascarins than all the rest. The Prince lives in Badulē, which has to-day nothing of a City except that there can be erected on that spot a most capacious one, because around it 2000 *amanoes*<sup>4</sup> of paddy (*bate*) are sown, which makes 1100 moyos,<sup>5</sup> and this twice a year besides other lands in the neighbourhood equally fruitful. Its name should not be Vua, but Huverata which means 'high land'. <sup>P 49</sup> Some probably by mockery | call it Uure Rate, which means 'Land of pigs' with a little change in the letters. It gives a land rent of 4000 *pardaos*<sup>6</sup> only.

The lands of the Principality of Matâlê on the side bordering on the Seven Corlas are cool, excellent in situation and climate, but on the side of Triquilmâlê they are rugged and almost uninhabited. Their Lascarins, though more illustrious than those of Candea, are less brave, though they supplied 6600 Lascarins. This Principality takes its name from the

<sup>1</sup> Bintenna.

<sup>2</sup> Bate, rice in the husk. *bhāt* of the Indian language whence 'batta' is said to be derived.—Hob.-Job. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Casta cf. n. 2 p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> From Sin. *amuna*, 'a grain measure of five or six bushels'.—Carter.

<sup>5</sup> A Portuguese measure containing sixty alqueires.

<sup>6</sup> *Pardao* originally the *pratāpa* or pagoda. Then applied to various gold coins of about the same value. Finally a coin of account equal to 300 reis, also called *pardáo xeráfm*, its silver equivalent.—H. W. C.

town of Matâlê, the seat of its Prince, but so small, that it has less than forty houses. Like its Prince it was so ruined and deserted, that in a circuit of 65 leagues there were only a hundred villages, for its boundaries are ten [leagues] from Matâlê, one league from the river Mauaueliganga, as far as Cutiar and Triquilimalê, in which district there is a desert eighteen leagues long. The name Matâlê is not corrupted and means, 'My blood', in allusion to one of their fables. There is found in those lands areca, sapan, precious stones, and elephants, from which as well as for the taxes the Prince draws a limited income.

The Principality of Gampala contains the best lands which the Kingdom of Candea has, though few; such is the nature of human things. It consists of only one village or *concelho*, but so vast, that it is worth 50, having a circuit of nine leagues with a river which crosses it and waters nearly the whole of it making it very cool, abounding in paneyras,<sup>1</sup> roses, jasmynes, and other flowers of Ceylon. It is the usual pleasure resort of the Kings of Candea, who have near that river a pleasant orchard, abounding with all kinds of fruits and flowers of India. Its name should be Gamapâle | or Gama-<sup>F 23</sup> mandepâle, which means 'Village, why do you go away?' as if sighing for its freshness and because of its situation, being made up of valleys and hillocks watered by many springs and brooks besides the river. It enlists 700 lascarins and yields 2000 larins.

Bâtecalou lies in the opposite coast of Ceylon, 18 leagues from Triquilimalê to the South and 35 from Candea. The lands of this Principality are cool and the most abundant in victuals and Cattle in all Ceylon, to such an extent, that a cow costs thirty *reys*, and there is a like abundance of butter, fowls, and fish, which is also due to the fact that its inhabitants, the Macuaz, do not eat meat. Its proper name is Mandacalopo<sup>2</sup> which means 'Miry lake', because there is one of seven leagues in length, and in parts half a league broad; and the bottom, on the North side is so muddy, that if one sticks therein, he cannot come out unless he is pulled. Around it there are villages and palm groves very fresh, wherein live three Vaneas or Princes of whom we have already spoken, on separate territories. This lagoon communicates with the sea making the land between a peninsula. The entrance is more than one third of a league and the

<sup>1</sup> Not identified. The Ajuda Ms. has 'parreira', 'a wine that grows up against a wall', Vieyra.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. Madakalapuya, muddy-lagoon.

<sup>P 50</sup> depth, according to Joao Rodriguez de Sâ e Menezes,<sup>1</sup> is enough for ships of all sizes. Consult the Hollanders' Hydraulic map, which speaks with greater certainty than the first explorers. The Portuguese did not enter that port save in flat boats. This Principality has 34 leagues in circuit, 24 of which are well peopled, those of Tricouville very badly, because its inhabitants went over to the other parts of Batecalou, and very large fields became salterns. There is in this country better Xaya than in any other part of Ceylon, much wax, ivory, lemons and oranges and great fertility in rice, where cultivated. Twelve leagues from the port of Batecalou, and to the South stood that famous Pagode of Tricouili, which in Ceylon had a great cult. The right name was Tuncoule which means a 'three storied Pagode', or the 'Three pagodes', because in all of them there were altars and idols. It lasted till the time of the General D. Jeronimo de Azevedo who destroyed it and captured and killed the Ganezes, the persons dedicated to its service.

Paneua is the poorest Principality there is in Ceylon, because it is very dry land and the most lacking in food supplies in the whole Island. They make up for the lack of water by some wells, but it is only of one that the water is good. It consists of 18 villages lying | nearly all on the <sup>F 290</sup> sea coast. The ways are the best for the march of an arrayal, because it is open and plain country, in which ambushes cannot be laid and in which they can march in ranks, and not in single file, as in nearly every part of Ceylon. The inhabitants are very poor in goods and not less in understanding than in worship, for in all this district, which is 40 leagues in circumference, there is not a single Pagode. Nevertheless they cultivate some rice fields, *tana*, and *nachiriz*, and they have much honey, wax and ivory. They pay as tribute 500 larins, including in this amount thirty tusks of ivory, which they easily collect from the many elephants which breed in the country, and they pay also a good deal of honey.

The Principality of Cutiar within a circuit of 40 leagues has 19 villages, more peopled and better provided than those of Paneua, whence the inhabitants get a great quantity of areca, honey, wax and ivory; and they cultivate rice, *tana* and *nachiriz*. For the rest they are very much like those of Paneua, save for the port of Cutiar, through which the King of Candea gets the clothes, opium, saltpetre and lead, which

<sup>1</sup> (Batecalou) is the most capacious maritime port of the Island, into which a ship of India can enter laden, contrary to the opinion which formerly prevailed among the Portuguese who were ill informed about its depth' Engl. Trans. in J. XI. 566-7.

he needs. Two and a half leagues from this port, along the shore to the south, there is a village nearly in front of the Island of the Pigeons, called Tamâncaurê, where the best salt of India is found and very white, from water which, penetrating through the sands of the shore, enters into two salt pans in the months of July, August and September, which is summer in those parts. From the whole of Ceylon and particularly from the country of Maturê and Candea and from the more neighbouring lands, people go there in caravans and with oxen to get salt. When these lands belonged to us, P 51 we were getting six bazarucos<sup>1</sup> and two measures of rice for every ox load, and half of this for every man's load, and these salterns are never exhausted. If there is so much of it, the plan on which many put so great confidence in the war of Ceylon, namely, to seize the sea ports and force them to terms for want of salt, will fail so long as those lands are not in our hands.

## CHAPTER 9.

### OF THE ANCIENT PRINCIPALITY OF TRIQUILEMALÊ, AND OF OTHER INFORMATION ABOUT CEYLON

It remains to give a description of Triquilemalê, which means the 'Mountain of the three Pagodes' | It lies on the P 30 coast opposite to Columbo, 35 leagues southward from Jafanapataõ. Over that large harbour there juts out from the land into the sea a rock on which the Kings of Ceylon erected three Pagodes, two at the extremities of the hill overhanging the sea, and one in the middle and the highest point, which was the principal one and one of the most venerated in India, being worshipped by the Idolatrous navigators who descry it from the sea, and much frequented by a concourse of pagans from the whole [of India], so fanatical in their false devotion, that from the last Pagode, which stands on the rock over the sea, they throw themselves down in sacrifice to their Idols reaching the bottom in pieces. being persuaded that by that leap into Hell they are lifted up to Paradise. Constantino de Sâ de Noronha dismantled these

<sup>1</sup> Bazaruco. In the Sinhalese territories of the Portuguese, the currency system was:—

6 Bazarucos	=	1 silver fanam		
120 "	=	20 "	"	= 1 larim
360 "	=	60 "	"	= 3 " = 1 xerafim.—H. W. C.

Pagodes making use of their stones to build a fortalice to close that harbour to the Chingalâ; and as there was not much room for guns, it had only a very small garrison. The event of the destruction of this Pagode was found engraved on a stone, and being attested by the Ouvidor of Ceylon after it was translated by those most learned in the ancient characters of the Chingalas, it was sent to His Majesty and ran as follows:

(Manua Raja,<sup>1</sup> Emperor of this Lançave, erected this Pagode to the god Vidia-malmanda, in the era . . . . (according to the computation it comes to 1300 years before the coming of Christ). There will come a nation called Francos who will demolish it and there will be no King in this Island to rebuild it anew.)

This stone was placed on the gate of the fortalice, and there is no doubt that the Translator, by Francos, meant the Portuguese, for as the French in ages gone by were so well known in Syria, and from thence their name resounded all over Asia, that even now all Europeans are there called Franguiz,<sup>2</sup> as if all were French; and it is enough to be a white man, and not to wear a turban and *cabaya*,<sup>3</sup> to be given this name. I cannot explain who foretold this truth so many years ahead to an Idolatrous King, for though the dedication of a Pagode spells idolatry, to foretell so many years before a thing which depends on so many future acts P 52 of free will is Prophecy, of which we cannot know the author, because of the obscurity of the traditions of India. But though Constantino de Sâ de Noronha destroyed those Pagodes, their worship did not last beyond the times of General D. Nuno Alvrez Pereyra, when the last Ganezes and Jedacas<sup>4</sup> who continued it were beheaded. The city of Triquilemalê stood almost on an isthmus of that peninsula. In the district facing it from the Paneua to Apuleme is also found cinnamon.

<sup>1</sup> The Ajuda Mss. has Manica-Raja-Bau.

<sup>2</sup> From Pers. *farangi*, Frank, Anglo-India 'Firinghee'. Sin. *parangi*, Portuguese.

<sup>3</sup> This word, though of Asiatic origin, was perhaps introduced into India by the Portuguese, whose writers of the 16th century apply it to the surcoat or long tunic of muslin, which is one of the most common native garments of the better classes in India. The word seems to be one of those which the Portuguese had received in olden times from the Arabic (Kaba, a vesture)—Hob.-Job. 137.

<sup>4</sup> 'Jadaca' and 'jedaca', a word not found in other writers. It is probably the Sin. *Yakdessa*, devil-priest.



The harbour of Triquilemalê is the best in Ceylon and one of the best in the world, for opening between two headlands and between two islands distant one league and a half one from the other, it has a width of three leagues and forms inside into a bay nearly square of three leagues in diameter, which leads to another on the north nearly of equal size, called Bahia dos Arcos which, though in shape more irregular, is sheltered from all winds. In the one as well as in the other there are divers islands and divers creeks, capacious enough for many thousands of ships and depth for any kind of vessels, for in the first entrance it has 17, 16 and 15 fathoms, the same in the middle of the bay, and in the furthest, 6 or 5 fathoms, in the widest creek 2. The inner bay has an entrance of more than half a league with a depth of 16 fathoms, and in the inmost from 15 to 10 fathoms according to the soundings of the Hollander. Going along the opposite coast a distance of five leagues to the South, there is the harbour of Cutiar; and at a distance of nine leagues that of Apulême. This is a bay which has an entrance of one-third of a league, and within one league, where it is widest. In shape it is oval, and around it is full of hidden rocks, but in the middle there lies a channel of half a league, which at the entrance has a depth of six fathoms and within in the middle of the channel sailing towards South-west, as already pointed out half a league seaward, from this port southward as far as Batecalou the coast is somewhat clear and Northward as far as the port of Triquilemalê the whole coast for one league into the sea must be avoided, as it is shallow. These with that of Batecalou on the opposite coast, are the three Royal harbours of the Island, of which the Portuguese availed themselves little, because they lie in the midst of the most savage people of Ceylon, and because only a few of them [i.e., Portuguese] lived on that coast and for a very short time; besides all that district is not so healthy, which was not the case with Batecalou and the other ports in which we lived. These [ports] command the whole Gulf of Bengal, and in spite of these advantages the French too withdrew their squadron from the Bahia dos Arcos wherein they had fortified themselves and we do not yet know fully the reasons why they did so; and recently they were driven away by the Hollanders.

These lands of Triquilemalê had a Prince who came by his end in the reign of D. João King of Candea owing to a remarkable and amatory event; and they were so abundant in rice, that in two fields alone which are three leagues from the fortalice called Tambalagâma and Gantale they sowed in

<sup>1</sup> See Ceylon Antiquary V. 141 and sq.

those days in each of them 10,000 *amanôes* of *nele*, which corresponds to 4,000 moyos, and that twice a year. They are dedicated to the service of the Pagode, and after the Portuguese garrisoned that port, there lived in each of them 15 to 20 farmers, for the rest left for Cutiar. There is in those woods a great deal of wild aloes<sup>1</sup> (*aguila*) and ebony and some trees, the leaves of which fall on the ground, and when they are dry turn into butterflies, which happens only in winter, and it will not seem a strange thing in Philosophy to one who knows that many other animalculæ spring from putridion, and who sees often in these countries during the storms of April and May that when the drops of water fall on the ground, there forthwith jump out toads formed and living, because the moisture of the water together with the heat of the dust produce such proximate dispositions as to cause these effects.

These are the lands, Dissâvas, Vidanâs, and Principalities of the Kingdom of Candea, from which also, as from the lowlands are obtained sapan, wax, and elephants. In almost the whole of this Kingdom are found precious stones every year, though from the same place only every twelfth year; but these mines are specially found in the Principality of Uva, the Author of nature compensating by these treasures for the great sterility of those mountains. They are also obtained for the King throughout the summer from three places in the river Mavaueiliganga, for the other parts of the river are for all, and any one may dive therein; and if he [the King] were to sell his gems, he would be not a little rich, for what he gets from the taxes of the lands is a very poor sum for a King. Those of Candea do not yield more than 2877 xerafins and one larim (the xerafin is equal to three tostoens,<sup>2</sup> and has three larins), and what he gets from sapan, areca, wax, and elephants, amounts to 200,000 xerafins; but as the Lascarins are obliged to serve in war for the *parauenias* on which they live, it is very easy for him to wage war. In the territory of Candea there enlist 28,000 men, 12,000 in those of Uva, who are called 'gente da terra'<sup>3</sup>, all of bow and arrow; and they have this privilege, that they are not obliged to fight save within the districts of the Kingdom of Candea and of the Principalities of Uva and Matalê, even though the King himself should go out to distant lands, as happened in the siege which on the death of Constantino

<sup>1</sup> Called also 'Eagle-word', (*aguila*) q. v.—Hob.-Job.

<sup>2</sup> Tostão, a Portuguese coin worth 100 reis.

<sup>3</sup> People of the country.

de Sâ de Noronha he laid to Columbo, for thinking that he would carry the City, though the people of the lowlands accompanied him, he ordered to make a proclamation, that if any wished to take part in the pillage of Columbo, whatever he took would be his, and only a fifth would be for the King, yet not a single one of those privileged people is known to have come down, not to derogate from their privilege. | In the other lands there enlist 990 Lascarins, and the King has besides 400 men of his guard, most of whom are fugitives and Badagas from the other coast, to whom every year he gives three *tupitiz*, a turban, a cap and two measures <sup>P 310</sup> of rice per day, which likewise | costs him no money, for he has reserved for his household the villages of little Gampala, Diguiliguê, Puscâma Alelua and Naranuyta; and just as he distributed the last among the rebels of the time of Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, likewise after the last fall of Columbo, he accommodated in the others the men who remained in his service.

From this may be seen the difference there is between giving battle to the Candiôt within the highlands and out of them, because within the hills there gather to him 40,000 men, and out of them, unless the people from the lands subject to the King of Portugal join him he has only 10,200; and though those of the lowlands ever rose against us, whenever they saw us without an arrayal, and though the Portuguese were quite aware of this, they never managed the war in the way demanded by these circumstances, especially after the Chingalas learnt to form squadrons, to set up war engines, and to handle well the spear and firelock; for at all times they knew well how to follow up victory, whenever they perceived there was disorder or weakness, just as they thought little of running away, when it served their purpose.

We have given sufficient information about the inhabitants and the countries of Ceylon, though I do not fail to admit that there are many mistakes in this description; but as I never went to the country nor found other clearer and more detailed information, it was impossible for me to remedy that defect. In its Southern and Western parts, Ceylon is the coolest, the most pleasant, and has the best climates of all the lands we inhabited in the East, and the temperateness of the climate is admirable, because neither the cold in winter nor the heat of summer is troublesome compared with other countries; nor will there easily be found in the whole universe an Island or Kingdom of that

size in which are found the wealth and commodities of the Island of Ceylon, for besides the many things common with other countries, it has so many peculiarities, that one has never heard tell of another Kingdom of the kind so productive, and if it should fall entirely into the hands of an industrious and valorous nation, it would become the treasure of the East. The lowland is divided into hills and dales but the interior of the Island is covered with high mountain ranges. All the land that can be cultivated yields two crops at different seasons each year, and in the fields of Valauê *nele* is | reaped <sup>P 32</sup> every day, for it is sown every day throughout the year, and where there are workmen they open large tracts of arable land in the woods. It is a country altogether very fruitful in rice, wheresoever tillage is not wanting, and without fresh tillage there grow in the forests lemons of all sorts, citrons, limes, oranges, pommelos,<sup>1</sup> and two kinds of large oranges, sugarcanes, of which a plenteous crop can be obtained, as there is an abundance of wood for the engines, Indian figs<sup>2</sup> jamboo, jak, mangos, coconuts, cashew, guvava (goyava), great plenty of areca, and other wild but very tasty fruit, <sup>P 55</sup> dates<sup>3</sup> in abundance without | cultivation; and these enumerated are no small proof that formerly all those lands were cultivated. In them thrive very good figs and grapes of Portugal, and the trees are continually in bloom and in flower and fruit, being constantly watered by the clouds. There is plenty of cotton, but little use is made of it, though so little is the labour wherewith these can be woven into cloth finer than what is woven from our flax of Europe, and though this is one of the greatest commodities of Asia for cleanness and the uses of human life, and one of the three herbs, or more properly shrubs which enrich it.

A wonderful thing is the abundance and variety of the plants as different in their qualities and virtues as in their shapes, the green colour varying to such an extent, that under this generic term all can be distinguished, some wholesome, others poisonous, some heaty, others cooling, some of sweet, others of bad smell, many which serve for food and many for delicacies, while the pasturage for cattle is abundant, because the land is ever watered by two winters, many rivers,

<sup>1</sup> 'Zamboas,' (Skt. *Jambula*) Sin. *jambola* and Anglo-Indian 'Pom-melo', also called 'shaddock' after Captain Shaddock who first brought the plant from the East Indies. *Citrus decumana*.

<sup>2</sup> Indian figs are plantains.

<sup>3</sup> 'Tamara', whence tamarind (tamar-i-Hind, date of India).

many brooks, rivulets and springs. Many of these herbs are of the same kind as those of Europe, and many which do not grow there, some of which excel in scent the best that our climes produce; for it has been noticed, that owing to the heat of these countries, the plants and fruits dry up more, and the spices that are taken to Europe have there a stronger scent and virtue, while the herbs that are brought thence for the most part lose their virtue and scent. There is little hemp, because only a little of it is cultivated. Those who are well acquainted with that Island think that neither Dioscorides,<sup>1</sup> nor any one of the other observers of these kinds, mentions any herb that is not found in Ceylon, and that it is for this reason that the Heathen of India and the natives call it Lancaue, which, according to an interpretation different from the one already given, means 'Holy and sweetsmelling World', and that the same is conveyed by the word 'Celaō', which means joy, though the Portuguese by adding a *y* call it 'Caylao', and Father Lucena in the Life of St. Francis Xavier according to other information | gives it a different <sup>P 320</sup> derivation.

There are plenty of cattle as there is plenty of pasture, and there could have been far more, if they had been able to cultivate the whole Island in peace; and consequently there is plenty of butter and cream and other products of the milk of cows and buffalos. The number of big game; of deer and stag, &c., is incredible. There are herds of deer amounting to 10,000 head, and there are many different species of animals in this Asia and in Ceylon which will be better understood from this instance. In the county of Mangul-Corla there is a village called Curūgāma,<sup>2</sup> the inhabitants of which are obliged to supply ropes for the elephants that are hunted, and when the time appointed for them to pay that tax is at hand, about a hundred men go into the thickets of Mangul-Corla and in fifteen days they kill from <sup>P 56</sup> 5,000 to 6,000 stags and deer, from the hide of which they make the ropes; for | only these are used for that purpose. The wild beasts are also numerous, tigers, bears, antas, bulls, wild-boars, porcupines and other lesser ones like hares, rabbits, comadrejas,<sup>3</sup> civet cats, and different kinds of monkeys, some white as snow.

<sup>1</sup> Dioscorides Pedacius: Treatise on Materia Medica.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *kūruwa*, elephant department.

<sup>3</sup> Not identified.

## CHAPTER 10.

## THE SAME SUBJECT, CONTINUED

Ceylon breeds elephants in such abundance, that they are met with in herds of two hundred and three hundred, and they are the noblest and of the best instinct of all in Asia and Africa, though in size they are inferior, and in tusks they are not equal, to the Africans, among whom was found a tusk of half a bahar, which is equal to two quintals. In daring in war, however, they excel all others who acknowledge this superiority in them by the fear which they show of them, though the Chingalas divide them into ten kinds, one better than the other, and the best of all they call *Valaz nambaz* which means 'Servants of the Palace'.<sup>1</sup> The females have no tusks protruding out of the mouth and are called *Aleaz*, and there are also inferior kinds of males who have similar tusks; and leaving aside other things which are already well known everywhere, it may be said that this animal in its wild state is the greatest enemy of mankind and similar to the Rhinoceros, for other animals kill men either to defend themselves or to feed on their flesh, like the Lion, the Tiger, and the Bear, but the Elephant | and the Rhinoceros do so <sup>P 33</sup> merely out of hatred, the Rhinoceros with such pertinacity, that if a man in his flight mounts a tree and she cannot uproot it, she remains there at the foot of the tree till she catches him. The wild elephant without being provoked runs after a man, and while in a straight line with speed owing to its long strides, and on overtaking him it either tramples him, leaving him, crushed and dead, or with its trunk it throws him into the air and above the trees, a horrible spectacle, and when it sees he is dead, it goes away quite pleased with its work. Though the *Aleas* have no tusks projecting out of the mouth, they are still more formidable, especially if provoked. Once there was in Calāne an *Alea* which had in her body more than ten pounds of bullets, because as (the elephant) is so stout a beast only the ball of a musket and of the gingal (forquilha) can ordinarily kill it. She was lame in one foot and was so bent on killing people, that in one day she killed three, and she had broken many arms and legs. At night she used to station herself on the roads to make her assaults, and was always going from one village to another to wreak vengeance.

<sup>1</sup> Valaz-Nambas, probably *Vasala*, palace, and *namba*., young animal.

For this reason the Chingala villagers build their houses close to strong and high trees with wooden ladders, and on the tree they prepare another wooden house, wherein they take refuge with their wives and children, when they see an elephant or *Alea*, and from there they shout and throw fire brands at the beast till it goes away. Some are so furious, that if they find nobody in the house with their trunks and feet they destroy everything that happens to be there. In Panaturé another *Alea* in less than a month destroyed more than three hundred palm trees, because the young leaf (the most tender sprout of its pith) is its favourite food, till someone sent it an arrow into the most prominent part of its head where the male is said to have its testicles, and killed it. The pity is that he did so at the risk of his own life because of the Royal prohibition, as if in this and like cases such could be the mind of the King. Of another it is related that in the same country it used to put its trunk through the thatch of roofs at night and take away sacks full of rice and go to the jungle to eat it, till at last an old woman, cleverer than the beast, indignant at these thefts, prepared a bowl of boiling oil, and the animal putting its trunk therein was so scalded, that it ran away roaring into the jungle, where it died of hunger, for lack of the only hand which ministered to its wants. From this circumstance many learned to keep a fire on the trees and to boil pots of tar which they poured on them, and they ran madly away. These instances may be added to the many others that are related about the instinct and the ferocity of these animals.

In size the Africans and also those of this Industan are larger; but this is not the largest animal on earth, for in Abyssinia or Higher Ethiopia there is an animal called Giratachem . . . less fleshy, but with such a bony frame, that the largest Elephant can pass under its belly. It has very high forelegs, the neck very long, and it eats the leaves of the tallest trees. The manner in which Elephants are hunted in Ceylon is very different from that in use among the Caffirs, [who are] in every way brutal. In the four-corlas where they most abound, the General orders the Vedor da fazenda<sup>1</sup> to hold a hunt. Then he informs the Vidâna who assembles the men under his jurisdiction on such and such mountains and woods with axes and scythes and arms, and the Vidânas and other officers fell large trees and make a very strong stockade, triangular in shape, which will have an entrance of a quarter of a league. They go beating the forests in small parties, also triangular in form; they shout, discharge

<sup>1</sup> Controller of Revenue.

muskets and arrows, till they are driven into the stockade, a sight worth seeing, because it looks like a pitched battle, and such is the noise, that the hills and dales resound with it, not without danger from the one and the other bullets, when they get closer and press them hard, till they kraal them (encurralando) in small parties in the narrower part of the triangle; and when they can no longer turn back, beams are laid crosswise so as to imprison them. There they bind them with cords made of deer skin, and there are hunts wherein they capture a dozen and many more. Then the Coranacas<sup>1</sup> (the men whose business is to tame and manage them) begin to noose them, each between four tame *Aleas*, and in this way little by little they tame them. There was in Maluâna a large stable in the charge of a Vidâna appointed by the Viceroy, who drew annually 400 cruzadoes<sup>2</sup> from the revenues of the four villages inhabited by the people of this service. They are sold by cubits (covados) measured at the hip, 1,000 pardaos per cubit, and there are Elephants of three and a half cubits. Other things that could be said about those animals are already well known in Europe.

There are other animals in the mountains of Uva, and we do not know whether they are found in other parts of the World, which they call Queras.<sup>3</sup> They are as large as two buffaloes and have the same colour, with large horns pointed backwards to their neck, and the hoofs of their forelegs and hind legs are round like those of horses. They are naturally mild, but if they happen to be provoked and they have to defend themselves, they put out of their mouths a tongue of more than a cubit [in length] on which are seen thorns of flesh half a finger long wherewith they attack in such a manner, that they kill as if with an iron threshing flail.

Many are the birds, fowls, ducks, geese, peacocks, wild ducks, herons of different shapes, and different kinds of doves, because in all this Industan and in Ceylon there are those we call Seyxinhas,<sup>4</sup> a kind of pigeon of the tail of which they make a kind of fan which they turn over their heads,

<sup>1</sup> This word is used by Portuguese and Dutch writers to mean the driver of an elephant, Anglo-India 'Mahout'. The word 'Cornaca' is said to be derived from Kuruve-nayaka.—Hob.-Job. Dalg. cf. Skt. *karnikîn*, animal with long ears, elephant

<sup>2</sup> Cruzado, a gold coin of Portugal, once worth 400 reis, later struck in silver. In Q. used for a sum of 400 reis.—H. W. C.

<sup>3</sup> Queras, the Sinhalese *gavdrâ*, the bos gaurus or Indian bison, now extinct in Ceylon. It is last mentioned in 1812 (D'Oyly's diary p. 97) The name survives in such place-names as Gavara-Eliya, &c.—H. W. C.

<sup>4</sup> Diminutive of 'seixa', which the dictionary explains as a bird similar to the goose

and other larger ones which they call Ritaz doves; in the forests two kinds of green doves, the Ringdoves and other smaller ones. There are likewise in those countries two kinds of turtle doves, those common in Portugal and another large and whiter, partridges, quails, woodcocks, parrots, blackbirds (sayros) and other divers species of singing birds and birds of prey. It has however been remarked that the Lories,<sup>1</sup> passing from Malūco windward of Ceylon, live in Goa and on all this coast, but if they happen to pass on the Leeward side to the coast of Choromandel and Bengāla, they die forthwith; and as this bird feeds on the flowers of the clove and smells of it, it is a remarkable thing, it would seem, that the smell of cinnamon kills it.

In the fields there is much *xaya*, in the forests the renowned cinnamon in great abundance and in quality the very best in the known World, for it is also found in Malavar and Birna, an island of the Archipelago; those who cultivate it in these lands of Goa find the same scent, though without the perfection of that Island. It is the bark of a tree resembling the Pomegranate (Romeyra), which being barked partly by the heat of the Sun and partly by industry is taken and dried in the Sun, and it is generally called *canēla*,<sup>2</sup> because it is shaped like a gutter, but the Chingalas call it *Curdo*,<sup>3</sup> the Malays *Caysman*, the Malavarians, *Camea*, the Arabs *Quirza*, the Persians *Darquina*,<sup>4</sup> the Latins *Cinnamomum* or *Cassia*. This is the spice that made the Island of Ceylon famous. In three years the trees produce a new bark, and if they were cultivated, they would be incredibly abundant. Formerly there was plenty in the neighbourhood P 59 of Columbo, but of late the greatest quantity is taken from Mabada. Pepper is plentiful and excellent, but it is common to many countries of these two Indies. The plant like the ivy grows entwined on other trees and climbing and enveloping their trunk and branches supports itself with few leaves. The pepper grows more like the parts of a bunch of grapes [escadias de Uvas] rather than as a [whole] bunch, and is green when it ripens and dries. It is picked from the middle of January, and the Natives alone know by experience the difference between the plant which yields black Pepper

<sup>1</sup> Nore, from Malay *nūri*, a parrot, Anglice, Lory 'They are called in the vernacular by a name signifying 'five coloured parrots,' Can. *panchavarna-gini*'—Hob. Job. 521.

<sup>2</sup> Diminutive of 'cana'

<sup>3</sup> Sin. *Kurundu*.

<sup>4</sup> Pers *dār-chīnī* 'ghina-stick'.

[and the one that yields] white, which is less useful. There is also what they call Long-pepper, which is but Guineá P 340 pepper (*Pimentoës pequenos*): plenty of Sapan, cardamom, ginger, saffron very different from that of Europe and of Casmir, corriander and other spices known in Europe; and all vegetables thrive beautifully in Ceylon.

In the woods there are myrobalans, purging cassia and scented wood like aloes, and white sandal. There is ebony and another which they call ivory, much pitch, tar, lac, immense forests, and though they say that owing to the fault of the country the wood is not so durable as in other parts, they say that in some forests there are teak, punas<sup>1</sup>, angelins<sup>2</sup> and other trees serviceable for buildings on land and for baxeys of any size, and that from 15 to 20 of large size could be made every year; and the Portuguese used to make many pinnaces in Ceylon, because as there are so many rivers that flow into the sea, it is very easy to bring down timber even from the most remote highlands either singly or in rafts, and there are so many and such high forests, that the supply will never be exhausted.

The palms are there very fruitful, of coconuts and *sura*. There are many areca-groves even in the highest part of Ceylon, from which a great deal of areca is obtained. The tree is straight like the coconut, but much thinner. Ceylon is peculiarly privileged and is rich and fruitful in jak trees, and because it produces very large fruits, it grows only from the trunk and branches which are capable of bearing them. We have not heard tell of any tree in the known World which yields such large fruits, for there are jak fruits which are enough to load a man. The rind is rough and has the hardness necessary to bear such a weight. Inside it is divided into compartments containing pods, each with its stone, in size proportionate to the fruit in which it grows. The tree is large, the wood is reddish, resembling the cherry of Portugal, hard, durable, and excellent for building. In Ceylon fruits grow also from the roots and they and the other fruits of trees are the principal sustenance of the Natives.

In the rivers there are large alligators, in the jungles most fierce snakes, and the leeches are troublesome in a country where it rains every month. In the mountains and rivers there is very fine white crystal, white marble, and plenty of precious stones, like sapphires, amethysts, topazes, hyacinths, chrysolites, cat's eyes and especially rubies by no P 60

<sup>1</sup> Punas, *Calophyllum inophyllum*.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *anjili-maram* (*artocarpus hirsuta*), Anglo-Indian "Angely-word" used for shipbuilding and house building.

means inferior to those of Pegu. They say that diamonds are also found in Ceylon, but it is a precious stone which is peculiar to the Kingdom of Golconda | and not to Ceylon <sup>P 35</sup> as the celebrated Lope dela Vega Carpio thought. In the sea from Calapitim to Manar and from the shoals of Chilaõ to Tuticorin there was plenty of seed-pearls and better pearls than those of Aynaõ, Baharem and Suaquem, though those of Baharem are ordinarily larger in size and there, they say, was found one called 'orphan' which was kept at Madrid with seven other boxes of them belonging to the treasures of Portugal, some as large as partridges eggs, that one [the orphan] in shape like a small gourd and the bottom part of the size of an egg. They are formed in the bottom of the sea in certain oysters which the natives call *chipo*,<sup>1</sup> but either in chastisement of the cupidity and violences committed on the Parava fishermen, or for some other divine disposition, they were covered under the sand and were lost at one time, and some years afterwards they were discovered, but were again hidden in such a manner, that we do not think that in these times there can be any considerable fishery. As a protection against pirates the fishery was conducted in the presence of some ships of war, and diving they brought up the *chijos*, which after rotting on shore displayed their treasure. In these rivers of Goa also are found some seed-pearls in the oysters taken from them, but they are neither so clear nor are they generally turned to profit, because as they are so few they are often found by chance after they are cooked and have lost their value. There is also in the sea black and white coral and some amber. There is much fish and good soles, salmon, *curvinae*, bonitas, St. Peter's fish, sharks, good seer, *pampanos*, *bicudos*, sardines, mackerels, *talapetes* of good repute resembling the tunny, many and good *pescadas*, and many other sorts, much shell fish, lobsters, shrimps, crabs, oysters, limpets, mussels, *sapateiras* and the like. Finally Ceylon has also mines of sulphur, lead, copper, and much iron, and some think there is gold also.

With all these commodities the inhabitants live long, and only here do the Portuguese enjoy good health, and there were soldiers who prided themselves on being able to march fourteen leagues a day. They were prolific, a matter of great importance for the establishment of a State, of which the Hollanders cannot boast, for among them rare was a son who, being born in India, reached the twenty-fifth year, a disillusion which God sent them, lest they think that these countries

<sup>1</sup> *Chipo*, Tam. *shippi*, oyster.

were for them. And if we had lived there in peace, the number born would perhaps have been greater, and India could have dispensed with reinforcements from Portugal. The Portuguese held the greatest and best portion of that Island, and though the whole of it is not the Paradise on earth as some writers said with exaggeration, and there is no Kingdom which has not its defects, yet all this is a greatness so singular, | <sup>P 350</sup> that there is not known in the World any other country equal to it in every respect, as we shall show better later on in respect both of climate for health and sustenance <sup>P 351</sup> for life | and even in delicacies for enjoyment. They do not speak of wheat nor of silk, but it seems impossible that wheat would not grow in the high and cool lands if cultivated as in the rest of India; and silk also if grown, as it is peculiar to these climates.

## CHAPTER 11.

### OF THE POLITY OF THE CHINGALAS [IN PARTICULAR] AND IN GENERAL OF THE HEATHEN OF THIS HINDUSTAN

Although we have already touched on this matter, it seems convenient to give some more information of what is common to all this heathendom and what is peculiar to Ceylon, as well about their several customs as of the profanity of their false Religion; but as it is my intention to refute it in a Latin work,<sup>1</sup> we shall not be long here specially in what concerns the sect of the Vedaos which is that of the Bragmanes, of all the most absurd; meanwhile some information may be obtained from Vol. II. of the 'Asia' of Manuel de Faria e Souza, for it is not convenient to mention its absurdities without refuting them at the same time. Though some writers confuse the Vedaõ with the Sect of Buddum, Foe<sup>2</sup> or Xaca<sup>3</sup> (for he has all these names in different nations), they are certainly distinct, and both are received among all the nations of further India beyond Ceylon and the Ganges and in the Asiatic Tartary. But as nothing can be said about their political customs without touching on the diversity

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Fo or Foe, is said to represent in Chinese the first syllable of the name Buddha. 'Fo is pronounced with a *t* at the end, and *f* is rather a labial than a spirant and is formed by applying the lower lip to the upper teeth so that a Frenchman following only his ear, might as well write it *Both*'—Michel 'Choix de Poesies Orientale', III.

<sup>3</sup> This represents the Japanese for Sákya.

of their castes, nor of these without speaking of Brâmâ, nor of him without touching the principle of their false Trinity, one must know that in all this East there is no people who deny that there is a God; but admitting that there is one, no one knows what he is, which confirms [the opinion] that the knowledge of the existence of God is an innate Notion and a truth which God impressed on our souls when they were created, because as such is the common opinion of the known World and of the barbarians who are not troubled at all by considerations about their beginning and their end, it is a great proof that this Notion is innate and one of the first which God infuses into our souls about which Philosophers treat at length and we in its proper place.

[When these heathen come to explain what God is, then is seen the weakness of the human mind, especially when it is obscured by the vices of a nature corrupted and enfeebled by sensual appetites. Leaving for another work<sup>1</sup> the many fables which they believe and speaking only of those with which we are now concerned, they say in their Veda's that there was a woman named Paracxatî (which means a most excellent and superior Power) who had three sons and to the first, who had five heads, she gave the name of Brumâ, | which means science, and to him she gave the sole power to create all things visible and invisible; the second she called Vixnu and gave him power to preserve all things created by his brother: To the third, who also had five heads, she gave the name Rutren, and gave him power to destroy and annihilate all things which his Brothers create and preserve; and the Mother herself married these three sons. Here dissention begins: some say that the Mother Paracxatî is the first cause and true God, others that it is only Braumâ, others only Vixnu; others only Rutren; others that the three together constitute the first cause and the true God; and these same people confessing that these are but men, say that neither any one of them nor all three together were gods, but that he (God) is called Paramâ Braumâ and that besides him there are 330 millions of gods.

To leave out the rest, they imagine that Brumâ, the eldest son of Paracxatî, was born out of the navel of Vixnu, his younger brother, (to such an extent does the Devil pervert their minds) and that from the face of Brumâ were born the Bragmanes, who are the Authors of all these stories and contradictions. And having assigned this origin to themselves, they expressly say that they are Brumâ himself,

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

out of whose shoulders they hold were born the Rajus, from the thighs the Camotins,<sup>1</sup> and lastly the Xutres<sup>2</sup> from the feet. These are the common people divided into many castes; the others in the aforesaid order excel in nobility. And as regards the polity and the manners which they observe among themselves, as they never saw any other World and are the children of pride itself, their first error is to think that they alone in the world observe and maintain the art of government, cleanliness and propriety, and that all the other nations are barbarous, low and wanting in cleanliness and propriety, especially Europeans; for all their nobility is grounded on this fabulous birth and on what they eat, and all cleanliness and propriety on endless ablutions. Those who differ from them in what they eat are the lowest, and those who do not wash as they do are neither clean nor proper, and without any other ornament save an *encacho*<sup>3</sup> or piece of cloth wherewith they hide the nakedness of nature, every one of them thinks he can surpass | a Heliogabalus<sup>4</sup> P 360 in elegance; and with no more cleanliness than that of the two greater natural orifices of the body, about which they are very particular, though unclean with regard to the rest, [they think] that they can compare with the ermine.<sup>5</sup>

Their modes of courtesy are five. The first, raising both hands above the head they fall headlong on the ground, and in this way they adore their gods and show reverence to their spiritual teachers, to their saniazes,<sup>6</sup> who in this Industan are their Religious, in Ceylon Ganezes; and they do the same to their Kings and great Princes. And this is general in almost all other castes, the Bragmanes prostrate themselves on the ground only before their Gods, teachers, [who are] always Bragmanes, and to the Religious also of the same caste.

P 63 | The Second manner of courtesy is to raise the hands above the head, which is done by the common people to Governors, Generals, and to Ministers of the Kings and Princes. The Bragmanes do the same to the Kings, to which the latter at once reply by the same courtesy, and some [even] do it first.

<sup>1</sup> Camotim is the name of an office. The author evidently meant Comati (*komati*, Tel. and Can.) merchant, one of the four castes.

<sup>2</sup> Sudras.

<sup>3</sup> Encacho from *cacha*, 'span cloth'.

<sup>4</sup> Heliogabalus or Elagabalus, the Syro-Phoenician Sun-god.

<sup>5</sup> The white fur of the ermine was an emblem of purity.

<sup>6</sup> Skt. *Sanyasin*, one who has renounced (i.e., all earthly concerns), an ascetic.



When one of these Bragmanes call on some man to pay him a visit, without making any courtesy, he sits down and they address him as Lordship, Excellency, and often Highness, and he goes away quite pleased without any further courtesy than when he entered.

The Third way is to raise both hands to the breast, a courtesy which equals and friends observe among themselves, afterwards embracing each other.

The Fourth [consists] in showing the palms of both hands joined, and this courtesy is used by the learned and the Religious to the Lords and Princes, when at the same time they make one or other of the three courtesies described above.

The Fifth way is to show only the palm of the right hand, a courtesy which the superiors make to the inferiors.

In the caste called Xutrez, the lowest of the four castes mentioned, to which now belong all the heathen Kings and Princes of this Industan (except a few Rajûs who still maintain themselves within the limits of the Mogôla Monarchy at the foot of Mount Caucasus), there are some families which they call Vanangamori, who make no courtesy to god or man, though they be found in Palaces and temples, and if they are asked why, they reply : That such is the glory of their families. These same courtesies are in use among the Chingalas, [and] though they do not pretend to be born out of any part of the Brumâ's body, yet their princes consider themselves of the caste of the Sun, as was said already.

| As for the care of the body on which they pride themselves <sup>F 37</sup> so much, the Princes and other rich folk are not arrayed in any garb save the following. They bind their hair with a *rumal*, of which we have already spoken, a piece of white cotton cloth, with red borders, tied at the waist, which reaches to the knees, and above it they roll a sort of white sheet, each caste in a different way. On the toes, those who can afford, wear rings of silver or gold. The little boys also wear a *chorca*<sup>1</sup> of gold or silver with a chain of some metal at the waist, and the rest of their garb, up to seven years, is that of Innocence. Some great Lords and among us the Banian<sup>2</sup> merchants wear a turban on the head with *cabayas* and some very narrow drawers down to the ankles [which is] the dress also of the Moors, men and women, with some little difference; and

<sup>1</sup> Probably *chakram* q. v. p. 54 n. 1

<sup>2</sup> Baneanes (*Vāṇiya*, Skt. *vanij*, merchant) a term applied to Hindu traders, especially to those of the Province of Guzarat. Anglo-Ind. Bunya'.

with another cloth on one shoulder, with shoes of red leather or of velvet according to their means; and when they enter another's house or speak to some respectable person, outside our lands they take off their shoes; because the contrary is a gross discourtesy; and it is likewise so to speak with uncovered head, except [in the case of] | Saniazes and the Penitents whom they call Tavazis,<sup>1</sup> and the Bragmanes and other castes up to 18 years, because up to that age men do not grow their hair nor wear turbans, but grow a small knot on the top of the head which they call *Xenây*.<sup>2</sup>

Such is the dress of the Lords and nobles, for the soldiers, farmers and other common folk, have no other clothing save a cloth which they wrap on their head and a small bit of cord round the loins from which hangs a piece of cloth, one palm broad and a cubit in length, the end of which is tied to the same cord covering their natural nakedness. Many of them, however, wear nothing at all on their heads, and among Lascarins it is more common to wear very short breeches, and in this garb they think they can walk with dignity through the noblest quarters. Those who are able, wear a sheet wrapped round the waist which at night serves them for a coverlet, the ground serving for a mattress, a stone, a piece of wood or else one of their own arms, for a pillow, and what in Europe is held for an extraordinary penance is in these countries the ordinary mode of life; and this which is usual among others is also so among the Chingalas.

The dress of the women is not dissimilar. Up to twelve years they grow some small locks and with the hair itself without other ornament they make a [sort of] roll which falls on the left side, and unless they are Widows, they wear what jewels they can on their breasts, the richest and baniana women [wear] on their arms and their feet [jewels] of ivory, glass, silver or gold. They have ear lobes so large, as we said of the Chingala women, that they reach the shoulders, [The girls], more even than the boys, wear the garb of innocence | up to the ninth or tenth year. Thenceforth the common <sup>F 370</sup> [women] folk wear a piece of cloth, white, red, or striped, twelve cubits of the hand in length and two in breadth, half of which they gird round the waist and the other half above the shoulders, when they go to work, and when they wish to compose themselves, over the head, though some castes make of that cloth a sort of breeches; and very different are the ways in which they adjust that cloth, and as they are

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Tāpasa*, one who practices religious austerities.

<sup>2</sup> An Indo-Portuguese word for the hair-knots, Sin. *konde*.



very poor, they have too few to change, and they generally go about as tidy as a dish cloth. Other castes like the Baniana women make a sort of petticoat out of silk cloth, and add a shawl which is a doublet in front, and in public they cover their back with another piece of silk, because all their finery consists in the many and costly Jewels, though [they are made] with so little art, that they make a necklace of bored Venetians<sup>1</sup> just as they came out of the mint. The native Christians among us who have means have improved these dresses in great part.

There is not in Further or Hither India except in China any magnificent storied edifice or other dwellings houses. But there are Pagodes for the most part excavated out of the rocks themselves at tyrannical cost, dark, and the architecture is almost always irregular and the work without a principle. Some palaces are of stone | or of sun-dried bricks (adobes) with little art, and at most of one single story, though rambling. The other houses have walls of mud, and some interwoven with wood and covered with thatch without a single nail. The floor smeared with cow-dung, and this is the bed and mattress of all the common people, and in the case of the richest a mat or coarse blanket. The Moorish Princes in Mogol and in Persia have better edifices and some large mosques. The city of Aspao, the Capital of Persia, is not without sumptuousness and in the main Streets all the edifices are supported on arches, abutments, or columns, but of only one story and with narrow windows. The same can be seen in Agra, the Court of the Mogol Kings, though the present [King] transferred the Court to Vdeli,<sup>2</sup> whence they took the name, because it was their first conquest, calling themselves Vdeli Pathuâ<sup>3</sup> which means Great King of Vdeli; and what is said of the other nations applies to the Chingalas also.

In the manner and matter of food consists all their nobility, and the greatest infamy among them is to depart from that style, [which is] the only reason why they speak against Europeans, though they admit their superiority in other things, specially in the case of those who do not work with their hands, because all workmen among them are looked upon as low people. Their [dining] tables are nothing

<sup>1</sup> Venezeanos. The Venesion 'sequin' or 'ducat.' See Venezianos de Figura.—H. W. C.

<sup>2</sup> Delhi.

<sup>3</sup> ? Pādishūh, emperor, the Great Mogul.

else but the ground, even | in the case of Kings and Sovereign Princes; and they do not use chairs or any other kind of European furniture. The Kings and grandees sit down on a fine cloth laid on the floor, which is first sprinkled with liquid cow-dung and wiped with a piece of cloth, and without this ceremony no respectable pagan will eat. Then they place before him a large enamelled gold plate with a saucer of the same kind, which must not touch the cloth on which they sit. Then there are brought from the kitchen some porringers of silver of the same shape as the earthen pots in which they cook their food. They place on the plate some rice boiled in water without salt or any other seasoning, and above it the other messes, and what is over and above in the saucer; and the King taking with his hand puts this on the plate where he makes it into balls with the right hand (because the left serves for a different cleanliness, it would be a great sacrilege to touch food with it) and he swallows like a duck without chewing, and it gives them great merriment to hear that the Europeans chew rice when eating. Before ending his meal, he sends thereof what he pleases to his wives, who do not eat with their husbands and are served by Eunuchs, small boys, or women; and these are the seven dishes of the Counts, the nine of the Marquises, the twelve of the Dukes and the eighteen of the Kings of Europe.

In the other castes and families which are not Royal there is great variety. The Religious, penitents, the learned, and the Bragmanes before eating wash their bodies, and then smear them with ashes soaked with water, or white earth which they call *Namam*, or with sandal, according to the caste and the sect they follow, on the breast, | shoulders, arms, belly, knees and sides. And entering the house which has been previously smeared with cow-dung, they gird themselves with a cloth at the loins and sit cross-legged on a mat of one cubit. They place before them a leaf of the Indian fig tree or of another tree and if they are small they sew them together with a rush. They first place thereon some pieces of salt, vegetables and some potherbs, and when this course is eaten, on the rice that remains they pour a little sour curdled milk, whey or *Soro*, which is all the banquet. Then in the garden, if they have one, or in the street, they wash their hands, mouth and feet, and will not enter the house, till the leaf from which they ate is taken away and the place is well smeared again with cow-dung, because if they enter before this precaution, they say the body would be as contaminated as was the house.

The Chingalas who joined this Sect adopted also these customs from which they differ very little. The other castes either eat off a leaf or from a small basin of brass, and ordinarily the whole family one after another. | Those who claim to despise the world more, without any leaf or plate eat off the cow-dung-besmeared floor. Those of the sect they call Nastiguel<sup>1</sup> must neither be seen whilst eating nor hear any human voice, and therefore they order latten basins to be beaten at their doors with great noise whilst they are eating, and these are their bag pipes; here the Curetes<sup>2</sup> with the Dodonean<sup>3</sup> basins would be of great service. These people pull out the hair one by one with tweezers and if one remains motionless without crying or weeping or showing any mark of pain, he is accepted into the Sect, otherwise they are rejected as being soft and delicate. Nor are the other castes permitted to see a Brahmin eat, because they consider themselves most illustrious and [desire] to be venerated not only as superiors but even as gods; Nor can the other castes minister to them; but they themselves carry the water and cook for each other, or each one for himself. They do not however despise serving others at table, and they carry the food in vessels of copper or brass, and waiting on them while they eat, they pour water on their hands and feet afterwards, provided they do not touch the remnants, because that would be a great infamy, nor can one of another caste enter the kitchen or see the pots in which the Bragmane cooks his food.

As for the substance of their meals, the Bragmane penitents, the Religious and the learned cannot eat meat, and fish and eggs are also called and are considered meat. Only the Pareas and other low castes can eat beef, because it is the greatest infamy in these countries. The other castes however eat other kinds of meat which are used in Europe and lizards and rats to boot. It is a vile thing to eat shell-fish, but it is not so with shrimps, which all who are allowed to eat meat consider to be a delicacy. But the common food is boiled rice with a bit of dried salt-fish, for to eat |

<sup>1</sup> ? Skt. *Nāstika*, unbeliever, one who says 'there is no' God, future life, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The infant Zeus was entrusted by Rhea to the care of the Curetes, and by clashing their weapons in a warlike dance they drowned the cries of the child and prevented the father Cronus from ascertaining the place when he was concealed.

<sup>3</sup> Dodona, a Grecian Oracle whose responses were declared by the wind rustling through the trees. In order to render the sounds more distinct, brazen vessels were suspended on the branches of the trees.

fowl, mutton, goats, lizards and rats is [the privilege] of the great Lords and of others on occasion of a feast or a marriage. Though they all consider it an abominable thing to eat cow's meat, they deem it worthy of veneration to drink its water and to sprinkle themselves with it, as if with Cordova water. The most proper among them, as soon as it is morning, grasp the tail of the cow and adore what it hides (because they say that Laximi, the wife of God Vixnu, and the goddess of all happiness is there); then with both hands they take some urine, drink a good draught of it and making a sprinkler of its tail they sprinkle themselves with it and think themselves sanctified. But to gain a full pardon for all their sins, they make a mixture of milk, butter, whey, urine and dung of the cow, and drinking it, they say, that not only all their sins, but also all their infamies are blotted out, and only Bragmanes can obtain this jubilee, and they are obliged to take that medicine, when they receive the thread for the first time, when they marry, and when the wife has her first menses and when they have another on some unlucky day. These are the filthy purifications which argue want of cleanliness in Europeans, this the sanctification which the Devil has put into their heads to ridicule all the mysteries of our Holy Faith. These are the gods which all the Oriental Idolaters worship, though divided into many Sects, and in the rest of Asia there is the Sect of Buddum which on this side of the Ganges was adopted only by the Chingalas.

## CHAPTER 12.

### THE CEREMONIES OF THEIR MARRIAGES

The most important thing in the mind of these heathen is marriage, because among them it is the greatest felicity in this World.' And for this reason, as soon as the children are able to say 'Father' and 'Mother', they teach them to say they wish to marry, and very often they marry them before they are able to speak. But as in each caste they have different rites in this matter, we shall state here only what is common to all in this Industan; and what is special to the Bragmanes and to the Chingalas of Ceylon.

<sup>1</sup> 'Nattaññan madhuran Bhante pancakāma guṇa bhuvī.'—Dhatu-wansa.

It is a matter admitted by all, except in a certain tribe of Weavers and in another of the Hunters, that the husband must be older than the wife, at least by three or four years. The wife must likewise be of the same Tribe as the husband, and it is not enough to be of the same caste, for in that of the Bragmanes alone there are many and various Tribes, just as among the Jews each of the children of Isaac constituted a different Tribe, and the two sons of Joseph added another.

P 68 | However the children of two Brothers or of two Sisters cannot marry each other, for they say they are Brothers, and all who are of this line have the same impediment indefinitely. And among them there is no uncle, Brother of the Father, nor Aunt, Sister of the Mother, but if the brother of the Father is elder, they call him 'great Father', and if younger, 'small Father'; and the elder Sister of the Mother, | 'great Mother', and the younger, 'small Mother', F 39v a phraseology which is also being introduced among the Country-born Portuguese. According to this relationship they also call 'Father' the husband of the sister of the Father and of the Mother, and 'Mother' the wives of the brothers of the Father and of the Mother, and all these in their opinion are related in the first degree of consanguinity, and have an indispensable<sup>1</sup> [impediment] to marriage.

Among almost all the castes and families of this heathen Industan the essence of the contract of matrimony consists in the handing of a jewel of gold called *Tale*,<sup>2</sup> which the Bridegroom ties round the neck of the Bride with a cotton thread tinged with saffron. In which matter they have a barbarous custom, for after the parents have settled the contract among themselves and have fixed a day for the marriage—which takes place in a fresh bower at the entrance to the house, a different one for each wedding, even if it be of a King—if someone else either out of envy or hatred or on account of relationship were to tie this jewel beforehand, he will be considered her true husband and she his wife, even though she resisted, and it be much against her will. And Father João de Brito<sup>3</sup> (who gave us this information) testifies that such cases are not so rare, and that within a few years he came to know of two.

<sup>1</sup> This is a theological term. An indispensable impediment is one from which no dispensation can be given. Dispensations are given only from impediments imposed by ecclesiastical law; impediments of the natural or divine law are 'indispensable'.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *tāli*.

<sup>3</sup> Blessed John de Brito S. J., Missionary in Madura, afterwards beheaded at Oreiour in S. India, 11th Feby., 1693, and beatified by Pius IX. in 1853.

The manner of making this contract is as follows. The Bridegroom and his relatives go out into the open to find out the proper omen, and if they find it, the relatives alone go to the house of the Father of the Bride to ask him for his daughter. He receives them at a banquet and afterwards proposing their difficulties, the matter is referred to the omen which must be consulted the following day, and they are told to return after so many appointed days. They return in due time, and if the omen has been good, they discuss the settlement of the contract, that is to say, the price at which the wife is to be bought. This being done, the Parents and relatives of the Bridegroom return and bring a part of the money to the Parents of the Bride, with a basket of flowers, a coconut, and a branch of the banana fig tree, which they offer to the Bride; and if after this pledge the Bridegroom repents and does not want to marry that woman, he loses the money given in token, but if the marriage is broken by the party of the Bride, they are obliged to give the double of the token they received.

A day being fixed for the marriage, they erect a high bower at the door of the [house of the] Bride, and the Bridegroom comes accompanied by all his relatives to tie the *Tale*; about which there are divers ceremonies in divers castes, but leaving aside the rest and the specialities of the divers Tribes of Bragmanes, which in the Canarese language is called *Gotrix*,<sup>1</sup> we shall speak only of what is common to all these. The | relatives | of the Bride await the Bridegroom P 69 in a house different from that wherein the espoused woman lives, and after remaining for some time, the Bridegroom suddenly shows himself disgusted, rises up hastily, puts on his sandals, takes a staff, places a book under his arm, and in a surly tone says to those around that he is going as a wanderer over the world, and, in fact he sets out. After a few steps the Brothers or near relatives of the Bride overtake him, hindering him by entreaties from going away. And to calm his grief, they promise to have him married with all haste. In proof of this truth they place him on a door, raise it on the shoulders, and carry it to the bower, where the Mother of the Bride is awaiting him, and after washing his feet with the milk of the cow, she wipes them with the cloth which she is wearing. They then cause him to sit for a short while on a new mat, and raising him by the hand with the Bride, [they place them] on a swing, and while some swing them, others sing wedding songs. F 40

<sup>1</sup> Gotra ('cow-pen') a tribe. In the Brāhman caste 19 Gotras are reckoned, and supposed to be sprung from and named after celebrated teachers. (Mon. Williams). *Gotrin*, belonging to the same family.

Thence they go to a yard, adore the fire, which they hold to be a god, and sacrifice a coconut to an Idol. Then a Sister of the Bridegroom or his nearest female relation takes the bride in her arms and places her on a sack of rice. But before the spouse ties the *Tale* on her, the Father of the Bride and the other relations ask him for more money than was bargained for. Upon which there arise between them and the other relatives great disputes and abusive words, so cutting that the least of them would be enough to lead to many deaths among Europeans. At the end of this broil the Bridegroom has to give the money which they ask in addition, under pain of not marrying. This being given, or gold or silver to that amount in pawn, the Bridegroom ties the Jewel *Tale* on the neck of the wife and the contract is completed, and the marriage ratified and indissoluble. Then the son-in-law makes an ample courtesy to the mother-in-law throwing himself on the ground at her feet, and when he rises, she gives him a coconut; but she may not talk to him for some years. Then before all that assembly he takes hold of the wife's foot, and thrice he places it on a mortar of stone on which they grind the spices, and then they again make the former sacrifice. Then follows the banquet of their messes, of which it is enough to say that there are so many vagrants who without being invited intermingle to eat and complain about the plenty or shortage [of good cheer] or of its good or bad dressing, that the parents have to incur more expense on this banquet than on what they gave as dowry to their daughter. The King [of Portugal] recently ordered in this matter a very wise moderation among the Native Christians, his lieges, which they accepted with great pleasure, just as they abominate all what is pagan in this matter.

[ Among the Chingalas, however, though the lower folk <sup>P 400</sup> buy wives, and the man brings a dowry and furniture with him, and the woman [brings] only her personal ornaments, among the nobles there is a different fashion, for the bridegroom-elect <sup>P 70</sup> sends a present to the Parents of the Bride, | an article for each as a token of the contract, and they are obliged to give him the dowry agreed upon along with the daughter. In other things there is a considerable diversity, for among them there is no stable matrimony nor union except so long as they like; though they also are most observant of not marrying except those of their caste, which they do in this manner. When they are in the bower or the *Mandúa*<sup>1</sup> the nearest kinswoman of the man takes the two right hands of the Bride and Bridegroom and placing one on the other, she

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *mandapa*, *maduwa*, open shed, a hall.

binds with a thread the two small fingers together, and pours over the two bound fingers some water out of a pitcher<sup>1</sup> and unties them and they are married. Then the Parents of the one or the other instruct them in grave and modest words on the great obligation imposed by matrimony on married persons and the quality and state of married happiness along with other things suitable to their life or state. They also have taken from the Malavares the most barbarous custom that exists among those nations; for it is a common practice for four or five Brothers or more to marry one single woman, and on the contrary one single man may marry many sisters, and the youngest ever holds the first place in authority and power in the house and even in love. But in order to separate, each one's wish is sufficient, who taking what was brought to the household may go back and marry at pleasure; and if they had children, the males are entrusted to the Father and the females to the Mother; and if all are males or females, then they divide, each one taking what falls to him by lot. And Bento da Silva relates that when he was Ouvidor<sup>2</sup> of Ceylon, there appeared before him a woman married to seven brothers to complain of the ill-treatment she received from so many, and begged in good earnest to be relieved of some of them. And as they were still subject to their laws and customs, the Ouvidor asked her whether two would be enough for her, and she replied that she would take four; and choosing those she liked, the case was settled. Such are the fruits of Paganism. Of the Moors we shall speak in another work.<sup>3</sup>

### CHAPTER 13.

#### OF THE JUSTICE OF HEATHENDOM, AND ESPECIALLY OF THE CHINGALAS

Pagan government, especially in Civil matters, is the most | <sup>P 41</sup> tyrannical and barbarous that can be imagined, because besides that nearly all the Kings are foreigners, they treat their lieges worse than slaves. All land belongs to the Crown, not only in supreme dominion but in direct (dominion) <sup>P 71</sup> and even the usufruct. There is | no vassal who has any

<sup>1</sup> 'Guinde', from Kon. *gindi*, pitcher.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. auditor, a Magistrate.

heritage of his own that he can bequeath to his children. The manner which the Princes observe in renting lands is the following. In June their Ministers go about in the villages and oblige the peasants to rent the lands for a certain sum. They return at the time of the harvest, because without their presence the husbandmen cannot reap, and they ask whether they are willing to give a further moiety or third of what was settled according to the abundance of the crop; if they agree, a writing is made, they give sureties, and when they have threshed [the corn], they usually find that the produce is not enough to pay the King; if they refuse either to pay according to the contract or the increase, they do not even then escape ruin, for the Ministers who are present at the reaping, threshing and measuring, all of which is done at the cost of the farmers, after letting him take his share, which does not exceed 25 to 30 per 100, compel the farmer to buy the King's share then and there at a price exceeding that current in the land, as for instance giving him at nine what is worth six; and he has not the wherewithal to support himself or his family, [and] becomes indebted again for the coming year. Nor can he go elsewhere, for the same tyranny is found everywhere, and besides giving sureties, one village is always a surety for another. And as every year there are new Ministers to whom the Provinces are rented, they make fresh promises and oaths to govern them justly and reasonably and fresh loans for the fresh favour; and when the peasant has laboured in the tillage, they recover by force what they lent him, and the interest of the money and the rest as has been pointed out. Thus the poor ever live in hopes which are never realised, though the occupation of husbandry is common almost to all castes and highly esteemed among them. But they are [of] such [a nature] and so proud, that, unless they are treated in this way, they find it will be their ruin, and that, if they had any property, they would kill each other as experience has shown. Thus it happens that though the lands are all fertile and suited for all kinds of cultivation, there are no owners to plant a fruit tree which on bearing is not taken from them; and though there could be great delicacies, everything is frustrated by tyranny.

Nor are the Royal Ministers better off. As long as they collect dues, they are absolute Lords of the Provinces, take cognizance of all causes, civil and criminal, and even in matters of Religion, delivering decisive sentence without question or appeal even should it be [sentence] of death. And as in everything that pertained to the Empire of Biznaga<sup>F 41c</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Corruptor of 'Vijayanagara' (City of Victory).

there are no written laws nor ordinances, and the judgment is oral, each one does what he likes and kills whomsoever he pleases, without there being any one to question him thereon, especially so long as he collects the taxes of the crown. One of these schemers goes to the King and asks so many soldiers and the permission to carry out [his design] and promises to give him so many millions. The King inquires about the manner, which is no other than to seize men and  
P 72 women and by dint of tortures | to take from them whatever they want in order to satisfy their cupidity and hatred. Usually the King approves the plan, and giving security he sets about seizing everybody. Experience has shown [these people] that if they give it without tortures, or out of fear of them, they do not thereby escape, for after receiving them, they ask as much again and will not let them go so long as it is not given, and they must needs undergo the torture from which they wished to escape. For this reason torture is ever the first step, and they are such as may be seen from the examples we give.

The first is of water, for fixing two beams at the bottom of a tank, or of a river, tied to four stakes, they tie the victim with his hands behind him and throw him upon them on his back or on his face immersed in water with two or three upon him. After a while they drag him out, and force him to promise what they ask, repeating the torment so long as the promise is delayed. If this is not enough, they pass from water to fire, making him walk barefoot over red-hot bars of iron, and placing on his back heated iron mattocks.

Others are pinched with pincers either heated by fire or with cold ones, which gives them greater pain. Some are bound with cords from the shoulders to the wrist with such violence that the blood gushes out in jets from the fingers; and thus bound, they are tied to two rings of iron, and while thus dangling in the air, they are most cruelly beaten with horse-whips. Others are thrown on the ground tied to four stakes and are rubbed so violently with bricks on the face that it becomes like planed wood. Others are thrown naked on thorns strong and sharp, and as if the weight of the body were not enough, a plank is thrown upon them and three or four men stand upon it. On others they tie huge torches soaked in oil on all the fingers of the hands which are tied to a beam, so that they cannot move them, and they let them burn till they are consumed, unless, before it happens, the victim decides to promise what they ask him; | and if he  
F 42 promises, it is taken in writing and he gives surety. With

these and many other very rigorous torments they wring from them what they have, without sparing even the priests of their Idols, and often they begin with the children and relatives of the King, so that no one may escape.

But when the schemer, collector or Renter has given the King the amount promised, he is himself seized by the King, who orders to be done to him what he did to others, so that he may give up what remains in his hands; and it often happens by a just judgement of God, that either out of weakness or because he loves money more than life, he perishes in the torments: and if he gives what he has kept for himself, or promises to give what he has not, he who was a great Lord yesterday, goes about from door to door begging alms. And as P 73 these lands are very populous, because all are married, and many of them to several women, and because tyranny is the same everywhere, as we said, and because it is impossible for one Kingdom to maintain the population of two, they have therefore to suffer and endure what they cannot escape. Although some people are constantly moving like feverish folk from one Province to another in the same Kingdom, they find everywhere the misfortunes from which they flee and even greater severity, without home and without refuge, for by being strangers in the land, they are not exempt from punishment.

The tyrannies do not stop here, for there are others more frequent and inevitable, from those great Lords styled Chief wardens (guarda-mores) of the Kingdom, who appoint officials in all villages for their protection, and all these are lords of the axe and the halter, and try causes criminal and civil by force if not by right. All these are maintained by the Husbandman and other people, who pay much tribute each year, and though it is the duty of these guards to prevent thefts and to compensate for them, when they take place, they are the greatest thieves in the land and rob whatever there is in the villages under their care. If the theft takes place by day, they say that they are not bound to compensate for it, if by night, they ask them to show the thief and they would then make him pay. And if the poor man complains to some higher official, they seek him out by night and either kill him or beat him soundly taking whatever he has and warning him that if he speaks [of it], he and all his kinsmen will be put to death. These people, besides being confirmed robbers, are the proudest, the most ambitious, and inhuman men in these countries. They are all assassins, they murder or cause to murder for the slightest reason and at their pleasure, and they wage such bitter war on each other, that rare is the one who dies of illness.

[Greater still is the following tyranny practised in the same lands and especially in the Kingdom of Maysur, for when a son is born to the King or to some of his kinsmen on a day unlucky for them, on the advice of the Bramanes and according to their instructions, they give orders on that night and the following ones to set fire to one or two Provinces, and sometimes even to more; and as all the houses are covered with thatch or straw, besides the loss of property, many experience the loss of life. The Kings in their lifetime keep in prison those who are to succeed them, and they are liberated afterwards by the chiefs of the Kingdom and are acclaimed and crowned; and though they take such great care to prevent rebellions and treasons, they are most frequent, because of the want of justice and government. This was one of the reasons why the Moors prevailed over them, for though the latter practice great tyranny in war, in peace they are, for their own convenience, more moderate within the sphere of tyranny.

In their military government they are not less barbarous, for when two Kings are at war, [each] has his ambassador in the [other's] Court and camp, and all hostile plans P 74 become known to all, because when the ambassador writes to his King, he orders the letter to be read in public generally in the presence of the adversary's ambassador or of one of his household, and everything in public, for neither of the Kings trusts one single person. In war right is his who has the greater might, but generally the wars end by the less powerful one paying a certain sum of money. The armies never march in ranks, and almost all the soldiers take their wives and children, and it is a sight to see a Lascarin carry a suckling babe in his arms and on his head a basket of pots and pans for cooking, and the wife behind him with the spear or the arquebus on her back, and instead of the wad-worm a wooden spoon in the barrel. Without any permission or passport they serve to-day in one army and tomorrow with the enemy, and they come back with the same confidence, and if they have some abilities for war, they are appointed to offices; in the most fierce battle the dead and wounded do not exceed a hundred, because when there is blood, they take to flight. So great is the fear they have of cavalry, that 40000 infantry will not face 2000 cavalry even if the latter bear no fire-arms. And for this reason it was very easy for the Moors to conquer the greater part of these Realms, as they excel in cavalry.

But just as in Ceylon continual warfare with the Portuguese has made soldiers of the Chingalas, as we shall presently see, likewise those who are in the neighbourhood of our State used to imitate European warfare in everything; and besides making use of cavalry, they employ fire-arms, shirts of mail and other defensive arms. And these | rebels, our neighbours, <sup>F 43</sup> in the course of more than 30 years of continual robbery and warfare have become so dexterous and bold, that nothing appears impossible to them. And the most valiant Captains well experienced in India wonder at the idea they entertain of them in Portugal. They are wiry, light-footed, run like deer, and with no baggage other than their arms and a *cam-bolyim*<sup>1</sup> for clothing and bed, some hoppers (*apas*)<sup>2</sup> or *rutriz*<sup>3</sup> of as it were parched wheat or dry *avela*<sup>4</sup> of rice, they go for days on a campaign under a scorching sun or drenching rain, marching many leagues in a few hours and make surprise attacks with such intrepidity, that any one of them thinks himself a match with sword or spear for any valiant Portuguese. To come, however, to the justice of the Chingalas: those who govern in war govern also in peace, and they transact and settle all causes verbally and without any other process or law than their customs and the examination of the case or suit of litigants, as the Heathen and the Moors generally do. And though among all to kill a man is no more than killing a mosquito, to know what the justice of the Chingalas is in criminal matter, it is enough to say that he who is guilty of murder and has no money will infallibly be put to death, but if he happens to have 50 larins, he gives that to the injured <sup>P 75</sup> party, or if there is none, to the judge, who is bound | to accept them, and he is free from guilt or punishment. But in cases of theft, if a thief happens to be caught, forthwith on the very spot he is impaled on a pole, which passing through his body comes out from his head; and if the theft is a minor one, according to the quality of the crime, they cut off his ears, hands, or nose, and this is why, as we said, neighbours live without fear of each other and without bolting the house or box or fencing the lands.

Besides the Modeliars, Captains and frontier [guards] of the Dissâvas, each Corla has its Vidâna or Corrector (Corregedor), and the villages [have] others of lesser authority,

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Kambala*, a blanket, a coarse woollen cloth.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *appam*, cake made of rice flour. Anglice 'hoppers'

<sup>3</sup> *Roti*, bread made in broad cakes of coarse wheaten meal.

<sup>4</sup> Tam. *aval*, rice boiled, dried and pounded.

but the major cases appertain to the Dissâva, and some are reserved to the King himself: and just as [in their trials] they do without advocates and scribes, they also dispense with summons and other services of the sheriffs, because it is enough to be called upon by the party to appear before the King for one to go without taking any step to avoid it, even though he be in peril of his life. And if one is condemned before any Ministers, they draw a circle on the ground, whence he cannot step out till he has actually made satisfaction. And to show the respect which all have towards the King and Royal Ministers the following example will be enough. A certain Nabab was ruling the large Province of Bengâla, being appointed by the Mogol King to that the first place in his Realms. It happened that a son of his predecessor, passing by the market or public *bazar* and seeing | some water- <sup>F 43v</sup> melons which pleased him, ordered one of his servants to take them without remembering for the while to order to pay for them. The Huckster-woman summoned him to appear before the Nabab. He appeared without resistance and the complaint being made, he [the Nabab] said to him: 'Is this done in the *bazar* of the Pâdishâh (Pathxa)?' and as he did not make a defence, with a wave of the hand he ordered his head to be cut off; and wrapped in a carpet they carried him for burial.

A Vidâna in Ceylon sits on a white cloth in a *Mandâwa* or bower, and near him are a naked dagger and a white shield, which represent the person of the King; and the chief men being called in, they make to the dagger and shield as many courtesies as if it were the King in person, and the Vidâna of the Corla or the Adigar of the village then proposes the business, which is immediately carried out, whether it be criminal or civil. And as the settlement of many of these things and of the political government depends on a knowledge of the castes, none can deny his own, for most severe are the punishments inflicted for it. And that there be no mistake, the Lascarin carries his spear, bow, shield, or firelock as a badge; the Husbandman his scythe, the Blacksmith a file, the Washerman a towel over the shoulder, the Carpenter a chisel, the Mason a rule, the Lancemaker a plane, the Goldsmith the scales, the Founder a mould, the Tailor the scissors, the Barber a mirror, the Cinnamon peeler a pruning knife, the Cornac a hook, and so on, each mechanical workman his customary badge.

## CHAPTER 14.

## THE SAME SUBJECT, CONTINUED

P 76 If any of these castes follow the profession of arms, their remuneration is raised or lowered according to the caste; and the sons of the farmers (among them a noble occupation) are first advanced to the degree of *Tandariz*<sup>1</sup> and then in this order, to that of *Arache*, *Modeliar* and *Rala*,<sup>2</sup> which is the highest in war. The other inferior castes they satisfy with titles of honour, and they give to the Chaleas the title of *Deueâz*, to the Barber *Panicheaz*, to the Padas *Duriaz*, to the Palaraz *Ungiaz*, and in this manner to the others. They are also diversified by their dress, because all those who are not Farmers or of the four classes of persons who constitute the body of the Commonwealth whom they call *Nauamîn*, *Joanâ*, *Carauâ* and *Henabiâ* [and] who can rise, cannot wear clothes altogether white without some mixture of colour, and from the knees upwards, nor anoint themselves with sandal, nor can their wives wear jewellery of silver or gold like those of the nobles, but of crystal, ivory, latten, copper, | F 44 and tortoise-shell, and [it is] by these devices [that] the Princes are distinguished from the Ralas, the latter from the Mudeliars, and in this order, from Araches, Tandariz, Vidânas, Adigâres, Naydes, Deueâz, Panicheâz, Duriaz, Vngiâz, and these [in turn] from those of their castes who did not win dignities by arms.

In Ceylon also the kings were the heirs of the vassals, taking everything from them on death and giving to the children what they pleased, and those who were most tyrannical in their government used to despoil them of their goods even during their lifetime, and sometimes even of their lives. Wherefore they lived in great poverty, and the best of them were naked from the waist upwards and went bare-foot, because only the Princes could wear a *cabaya*; and in this way they had only thatched houses. But after the Portuguese became masters of the lands, the one who acquired the most was the greatest Lord, for if in former times a stone was the touchstone of gold, in our times gold is the touchstone

<sup>1</sup> 'Tandarim' represents either (a) *tanḍal*, petty officer, boatswain, or (b) Hind. *thānadār*, head of a military post, probably the latter which was adopted by the Portuguese at an early date as 'Tanadar'.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *rāla*, lord, from *raja*—*radala*—*rāla*.

of the man. They likewise conform to the customs of the other heathens in their food, not touching what was not cooked by those of their own caste, [carrying it] to such extremes, that if they travel in the lands of other castes, they sustain themselves only on the leaf of the *betle*,<sup>1</sup> and when the women in their houses are dressing their victuals (at which they are skilful), they will not put anything into the pots unless everything is quiet and not a word is spoken in the house; which they also observe, when they sow the grain in the fields, and even if there were 200,000 farmers on the field not a grain must be cast on the ground till they are all previously warned, and they await the signal without a stir, so that their gods may be propitious to them, and the harvest P 77 plentiful. And though they had | greater liberties in the time of the government of the Portuguese, [yet] being accustomed to their ancient miseries, they only remembered the violences and injuries of the time.

In war they do not use purely defensive arms, rather they consider them a proof of fear and weakness. They use the sword and shield, bow and arrow, making their bows of [a kind of] wood well suited for the work and arrows of the areca tree with the point hardened in the fire, whereby they become sharper and do as much harm as those of iron. The bow strings they make out of the fibre [taken from] near the bark of certain trees which are not inferior to leather strings. They make their spears out of certain roots which they call *Ipetta*,<sup>2</sup> stronger than those of beechwood. After they began to wage war with the Portuguese, they introduced firelocks, arquebuses, hand muskets and those on supports<sup>3</sup> [firing balls] of four and five ounces in place of artillery, which owing to the narrow paths of those mountains neither we nor they were able to carry; and they became so dexterous at this game, that for practice and out of curiosity many used to fire at night to put out a match, and others by day at 60 paces would sever | a knife with four or five bullets or F 440 send as many on the same spot in the target; and they were so daring and used to rush among our men, as if they had no fear of death, as we shall see in this History. And though in the open field they did not show us great constancy, unless there were great odds against us and they saw we were very tired, in narrow passes they inflicted on us some routs letting us enter freely meanwhile cutting off the passes by stockades

<sup>1</sup> Betel, from Indo-Por. 'betle', Tam. *vettīla*.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *Ipetta*, *Cyathocalyx zeylanicus* (*Anonaceae*).

<sup>3</sup> 'Mosqueta do pe,' literally 'foot-muskets', whence the Sinhalese for a canon, *kālatuwakkwa*, foot-musket, from T. m. *kāl*, foot.



or *kadavat* (garavetos<sup>1</sup>) and trees felled across, they gave us great trouble on the return journey. When they attack, they raise great shouts and battle-cries like the Turks and other Mahometans, to terrify our minds and to show the great number attacking, and with a kind of drum which makes a terrific noise. They surround their stockades with ditches, full of water, teeming with alligators, but always with a passage by which to escape, if the business turns out ill. They make use of bombs, and fire darts, whereby they easily set fire to thatched lodgements, and with the bombs they put confusion in the field. They make use of elephants trained to war, with steel points in their tusks and swords in their trunks, which is a horrible and frightful warfare; and they also bring them with castles on their backs so as to strike therefrom at ease, but they are not less dangerous to the army that brings them, for when wounded or scorched, they turn with the same fury on their own men, tearing some into bits with their armour or throwing others under their feet and hurling in the air those who are within reach of their trunks. They also use iron caltrops with four spikes, both on land and in water, but the Portuguese were then so forewarned, that they seldom did us harm. They do not as a rule make war according to councils [of war], but according to the will and pleasure of the one who commands, and it must be because they do not trust each other, which is the reason why they do not often succeed in their object, because few are the single judges who can find out all that the enemy has planned, and however great a Captain's ability may be, it is always good to hear the opinions of others and to follow the best course. They do not kill by poison, for if they had done so, we could not have remained in that land where the greater part of our provisions passed through their hands. In war they make great use of ambushes, for which those woods are very well adapted. They have no cavalry, nor is it easy to make use of them in those crags and precipices. The Portuguese held them to be great traitors, and they cannot be acquitted of this faithlessness because of the manner of their risings and the ingratitude they showed. But if we consider the constancy wherewith they defended their independence in so continual a warfare, we cannot deny that it was the outcome of their

<sup>1</sup> This word represents the Sinhalese *kadawata*, a post, station, or guard-house on the borders of a Kingdom or town. The Portuguese called it 'garaveto' as the author does here, in Ceylon-Portuguese 'Garveto' (Fox, Dict.). The Dutch made it 'Galjettes' (van Rhee), 'Gravetten' (Valentyn), 'Garvettes' (Baldaens, Schouten.) Knox characteristically called it a 'thorn-gate'; but British writers called it Caravetties (Percival), Cadavetty (*Government Gazette* 1817), and the form 'gravet' still survives.

valour, for if we change sides, and if they gave us the treatment which the Portuguese gave them, or if we realised that they wanted to subdue us altogether, we should without any doubt have characterized as courage and valour what in them we consider to be treachery.

When we first came to that Island, it was divided into five Kingdoms, that of Cota, to which all the others were tributary, acknowledging that King as Emperor, that of Raygam and of Seytavaca, states which he of Cota divided with his Brothers; that of Candea and that of Jafanapatao. He of Raygaõ soon died without heirs. With the two Kings of Seytauaca, Madune and his son, we had a terrible and obstinate war for many years. The conquest of Jafnapatao and the punishment of those tyrants was undertaken by the Governor Martõ Afonso de Souza, the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança, and the Captains Andre Furtado de Mendonça and Philip de Oliueyra, Furtado on the order of the Viceroy, and Oliueyra on the order of the General Constantino de Sã de Noronha, till those Kings were exterminated, and the whole Kingdom became Christian. With him of Candea war was waged for long years after the end of the Kings of Cota, till finally he allied himself with the Hollanders and after a warfare lasting 20 years, the two powers succeeded in driving us out of Ceylon.

As for the government of the Natives after the death of the last King D. João Perea Pandar, when the Portuguese were complete masters of the lowlands all round the Island and of a great part of the States of Candea, both in peace and war the same titles were preserved, and the same form of government, and the Dissãvas were sometimes Portuguese, sometimes Chingalas. But after the early years of our stay in Ceylon, [which was] already a tributary [to Portugal] from the year 1505 when the Island was discovered up to the time of the Viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, first with a factory afterwards with a praça in Columbo, there was always a Factor or Captain there till the same Viceroy, when, that King was still alive, named Pero Lopes de Souza as Governor and Captain-General of Ceylon; and on his death in a short time there succeeded him D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, in whose time died the last King of Cota, D. João Perea Pandar, who having left his rights to the King of Portugal, there began the conquest of that Island as a thing altogether our own. D. Jeronimo coming as Viceroy in 1612, after governing Ceylon for 18 years, left in his place D. Francisco de Menezes, the Ruddy, who had been his Captain-Major of the Field, a post which there corresponds to Lieutenant

and Master General of the Field, who did not govern for a year, when there came in his place Manoel Homê Mascarenhas, | <sup>F 450</sup> who was succeeded by D. Nuno Alvarez Pereyra, second son of the Conde de Fevra; but being promoted to the conquest of the Rios de Sofála, he handed over the office to Constantino de Sâ de Noronha, whom Jorge de Albuquerque removed, but Constantino de Sâ was restored in [1]622. On his death D. Phelipe Mascarenhas governed for a short time. But when he went to serve the praça of Moçambique, there came D. Jorge de Alheyda. Then followed Diogo de Melo De Castro, and D. Gorge coming once more, was succeeded by Diogo de Melo, and on his death [came] D. Antonio Mascarenhas, who was relieved by his elder Brother D. Phelipe Mascarhenhas, and he coming as Viceroy of India, there succeeded Manoel Mascarenhas Homê, afterwards Francisco de Melo de Castro and finally Antonio de Souza Coutinho, in whose time Columbo fell; Malacca having been lost in the hands of his Brother Manoel de Souza Coutinho.

This post had and needed great powers both in peace and in war: In [time of] peace to govern a Kingdom of foreign people, wherein so many presumed to be Kings, as we shall see, and a people so turbulent, that they never put up with subjection: In [time of] war, because he had under his jurisdiction many Captains and soldiers, many of the gentry and nobility; and he had to deal on equal terms with Kings, who were very proud of themselves; and after the death of D. João Perea Pandar he represented in all things the person of the King of Portugal and of the ancient Emperors of the Island. The Natives paid him the same courtesies or *Zumbayas*<sup>1</sup>, addressed him as Highness, and he used all the royal insignia and ceremonies in peace and war. The administration of justice as observed by all Mahometan and Idolatrous Kings, if we except the Chinese in some cases, is merely by word [of mouth] without any other judicial formality in criminal and civil [suits]; only in cases of greater importance was he assisted by the Mudeliars with only a consultative vote and two *Mutiars*<sup>2</sup> or Secretaries for ordinary business, in this preserving the Sovereignty which the native Princes held and the Royal power in its completeness; correcting however the mistake of not distinguishing the Religious from the profane, though in truth since every-  
<sup>P 80</sup> thing among idolaters is profane, they only | erred in their imagination by confusing the one and the other government, though not according to truth. Portuguese government

<sup>1</sup> Malay, *sumbah*, profound salutations.

<sup>2</sup> Mr hotâla, Mohottiyar.

separated the ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the secular according to the dictates of Faith and reason, and in Civil matters it remedied many abuses especially that general [practice] of Mahometan and Idolatrous Princes of taking the inheritance of their lieges, depriving them of the son's share and portion of the heritage of their fathers, and still more of their kinsmen, for because they | consider themselves <sup>F 46</sup> the direct Lords of all the lands and of the produce of their Realms, they think they give them only for life, either as payment for services or as a real allowance for war or for the advantage and convenience of cultivation. And if the natural law were that all should inherit, as a certain Author maintains, the restriction—which he approves and which was made by the Portuguese—to a third part of the heritage would not be lawful making the Prince also a co-heir with the family; which is everywhere admitted with greater rigor in the case of adscripted slaves as observed by us in the countries of the North, and here in Goa according to the custom of their Kings, from whose hands we wrested it, the King [of Portugal] is the heir of every heathen that dies without male heir, though he be a freeman.

In time of peace [the General] resided in Maluâna in the houses of Rosapâne, of which we have spoken already, where according to ancient custom three times a year the principal Chingâlas of the Island came to make their obeisance, offering their *sagoates*<sup>1</sup> or presents according to the custom in all Asia, where none appears before the King with empty hands, which God also commanded in Holy Scripture as absolute Lord of all. Nor was there in Ceylon any danger of this snare of covetousness corrupting the integrity of justice, both because they were not received as gifts to be grateful for, but as something due, and because the *Sagoates* of Ceylon were more for the pantry<sup>2</sup> or the wardrobe rather than for cabinets (bentoz).<sup>3</sup>

When they visited the countries or marched through them, they were received with great feasts, arches and roads covered with white cloth, flowers and greenery and prostrations to the ground; the Magistrates and chiefs bid them welcome, for great was the pomp with which they travelled in [time of] peace, and greater when they took the field, all in the style of their Kings. They always had a garrison

<sup>1</sup> Hind.-Per, *saughât*, curiosity, offering, gift. Here it stands for the Sinhalese *dekum*.

<sup>2</sup> Despença, whence the local term 'Dispense villages' (*gabadâgam*).

<sup>3</sup> Bentoz, large writing desks (Souza, *Orient. Conq.*), small Indian banker's table or counter (Bluteau).

in Manicrauaré, and in time of peace the arrayal was quartered there, seven leagues distant from Candea, nine from Columbo under the command of his Lieutenant, the Captain-Major of the Field, a post [held by men] of great worth and almost always of much ability. All Natives including the best and the worst Castes and of the inferior [castes] especially the Pachas, are called Lascarins from a word common here in Asia, where the army is called Lascar. They were governed by Dissavas, Modeliares and Araches. The Dissavas correspond to the Adelantados of Spain and Fronteyros of Portugal; the Mudeliares to the Masters of the Field; the Araches to Captains of companies, which are wont to be <sup>P 81</sup> more numerous | than those of the Portuguese, which there did not exceed thirty men, not in order to feed more Captains, but because the state of those marches, | almost always in loose <sup>P 460</sup> ranks, required it. Of these, some resided in the garrisons, others in their houses, paid and obliged to join in war like the villages distributed to them. The others like train bands remained enrolled and were bound to succour in case of alarm.

As land was very cheap and the Generals had their *gayges*<sup>1</sup> and villages for the support of their household, and in the beginning they were living like soldiers and were assigned per year only 4000 xerafins (I have already pointed out that a Xerafin in India was worth three tostões); to a Captain-Major for the same reasons, 1000, to the Captains of companies, 200, to the soldiers besides their common board, 20 xerafins, being always bound to dwell with their banner as if in garrison under pain of death, and not in quarters. It pertained to the General to convoke the one and the other troops, to provide for the praças, offices and administration, to distribute the villages, regiments, companies, garrison, and pay, except when the Viceroys or the King appointed someone to the principal praças or to the Captaincy of the Field, as had been introduced. The Portuguese troops varied according to the reinforcements sent from Goa. There never was a fixed number, nor did it increase according to the need to garrison and conquer the whole of Ceylon, though it was the most important thing of all in India, and the warfare almost always defensive, for at first we defended a King who was [our] friend and vassal, afterwards we ever defended our right nowhere more clear than in Ceylon, because besides general titles the King [of Portugal] was heir to that little Empire and to both the crowns of Cota and Candea, as will be seen from this History.

<sup>1</sup> This represents Pers. *jāgir* 'place-holding', (Anglo-Indian 'jaghire'); lands and their revenues granted for services by the Great Mogul.

## CHAPTER 15.

## WHAT THE CHINGALAS KNOW OF MATHEMATICS.

They call Mathematics *Mazastra*,<sup>1</sup> and some<sup>2</sup> think that they know no more of it than to compute some eclipses of the Sun and the Moon, and if they do it in the way which I find written, it is sheer superstition, witchcraft and league with the Devil; but it is certain that they have acquired better knowledge. The Chingalas divide the year into 12 Solar months, according to the statement of the document of Bento da Silua; but as he says immediately that they begin it with the new moon of March, and that the other months are reckoned and separated by the new moon, and that they are all of 30 days, of which they make four weeks, each week of seven days and each day of 30 hours and the night of as many again, it is clearly seen how much they differ from the European computation; and that unless they <sup>P 82</sup> intercalate | it does not go right, | or else they neglect many <sup>P 47</sup> days. I did not find the Era or Epoch they make use of. The days of the week, beginning with our Sunday, they name, *Iri*,<sup>3</sup> *Sandu*, *Angarua*, *Bada*, *Braspatin*, *Segura*, *Senocera*.: They derive *Iri* from the Sun, because when in the horizon they call him *Ira*<sup>4</sup>, at the Zenith and after he has turned from the summit of the hemisphere they call him *Auua*,<sup>5</sup> masculine. They say he moves in the fourth Heaven, and completes his course in 365 days. His day is the Sunday, on which they consider it lucky to begin new journeys, and to visit Kings, who on this day are found to be generous and content, and one easily obtains from them what he wants. They hold it a lucky day for war, and for children to begin to learn in schools, besides other qualities which they attribute to it. *Sandu*, the second day takes the name of the moon, which they call *Sanda*,<sup>6</sup> and the name of the Planet is *Chandra*, feminine. She moves in the first Heaven, and her course takes 365 days and 6 hours. On this day the husbandmen sow their seed on the field, and they hold their feasts on that day;

<sup>1</sup> Maha sastra, the great science.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Ajuda Ms. p 77.

<sup>3</sup> *Iri*[da], Sun's day, *Sandu*[da], Moon's day, *Angaharuwa*[da], day of Angaharu (Mars), *Bada*[da], day of Budu (Mercury), *Brahāspatin*[da], day of Brahaspati (Jupiter), *Sikura*[da], day of Sikura (Venus), *Senasura*[da], day of Senasura (Saturn).

<sup>4</sup> Sin. *Ira*, sun.

<sup>5</sup> Sin. *auua*, sunshine, or light or heat of the Sun.

<sup>6</sup> *Handa*, *Sanda*, *Chandra*, moon.

but they consider it unlucky for war. [The name] *Angarua*,<sup>1</sup> which corresponds to Tuesday is applied to the planet *Cuja*, which corresponds to Mars and is masculine. He abides in the fifth Heaven, and completes his motion in an year, 321 days, 23 hours. On this day they give battle, and for all other things they consider it unsuitable. *Bada* corresponds to Wednesday and is derived from and applied to *Buda*<sup>2</sup> or Mercury, which is masculine, and abides in the second Heaven and completes his course in 365 days and 6 hours. On this day they are wont to place boys in the school both of letters and of arms. *Braspatin*<sup>3</sup> corresponds to Thursday and its planet is *Guru* or Jupiter, masculine, in the sixth Heaven and completes his course in 11 years 313 days and 20 hours. On this day they are wont to begin their habitations and to enter into new apartments and to seek anything, if kept secret and hoarded. *Segura* or Friday is the day dedicated to *Xuera*<sup>4</sup> or Venus, feminine. She lives in the third Heaven and her course takes as much time as Mercury, that is to say 365 days and 6 hours. On this day they begin new voyages and set the keel to vessels which they build, though the Chingalas never employed maritime forces. *Senocera* or Saturday is the day of *Sina*<sup>5</sup> or Saturn, he abides in the seventh Heaven being considered masculine, completes his course in 29 years, 162 days and 12 hours. On this day they would not on any account do any of the things mentioned, it being dedicated to worship and the adoration of the false gods and all mechanical work is forbidden. On this day the Changatares give the habit to those who dedicate themselves newly to the service of the Pagodes.

As there is in Ceylon some difference in the length of the days and nights, | and as they reckon 30 hours of the day and <sup>F 47</sup> 30 of the night, the hours cannot but be artificial in almost all the days of the year, and their clocks [cannot but be] Babylonian. They generally use the following. In a vessel <sup>P 83</sup> of water, large and broad they place another of copper, | smaller, with a fine opening in the middle through which the water of the larger vessel enters, and when full it falls to the bottom and then they say one *Pe*<sup>6</sup> is over, which is an hour. They also divide the natural day into twenty-four parts, 12 of daytime and as many of night, and in the same manner unequal.

<sup>1</sup> Angaharuwa, Mars. Kuja, Mars.

<sup>2</sup> Budha, Mercury.

<sup>3</sup> Brihaspati, Guru, Jupiter.

<sup>4</sup> Sikura, Sukra, Venus.

<sup>5</sup> Senasura, Saturn.

<sup>6</sup> Sin. *peya*, sixtieth part of a day, 24 minutes.

They know the seven Planets which they call *Raus*,<sup>1</sup> and they are those already named, *Ravi*,<sup>2</sup> *Chandra*. *Cuja*, *Buda*, *Guro*, *Xuera*, *Sina*, each in a Heaven of its own, differing in qualities and movements, though others say they add two Planets, one in the figure of a Viol. the other of a snake, which corresponds to the constellations of the Lyre and the Serpent, and that they take these fixed stars for Planets, and make one Planet out of many [stars]: and in the same order they answer to our names, Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, for one is hot, another cold. one humid, another dry. They know also the Heavenly signs of the Zodiac or the twelve *Recias*,<sup>3</sup> because the Sun moves remaining a month in each, the names of which in their and our order are, *Meza* or Aries, *Verab* or Taurus, *Mituna* or Gemini, *Carçera* or Cancer, *Singa* or Leo, *Quani* or Virgo, *Tula* or Libra, *Vstica* or Scorpio, *Danu* or Sagittarius, *Magara* or Capricorn, *Comba* or Aquarius, *Mine* or Pisces; which have the same etymologies as our names. In the same way they call the month of March *Bac*<sup>4</sup> and the following *Vesac*, *Pouon*, *Heela*, *Nichini*, *Binera*, *Vap*, *Il*, *Vndua*, *Durutu*, *Nawan*, *Midindini*. As *Meza* or Aries, into which the Sun enters in the month of *Bac* or March, has more virtue and strength in the head or front than in any other part, in like manner, when the Sun enters this Sign, he begins to show greater force and virtue. *Verab* or Taurus in the month of *Vesac* or April, for just as the Bull is stronger than the ram, so the Sun in that month shows himself stronger and more vigorous and therefore the labour of the Bull then begins to appear. *Mituna* or Gemini in the month of *Pouon* or May, because then the heat of the Sun begins to double because in this Sign, they say, the Sun delays two days longer than in any other. *Carçera* or Cancer in the month of *Heela* or June, because just as the crab is an animal which easily turns and walks forward and backward so the Sun in that month moves forward to the Tropic of Cancer and turns to the equinoctial. *Singa* or Leo in the month of *Niquini* or July, | because just as the <sup>F 48</sup> Lion is furious in that month and of a very ardent nature, so the Sun's heat becomes strongest in that month. They know also the Dog-days, so called from the star, the Dog in the mouth of the Lion. *Quani* or Virgo in the month of *Binera* or August, because just as the virgin is barren, fruitless

<sup>1</sup> *Rāhu*, ascending nodes.

<sup>2</sup> *Ravi*, Sun.

<sup>3</sup> *Rasiya*, sign. Mesha, Wrishaba, Mithuna, Karkataka, Sinha, Kanya, Tula, Wrischika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha, Mina.

<sup>4</sup> *Bak*, Wesak, Posen, Esala, Nikini, Binara, Wap, Il, Unguv ap. Durutu, Nawan, Medin.

and sterile, so is the earth fruitless in that month and neither produces nor breeds anything. *Tula* or *Libra*, in the month of *Vap* or September, because then the nights and days are  
 P 84 balanced, | because they are equal, though they say that it is not a distinct Sign, but is made up of the arms of *Scorpio* which stretch as far as the foot of the *Virgo*. *Vstica* or *Scorpio* in the month of October, because just as the Scorpion licks with its mouth and softens, and extending its neck harms, stings and vexes furiously, so also the heat of the Sun in that month admits of acute cold. *Danu* or *Sagittarius* in the month of *Hudua* or November because therein they are smitten with heavy rains and thunderstorms especially in the highlands. *Magara* or Capricorn in the month of *Duruto* or December, because just as the goat naturally mounts and descends with ease, so the Sun in that month mounts and descends from the Tropic of Capricorn returning to the Equinoctial line. *Comba* or *Aquarius* in the month of *Nauan* or January, because in that month it is cold as water. *Mini* or *Piscis* in the month of *Midindine* or February, because just as the fish is wet and lives in water, so that month is wet and rainy. And as many of these characteristics, however-much they labour the matter, cannot fit the climate of Ceylon, and still less other parts of India, it is clearly seen that they did no more than translate foreign names into their language or idiom, as they confess according to what we shall say now.

Just as they divide the year into twelve months and 48 weeks, they also divide it into six seasons in place of the four into which we divide it in Europe, Spring or *Primauera*, Summer, Autumn and Winter, giving each three months. They however following two of their Authors, *Videuiaga*<sup>1</sup> and *Maluate*<sup>2</sup> give to each season two months dividing these seasons under the following names beginning from March; *Vasunta*,<sup>3</sup> *Grisna*,<sup>4</sup> *Varusacaen*,<sup>5</sup> *Xara*,<sup>6</sup> *Eumanta*,<sup>7</sup> *Seyceyra*<sup>8</sup>. The season of *Vasunta* is during March and April, or *Bac* and *Vesac*; *Grisna*, May and June or *Poon* and *Hehela*; *Varusacaen*, July and August or *Niquini* and *Dinera*; *Xara*, September and October or *Vap* and *Il*; *Eumanta*, November and December or *Undua* and *Duruto*; *Seyceyra*, January and February or *Nauan* and *Midindine*, which is the last of their year.

<sup>1</sup> *Vidagama*, a Buddhist Monk of great learning in the 15th century, author of several poetical works.

<sup>2</sup> *Malwatte*, another learned Monk.

<sup>3</sup> *Sin. wasanta*, season of spring.

<sup>4</sup> *Grisma*, hot season.

<sup>5</sup> *Wassnakale*, rainy season.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarada*, sultry season.

<sup>7</sup> *Hemanta*, winter, snow-season.

<sup>8</sup> *Sisira*, cold season.

Cap. P 480  
 | They have a knowledge of the stars and their influences and that the Assyrians were the first to begin to contemplate the course of the Planets and the movement of the stars, the number and diversity of the constellations, as *Tullius* relates, and that the Chaldeans wrote about this science, and that *Atlas* invented Astrology, *Endimuis* settled the course and revolution of the Moon with observations of more than thirty years; that *Thales* of *Miletus* discovered the constellation of the Little Bear, the Equinox and the size of the Sun, which he said was 1200 times greater than the Moon, and that he regulated the doctrine of the eclipses of the Sun and Moon and that long beforehand he had discovered the  
 P 85 signs of *Aries*, *Taurus* and *Gemini*, and that | in the science of Astrology were distinguished *Plato* and *Anaximenes*, *Thales* of *Miletus*, *Democritus*, *Pythagoras* and *Berosus* to whom the Athenians raised a statue with a tongue of gold for his skill in calculating times, that *Hipparchus* gave the names to the stars, declaring their number with *Aristotle* and *Ptolemy*, that they had knowledge of this by way of the Romans at the time when they had dealings in Ceylon, and that among them were three men distinguished in this science and they were *Vidagama Gané*, *Totaganua*,<sup>1</sup> and *Maluate*; but at the present day the masters of this science in the Island are the *Beruayas*, a low people, and they say that the following was the occasion.

In the reign of King *Acab Rajerú*, the second of that name, much given to Letters and a patron thereof, there was not in the neighbouring Realms a man of learning who did not pass over to Ceylon drawn by the rewards he gave them. Among them was one highly esteemed for Mathematics and Astrology called *Vede Viaga*, who puffed up and arrogant treated with contempt the *Chingalas* who did not think themselves inferior to him. One of the latter named *Maluate*, and in their opinion a great Mathematician, to lower the conceit of the foreigner and the esteem of his art, in great secrecy taught it to the *Beruayas*, who being honoured thereby never abandoned it, the Father teaching his children, and they are as versed in the computations of time as the *Baneanes* in sums of arithmetic, that without any hesitation or opening a book they answer any question put to them about the changes of the weather, diseases, fury of the wind and rain, advantage of land, moderation of the summer, the coldness of winter, the composition and strength of the human body, physiognomy of the face and all else that pertains to such observations, and with such abuses they call them *Magi*

<sup>1</sup> *Totaganúwe Sri Rahula*, a distinguished poet of the 15th century.

and Sorcerers, wherefore they are persecuted even by their kinsmen. Nor is it an easy thing for a pagan to distinguish natural science from what is the work of the Devil, especially in medicine, because both in Ceylon and in the rest of India they will not begin a treatment without first consulting the soothsayers, with whom | the whole country is well supplied; <sup>F 49</sup> and if in Europe dealing with the Devil is more peculiar to women in India it is rather reserved to men, though there are many whom they call *Panditos*,<sup>1</sup> who understand the pulse well and are quite skilled in herbs. Finally the Chin-galas explain the year like the Enigma of Cleobulus related by Diogenes Laertius, saying that he is a Father who has 12 sons, and each son 30 grand-daughters, half white and half black, that all of them are immortal but all die; meaning by the Father the year, by the sons the months, and by the grand-daughters the hours of the day and of the night. This is not the place to examine the truth of what is said, and those who heard them and gav the information to us were not Mathematicians, so that we cannot fully rely on their information.

<sup>P 86</sup> | It is nevertheless true that they speak more sensibly than the Bramanes of this Hindustan who teach intolerable nonsense on this subject. They say that there are 14 worlds, 7 below the earth and 6 above it, and underneath them all, they say, there is hell; and above it in order the following worlds: *Magadalaō*, *Taladalaō*, *Raxadalaō* which is the world of quicksilver and serpents, then *Suladaō* and *Vidalaō*. Near them and the Earth is *Adalaō* and next this terrestrial world which cannot be called the globe of land and water, for they say that there are in it seven seas, one of salt water, another of refined sugar, another of palm wine, another of butter, another of curd, another of milk, and in this last they say is their Vixnu, where he has for bed a large snake of five heads wherewith he gives shade to his head. The last [sea] they say is of crystalline and purest water.

Above this terrestrial world is the sphere of air (*Aireo*) next the *Xoarcāō*<sup>2</sup>; where those who in this world offered sacrifice to the gods enjoy all manner of delights, and that they may not lack what they consider to be the greatest delight, they have the company of many harlots. And in spite of affirming that in this place is the King of the gods, whom they call Deuenderen,<sup>3</sup> they say that above it is *Maga-*

<sup>1</sup> *Pandita*, a learned man.

<sup>2</sup> *Svarga*.

<sup>3</sup> Devendra, chief of the gods.

*logaō*,<sup>1</sup> which means 'the great world', and in it Deuenderen and 330,000 millions of other gods, divided into two armies, one of the gods, the other of Giants, and always at perpetual war. Above this world is *Genalogaō*,<sup>2</sup> which means 'the world of people', where there are many of all states. Next comes *Tabalogaō*,<sup>3</sup> or the world of those who did penance in this world. The last that follows in order is *Sattialogaō*,<sup>4</sup> which means 'the world of truth', and would that they had found it after so many falsehoods. There they say is Brumâ with his devotees, who are all transformed into him and become the god Brumâ himself, a transformation which the Bramanes choose for themselves.

| If they are asked when this transformation takes place, <sup>F 500<sup>b</sup></sup> they answer that it takes place in this world, when the Bramane, to become a Religious, cuts the thread and the knot of hair which they wear as a token of their nobility, and in token of his penitence he takes in the right hand a bamboo stick of his own height, which must have eight, ten, twelve, or fourteen knots, and in his left a vessel of copper or clay, and after girding his loins with a short reddish cloth, utters in the Girindam<sup>6</sup> idiom, which is their Latin, the following words: *Agaō Brumâ*,<sup>7</sup> which means: 'I am the God Brumâ [himself].' Whereupon the Bramanes present prostrate themselves on the ground and then adore him as a god; and the Brahmin women (Bramanatiz), especially widows, then set about making cakes for the new god, who in proof of his penitence cannot at night take anything else, <sup>P 87</sup> though these pagan Bramanes penitents are the most | insolent and the proudest that there are in these Realms and under a profession of chastity are generally the most Lascivious and the greatest sorcerers that exist in these lands, such is the idea they form of God, that being already transformed into him, they say that at their death they go to the world of Brumâ.

<sup>1</sup> Mahaloka.

<sup>2</sup> Janarloka.

<sup>3</sup> Taparloka.

<sup>4</sup> Satyaloka.

<sup>5</sup> The copyist has turned two folios at once, and therefore f. 49v and 50 are blank.

<sup>6</sup> This represents *grantham* ('the book' i.e., leaves tied together by a string) and is properly applied to the character, Devanagiri alphabet, in which Sanskrit books are written. But early Portuguese writers used the word to mean Sanskrit.

<sup>7</sup> Aham (Brahmâ).

Of these worlds they say that they are all fixed one upon another, on a mountain of the purest gold of 2080 carats and very large, for such is the meaning of *Magameru*<sup>1</sup> *Paru-uadam*, which is supported on eight elephants, and these upon a tortoise, and the last on a hooded snake called Xexen. (The Portuguese call it 'cobra de capelo', from its resemblance to the Widow's veil, for when provoked, there juts out of both sides of its head a white membrane, which resembles it; and it is not from Capela [chapel] nor from Capelo or hat in Italian as was printed by Father Chircher). If they are asked how this snake is supported, which bears on him eight elephants, a great mountain of gold and 14 worlds, they reply that they do not know, as their books do not say. They also affirm, and as an undoubted fact, that the cause of earthquakes is no other than that this snake, to get some relief from so great a weight, shifts it from one shoulder to the other. It is no objection to them that the snake, also being a god can get tired, or that it has shoulders, though it has the shape of a snake.

They admit the 12 celestial signs and in them 27 fixed stars. They say the Sun rises at a distance of 625,000 leagues from the Earth, and the Moon as many above the Sun, and as they are unable to explain the eclipses of the sun by interposition, they imagined this silly fable. When the gods and Giants took the butter from the sea of milk (as we said elsewhere), at the same time Vixnu deceived the Giants and took it to give a banquet to the gods, and the snake Xexen,<sup>2</sup> one of the principal gods, not being present, the Sun and the Moon, the more shining gods, were very greedy | and ate the share P 51 of the snake, who coming later and learning from the story of the other gods who it was that left him fasting, becoming very wroth, swore he would make what they ate bitter for them, and would swallow them at a mouthful. And as he said, so, they say, he carries out, when the Sun and the Moon are eclipsed; because then he tries to devour them. But lest the world should be in darkness (at the prayer of the gods, the Bragmanes, and other pagans, their followers, all of whom at those times wash themselves, fast, weep, and make supplications, begging the snake god to let go the Sun and the Moon, persevering in this prayer till the eclipse is over, without eating or drinking or cooking), they believe that the reason for the end of the eclipse is nothing else except that the snake, moved by their prayers, lets them slip

<sup>1</sup> Maha-meru-parvata, the great Mount Meru.

<sup>2</sup> This is Rahu, the Seizer, fabled as a son of Vipra-citti and Sinhika.

from its teeth, if the eclipse is not total, or disgorges the Prince of the stars whom he has devoured from the stomach, as if it were an African snake swallowing | a bull. And as they are P 53 so ready to believe such fables, so tenacious of what their books teach, it is not easy to get this out of their heads. Europeans will laugh at this chimera, but it will be because they forget the Curetes, Priests of the Moon, who also thought that a dragon swallowed her, when she was in eclipse, and drove him away with instruments of metal.

They divide time into four parts which they call *Nerutta*<sup>1</sup> *cugaõ*, *Duabara cugao*, *Tirreda cugao*, *Calugao*. The first three ages of the world, they say, are already past, and they were cycles of gold in duration and good fortune, as all experienced: That in the third age there lived a certain King, of whom we shall speak elsewhere, without children for 70,000 years, and after that period he had them, for these hyperboles it is not enough to tell them that Francisco Gonçalvez, Captain of native troops in Solor, married in our days at [the age] of 100 years and had children. And though so great was the duration of that life, that *Kugao*<sup>2</sup> or age of the world did not end in his days. Of the fourth age, *Calugao*, which is still current, they say it is of iron, because of the many misfortunes and sufferings which men experienced in it, and because of the short duration of life. Of it they say that it began 404,048 years ago; and as they never change this reckoning in the course of years, it will always have the same antiquity and we shall have a permanent time. It has still more to run, for all the past time is but an instant with respect to the future. Some think that when this age is over, the world will not persist longer; others, that when it is over, the cycles of gold which had passed will reappear.

And as this fable, well known among them, seemed but small to a certain Yogi, it is said in his book *Andazarcaraõ*, or Chronicle of the world, that before these four ages, | which P 57 suppose some knowledge of the image in Nabacodensor's [dream],<sup>3</sup> there were 14 others, and 18 in all, and to be excused from giving their names, it will be enough to state their duration. The first, they say, lasted 140 millions of years, the second 130; the third 120, the fourth 110, the fifth 100 millions, the sixth 90 millions, the seventh 80, the eighth 70, the ninth 60, the tenth 50, the eleventh 40, the twelfth 30, the thirteenth 20, the fourteenth 10, the fifteenth 9 million and 600,000

<sup>1</sup> Katta, Dullpara, Frotã and Kaki-Yugas.

<sup>2</sup> Yuga.

<sup>3</sup> The composition is between the gold, silver, brass and iron ages with the composition of the image in Daniel II.



years, the sixteenth 7 millions and 500,000 years, the seventeenth 5 million and 900,000 years, the eighteenth 4 million and 400,300 years, so that before the last four ages of the world it had already lasted 100,755 million and 706 years. In order to form an opinion of what they think of the visible world, [be it said] that they imagine that all stars are animated by a rational form, that they are married, have many children, though they are all gods. So much for the astrology of the Bramanes who cannot deny that the Chingalas speak more sensibly.

## CHAPTER 16.

## P 89 WHO ARE THE RELIGIOUS OF THE SECT OF BUDDHISM

*Changatâres* or *Ganêzes* are the Religious of this Sect, for those of the Vedaõ are everywhere Bramanas. No one else save *Apumiz*<sup>1</sup> or their gentlefolk can be such, nor is it enough to be so on the side of the Father. The dress is a yellow mantle, fashioned in such a way as to leave the right arm and breast uncovered, and they go about barefooted. In the hand they carry an *avano*<sup>2</sup> or round fan to cover the face, when they meet another person, and to ward off the Sun, because their head is uncovered and shaven; and this which is a disgrace to others, these men by reason of their being penitents, hold as an honour, as in the case of the *Saneaz*, penitents among the Bramanes. Outwardly they profess chastity, and if they are found guilty, their *Turunances*,<sup>3</sup> who are their Bishops or Superiors of Monasteries, expel them, but as there is little care to discover the truth, and as all Asiatic Idolaters hold this vice as a great happiness, though they are more cautious, they are not less vicious than the others. The *Turunances* do not obtain that dignity save after being a *Ganez* for 25 years, for which they are proposed by the King and confirmed by the *Muturance*<sup>4</sup> of *Arracaõ*, who is their Supreme Pontiff, or at least Patriarch or Primate, for some say that the head of all is the great *Lamaz* of Tartary, because this Sect was also received in the whole of further India as far as Japan, and in all Asiatic Tartary which has not accepted Mahometanism.

<sup>1</sup> Appuhamy, the title of respect given to sons of Mudliyors.

<sup>2</sup> 'Avano', 'abano', (Lat-vannus) fan, which has come into Sinhalese as *havana*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sin. terunnânse*, honorific form of *thero*. A courtesy title given to a senior monk (Childrens s. v.).

<sup>4</sup> *Mahâ-terunnanse* :

They acknowledge no other penance, but rather consider foolish in this regard anything that is not an observance of fasting and chastity, and they are generally very abstemious and moderate in food and drink, and if any one drinks wine of any kind which is made in India, it is among them so great a sin, that they stone him for it. They have many fasts throughout the year and on some solemnities, but with greater rigour on the first Wednesday after the full Moon of each month, when after sunset they eat only two figs of India with two cakes of rice and jaggery (the sugar of the palm tree) which they call *Panielas*.<sup>1</sup> On the other days of the year they take rice cunjee<sup>2</sup> in the morning, dine on rice and herbs, and at night they eat the same as on fast days, for they cannot eat fish or meat except when they are guests, and they can scarcely do so then, for they are not accustomed. They live in poverty and on alms and observe obedience to their superiors. They say prayers in community at certain hours of the day and of the night, for which in certain parts they make use of small and large bells. And with this kind of life they consider themselves saints and act as such, because the spirit of humility never has a place among heathens, nor does the Devil deceive his followers less. Great is the respect in which they are held even by the Kings themselves, and even here in India, if a pagan King of another caste happens to be passing, then the penitent Bramane sits down, even if it be in the mud, in order not to lose his adoration. And as in the Sect there is this show of honour and others which we pointed out, those who follow it are very obstinate, excepting Japan for other reasons, and China and other maritime Kingdoms as far as Siam, because the Bonzos<sup>3</sup> are little esteemed there, and [excepting] Ceylon because of the dependence in which it was held by the Portuguese; in the other Kingdoms they seem to be a fore-doomed people, and rare is the man who becomes a convert, and unless God intervenes with the might of His arm, the conversion of those people will be very difficult. The Ganezes go out of their convents on certain days of the week to beg alms from door to door, wherewith they maintain themselves, giving to the poor and the birds what remains over, because they cannot keep anything nor have an income or any movable property of their own.

<sup>1</sup> Tam. *paniyaram*, cakes.

<sup>2</sup> 'Canja de arroz', Tam. *kanji*.

<sup>3</sup> Bonze. A term long applied by Europeans in China to the Buddhist clergy, but originating with early visitors to Japan. A religious person is in Japanese *bonzi* or *bonzo*. Hob.-Job.



Among them are the teachers of reading and writing, and they teach the Malavâr language, which they call Tamul, esteemed by the nations who sail to the Cape of Comoÿ and the coast of Choromandel, just as here in Hindustan [the language] which they call Marasttâ<sup>1</sup>, though it is barbarous not only in comparision with Greek and Latin, but even with the other languages of Europe. A general defect of these languages is that, though they abound in nouns, they are very poor in verbs. They are still more barbarous in orthography and pronunciation, because they neither separate the words nor the periods by fullstops and commas, and only in the beginning of their words do they use a vowel, for in the middle of the words they supply it by different characters which the Chingalas call *combas*,<sup>2</sup> *espilas*, *alapilas*, *papilas*,<sup>3</sup> *F 52v* and they use only eleven characters, though they are more beautiful than those of other Asiatic nations, whose languages generally are very difficult to pronounce, on account of a certain turn of the tongue against the palate of the mouth and breathing out, and unless one learns this from his childhood, he can never pronounce the words with the same energy, nor can their sounds be properly written only with our letters, for there are numerous L's and T's, and it is the same with the vowel *a*. Wherefore the best way is to learn first their letters and their pronunciation, for he who utters them properly will also be able to pronounce the languages. And this is one of the difficulties to refute their errors and to compose Books for that purpose, because the European prints are not understood by them by reason of the different characters, and their tongues are not understood by us without special study of them. And though in our other Provinces such as Malavâr and China<sup>3</sup> it is enough to learn the Tamul or Chinese language, in that of Japan which extends over many Kingdoms, and in this of Goa which spreads over Asia and Africa, it is necessary to learn many, or the Superiors must make up their minds not to make changes, and *P 91* subjects | to sacrifice their lives in fixed missions, for a man cannot always like little children be learning barbarous languages.

<sup>1</sup> The language of the Marâthâs, or Marathi.

<sup>2</sup> Tam. *kombu*, 'horn', applied to the symbol  $\ominus$  representing the vowel *e*.

Sin. *ispilla*, 'the head-limb', the symbol  $\circ$  representing the vowel *i*.

Sin. *elapilla*, 'the side-limb',  $\circ$ , representing the vowel *a*.

Sin. *papilla*, 'the foot-limb',  $\circ$ , representing the vowel *u*.

<sup>3</sup> Provinces of the Society of Jesus.

The example of this our Province of Goa will be enough to explain my meaning. If one has to be a Missionary in the Rios or in Sofâla, in the country of Marâue or in Monomotâpa and in the other Realms of those Regions, in each province and sometimes in each village, there is found some difference of language, and when the Conquistador Francisco Baretto went up the river Zambozi as far as a certain fresh water lake which had many islands in it and stretches for many leagues inland; neither the Caffirs below nor those of the heart of Monomotâpa understood those of that Region, as we find from the testimony of the Portuguese who took part therein. One who would be a Missionary in Mogul must understand the language of Hindustan, and Persian which is spoken at Court. In the countries of the North, Marasttâ, in those of Goa, Canarina,<sup>1</sup> in those of Canarâ and Mysore, Canarese, and as many places in Mysore are Tamul speaking, it must be known also, which is incompatible with frequent changes.

The Ganezes also teach composition in verse, of which they have only three different kinds. The first, which they consider more solemn, is of 22 syllables in each verse, which correspond to two common heroic verses. The Second is of 16, a metre which we do not use; the third of seven, the most common among us, and in this order | they call them *F 53* *Cauiz*,<sup>2</sup> *Sibados*, *Sindos*. They have metre and they have rhythm or assonance; and it is the general practice in all Asia to write the most celebrated works in verse in order to commit them the better to memory, though rhythm has not the same grace in all languages. It impairs the Majesty of the Latin language and is incompatible with its variety of cases and nouns and of persons in verbs; and metre without rhythm has no grace in the vulgar languages of Europe. But incredible is the energy which the Asiatics find in their verses in which they repeat their Veddos,<sup>3</sup> their Purânas,<sup>4</sup> which means their Scriptures and the Doctrines of their Sciences, such as they are; but as they have achieved

<sup>1</sup> The 'lingua Canarina' spoken in Goa is Konkani.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *kavi*, song, (poetry).

Sin. *sipada*, 'stanzas of four lines'—Clough.

Sin. *sindu*, ballads.

<sup>3</sup> Vedas, the Sacred books of the Brahamans. Veda, knowledge.

<sup>4</sup> Skt. *Purâna* 'Old', hence 'legendary' and thus applied as a common name to 28 books which contain the legendary mythology of the Brahamans.—Hob.-Job.

perfection in no faculty outside China, neither their prose nor their verse can be compared with the Greek and Latin works or modern European ones. It has been remarked by St. Jerome that the prophet David composed his psalms in Iambics, Alcaics and Sapphics, as Pindar and Homer among the Greeks, and Josephus and Origen think that Job, Solomon and Isaias, composed in hexametric and pentametric verses.

It behoves now to give some account of the Sect of the Ganezes. It is absolutely necessary not to confuse this Sect with that of the Veddaōs or of the Bramanes, a mistake into which some have fallen, because both are received in Ceylon and in all India beyond the Ganges, in Tartary and Japan. The short account we give here, because we could not find a more complete one, will also serve to compare what the Chingalas say with what the Bonzes of China affirm, in order to see what the Chinese have added, as Father Thomas Pereyra,<sup>1</sup> who communicated to us a short summary of the writings of the Bonzes of China, conjectures with good reason.

It is recorded in the Chingala scriptures that there was a King in Vdeli (at first the Court of the Great Mogul, after he conquered the Kingdom of the Patânas<sup>2</sup>, whither the present King again transferred his Court after residing a long time in Agra) the lord of many provinces. There was born to him a very handsome son; and assembling many Astrologers, he ordered them to cast his nativity. This being done, they told the King in amazement that his son would not only despise his Kingdom and Lordship, but also all the things of this life, and that he would go travelling about the world teaching a new Law and doctrine. The King, becoming a prey to fresh anxiety, tried to avert the inclination of the son, and when the years of infancy were past, he ordered him to be kept in a Palace, newly built, very sumptuous and gay, and so taken care of, that he should neither speak nor deal with any one save with those deputed

<sup>1</sup> Fr. Thomas Pereyra S.J., born in 1645, entered the Society in 1663, and went as a Missionary to China in 1673. He was a musician and even wrote books in Chinese. A Ms. in Chinese exists in the Bibl. Nation. Paris (N. F. Chinois 3033). He also wrote in Chinese a 'Description of the European Method of Music' which has been inserted in a Chinese work printed in 1746. Kang-li associated him with some Chinese in composing a work in music. Sommervogel. *Bib. des Ecriv. de la Comp. de Jesu.* VI. 514.

<sup>2</sup> *Pattana*, 'The City' the chief city of Behar.

for the purpose, [so that he should] neither see nor hear | anything which could give him pain or sorrow; and so he kept him making much of him and giving him pleasure up to the age of 18 years; wherein owing to the constant prayers and importunities he made to his Father and Mother, because he saw himself like a prisoner, they finally gave him Permission to sally from the Palace and cloister in which he had been brought up and to see and converse with whomever he liked. He went out, accompanied by many who guided him and followed him, some on the orders of the Father, and meeting a cripple on crutches, he asked in surprise why he walked on wooden feet. They answered that it was a common thing to meet with people who were lame, blind, or subject to other natural or accidental defects. He went on his way confused till he met a decrepit old man leaning on a staff; and as it was a thing never seen by him, he inquired how it was caused. They satisfied him by saying that it was a defect of old age. Being now more sad, on this or on another occasion he came upon a dead man whom they were carrying for burial amidst the wailing of children, kinsmen and friends. Struck by what he saw, he inquired the cause, and they replied that they were going to bury the corpse, because it would soon be corrupted. And seeking to know what manner of thing death was which caused so many evils, he understood from them that it proceeded from a want of natural heat which sustains life, and that without that the body is bereft of all sensibility and that all living things infallibly must die. 'Then, have I also to die?' asked the Prince. They assured him that it was so. He asked 'When?' They said in reply that they did not know, because it was reserved to God. He became very sad, and going about with this thought, he met a pilgrim or Yogi and telling him of the sadness and affliction which surrounded him in consequence of what he had seen | and heard, he begged him counsel about determining [a way of] life. He advised him to quit the world and lead a solitary life. Determining to do so, he escaped one night without being noticed and went wandering about the world. He gathered 10,000 disciples and of them he picked out 500 and finally kept only 10, and in the year 896 before our Redemption, when Joas was the High Priest in Jerusalem, he came to Ceylon, accompanied by many disciples, and went to live in the country of Deorâta on the skirts of the Peak of Adam, leading a penitential life in the yellow garb, which the Ganezes adopted from him and which is used also by the Bramanes who chose that life.

Some say he taught the worship of one only God, penance and mercy, about which they relate of him impossible instances; but it is false that he gave them the ten precepts of the commandments adding two, not to drink wine nor kill any living thing, that he denied the immortality of the soul | <sup>P 54</sup> and attributed all the successes and human events to fate and to the Planets; whereby they deny the first cause, attributing everything to chance, a principle most in keeping with ingratitude. Others would have it that he taught them the law of Moses, but this is because they confuse this Sect with that of the Veddaōs, about which we shall speak presently. He taught the transmigration of souls, a Dogma common to all Asiatic heathendom, adopted by Pythagoras in Italy and by Plato in Greece. Before crossing the sea on his way to the coast of Arracan and Pegu, he left some disciples to establish his doctrine, and they say he impressed on the Peak of Adam the footprint of which we have already treated. Lomba<sup>1</sup> only tells us that he had many other errors and that his penances served as a bark to Hell. For he who considers the extensive regions which venerate him, at least will doubt whether he leads more to perdition than shameful Mahomet, whom he preceded by more than 1400 years. The worship they pay him is to prostrate themselves on the ground three times repeating the words *Buddum Sarnaō Gachaō*,<sup>2</sup> as if to say: Buddum, be Mindful of me.

Though this Sect is the most renowned in Ceylon, especially among the noble folk, they admitted also that of the Veddos, especially their seven lesser gods, about whom they relate most indecent foulnesses and actions, which render them the most abominable men in the world; and according to these stories they make statues and pictures of them, and they are the following. Bremeu or Vixnu, for they name him by both these words, unless perhaps the Narrator confuses Bramā with Vixnu, as we already pointed out, to whom they give the Empire over water. Ganez, whom they sculpture as an elephant from the breast upwards, Ravāna with many arms, though others sculpture him as a monkey, of whom they relate and believe impossible nonsense. And Perumal <sup>P 54</sup> Betal, whose figure is so obscene | and foul, as he must have been, in every way similar to that of Priapus. To him they ascribe the Empire over gardens, cornfields or in general

over agriculture; and before beginning it, they make to him sacrifices of blood. Catragaō,<sup>1</sup> god of vengeance, with power over armies like another Mars, whom they sculpture with the snout of a pig, and he must have been a Wild boar, for he is more wild than the one of Erymanthus. Biururu Perumal Atala, of whom they narrate similar fables. Can dasuamī, to whom they give the Empire over the Heavens, subordinating to him the other gods here mentioned, which is the reason why they call him Suami<sup>2</sup> which means 'Your divine majesty.' They represent him in the form of a dog, just as European heathendom imagined many transformations of Jupiter (to whom he corresponds) for this diversity of representations does not spring from his nature, but from | <sup>P 54v</sup> the foulness and laughable events in their lives, for the Devil attributes to the divinities whom they adore all vices, especially those of the flesh, to which all their fables lead, in order to render them easier to his followers. The Priests of these Idols are called *Jedācas*. They live in the pagodes themselves or in their neighbourhood, in order that with greater ease they may carry on their worship.

Outside the pagodes they do not pray on beads (of which the Yogis wear a multitude round their necks without crosses and without tags) except once in their lives, [when they say] three or four million of these orisons according to their devotion, when they are very old, because it is only then that they think they can commit sin; and if they see Portuguese youths praying, it is a cause of laughter to them, while really it is their own manner of prayer that is ridiculous. They enter the Pagode, place a finger of chunam (lime of oysters) on the face of Buddūm and make their promises, but only on wednesdays after the Full Moon, which they call *Eya*,<sup>3</sup> having previously fasted three days, and washed their body everyday. The women take care not to make their vows at the time of their common distemper, and thus both the married ones and the others for fifteen days previous abstain from sexual acts, and both the one and the other go on that day in new clothes, or at least newly washed ones, because it would be a great crime to fail in any of the above-mentioned things. And it may well be a matter of confusion to those who adore the true God.

<sup>1</sup> Kataragama.

<sup>2</sup> Skt. 'suamin', lord.

<sup>3</sup> Sin. *poja* (Pohoya), phase of the Moon.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Pali: *Buddham saraṇam gacchāmi*: I take refuge in Buddha.

## CHAPTER 17.

ACCOUNT WHICH THE MISSIONARIES OF CHINA GIVE OF  
THE IDOL BUDDU

As I came to know that it was the general opinion of the Missionaries that the Buddü of Ceylon is the same as the Fô (or Foë as others write it) of China, I wrote on the subject to Father Thomas Pereyra of our Society, Missionary resident at the Court | of Pekin, the Metropolis of that vast Monarchy. <sup>P 95</sup> And he making a summary of the books of a Bonze converted to our Holy Faith, who had been a Prelate among them, wherein are contained the Scriptures which are fully believed in by them, sent me the following account, though greatly abridged from what is contained in the original. He said as follows :—

In order to satisfy the desire of Your Reverence without being irksome, I took no small pains on account of the awkwardness of the Chinese style, so contrary to ours, to put things as far as I could in our own way, for their | style would <sup>P 55</sup> certainly cause great confusion, although as a political nation they do not fail to observe the substantial and common rules of historical composition. For this purpose I thought it best and more to the purpose to give a full account of what the Bonzes here believe of their Fô, the principal Pagode out of many others, drawn from the writings, the most authoritative among them, although in everything they are blind and deceived by the Devil. I took this resolution, because I thought that by comparing the fables, many of them invented by those people, with the notices which Your Reverence will find there, many of them would be found to be conflicting, and you would be able by comparison to discover the falsity of the—for them—infallible Scriptures. It is really unworthy of so cultured a people to deviate so widely from the truth, but when the light of the true Faith does not shine, the saying of St. Paul—*Tradidit illos Deus in reprobum sensum*,<sup>1</sup> is very clearly verified.

I must point out, however, that what they give at length in three tomes I have here summarised in short chapters, taking what is to the purpose, and leaving out what is useless, with all fidelity. I have also omitted some chapters, fruitless

<sup>1</sup> God delivered them up to a reprobate sense. Rom. I. 28.

to our purpose, inverting the order of others by placing them where they are more to the purpose, pointing out however on the margin the number of the Chinese chapter which contains the statement and giving it almost always in their very words, so that in this way all things may be clearer and better arranged.

## SUMMARY OF THE FIRST PART

OF THE BIRTH AND LIFE OF FÔ UP TO THE THIRTIETH YEAR  
OF AGE

<sup>Chap. 1</sup> After the text of the first chapter<sup>a</sup> [which reads] ('The marks and signs of Xekia (or Fô) began from his own essence; the essence descends to take form; the essence and form were joined into one'), it continues in obscure language ('If he wished to remain without being born, who would convert the world? Who would guide the age unless he became man?') and other expressions which may, without violence, be applied to the first cause or according to their Philosophy to some <sup>P 69</sup> *materia prima* incapable of any | intrinsic change, which ever remains the same being, though it varies with the variety of extrinsic changes, deceiving the ignorant by this confusion and obscurity. There are many discussions over these words. But the common enemy could | not better pervert what we <sup>P 55</sup> believe of our Redeemer, many centuries before the Incarnation of Christ, as will be seen later, unless it is a false addition due to the malice of the Chinese, after they came to know of our Holy Faith, which was brought thither some 900 years ago.

In Chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 this Scripture gives the transmigration of Pythagoras, giving to Fô many previous ages. At one time he is the son of a King, at another a Hermit or a Pagode in Heaven, again a servant boy on earth, but always mindful of a last incarnation to help men, ever speaking on this point with Angels and other inhabitants of Heaven whom this Sect supposes to have been men, converted into good and evil spirits according to their deeds, keeping ever before his eyes the family of King Tsimfan as the most virtuous and best fitted for his birth, and because it is in the middle of the world adapted for the promulgation of this Law throughout the whole of it.

<sup>Chap. 8</sup> When the time<sup>b</sup> of his Incarnation had arrived, he, being then a Pagode, descended from Heaven and entered through the right side of the Princess Moye, his Mother, who at the same time, as if in a dream, saw him descending from heaven,

riding upon a white elephant with six tusks, and it appearing to her likewise that she saw him in her womb as if in a vase of glass; at sight of which she felt supreme delight and was filled with a resplendence, considering in her heart this mystery, and thenceforth her food came to her from Heaven.<sup>c</sup>

Chap. 9

When the time of birth arrived, which according to their and our computation was 1027 years before the true Incarnation of the Word of God, in the reign of King Cheo in China, on the eighth day of the fourth moon in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, he was born in India in the Kingdom of Gúci, Gúcilô, his Father being Tsimfan (who must have been his suppositious father, if they wish to be consistent, a matter to which they pay little attention) and when he was expelled from the Kingdom, his son, though he was the first born, did not accept the Crown, though the people gathered round him and acclaimed him. The Father coming to know of this said: my son Xekia knows how to be dutiful. Hence it is that in China the Bonzes are generally called Xekia, just as we say Dominicans or Franciscans. At that hour the Mother accompanied by many Dames went into a garden in which was a tree called Pelôlo (as the Chinese language has no R it may even be Perôro) and catching hold of a branch of it with the right hand she gave birth to the son through the armpit, according to their pictures, though the text does not mention it.

As soon as he was born, he stood up and turned without help to the four quarters, and took seven steps in each of the four directions; and from his footprints there sprang at once water | lilies sacred in China, and towards each side of the world he uttered these words: 'In Heaven and on earth I am the only Superior, wherefore let the Angels and Saints and men of the earth serve and venerate me,' (the same is repeated in chapter 25 of the second part of his life), which words made such an impression on the world, that the rivers of China and the Royal Palaces quaked. And in this way they relate other hyperbolic prodigies, as for instance, that there were then prophecies in China about his birth.—A Heathen's fancy is greater than a poet's and [reminds one] of the '*Græcia mendax audet in Historia*'—but their annals, which omit nothing, make no mention of these prodigies. They add here that he sent forth such resplendence that he illumined the whole world; and the whole world will say they lie.

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal 10, 174.

<sup>d</sup>Chap. 10 The Father,<sup>d</sup> hearing of the birth, hastened to the garden, and as he was in suspense considering how to take the child to the Palace, there appeared many heavenly spirits of the one and the other sex (what an idea they have of 'spirits!') and accompanied the carriage with various perfumes paying him court. The Father called the soothsayers, a superstition greatly practised in China, and they said everything exactly. He granted a general pardon and gave large alms. After seven days the Mother died of weakness, and the son being offered to God in the Temple, all its statues rising from their seats inclined the head as he entered and revered him and welcomed him with poesy in the Chinese fashion.

<sup>e</sup>Chap. 12 In his eighth year<sup>e</sup> of age they gave him a Teacher, to whom the boy forthwith put such questions, that the Teacher acknowledging his superiority owned himself a pupil. The same happened with the Master of the soldiers and liberal arts. Could the devil counterfeit any better so many centuries in advance the mysteries of the infancy of Christ our Redeemer?

<sup>f</sup>Chap. 14 After he was sworn in as Prince<sup>f</sup> of the Kingdom, when he went to take his ease in a garden and considered the troubles of the gardeners and farmers, there came to him the thought of quitting the world (previously they supposed him to be eternal) and the Father coming to know of this was exceedingly grieved. The same thing happened to him, when he went out to the suburbs of the city. And in spite of all this detachment from the world, immediately in the 16th<sup>h</sup> chapter he is praised as so excellent a bowman, that to exercise that art he brought down with one arrow five unclean animals, made of iron, opening a deep well where it fell, with other similar fantasies.

<sup>1</sup>Chap. 17 | On the order of his Father<sup>1</sup> he married three wives, though <sup>F 569</sup> he lived as if he were not married (for which purpose one was more than enough) and the King was very uneasy lest he

<sup>1</sup>Chap. 20 should run away to the wilderness.<sup>1</sup> At the same time a Heavenly spirit by dint of miracles tried to move him to become a Religious, which is inconsistent with what is said in chapters 2, 3 and 4, for which purpose he caused his Father to have marvellous dreams, the same spirit trans-

<sup>P 98</sup> forming itself in the form | of a Bragmane to interpret the <sup>m</sup>Chap. 21 dream, because no one could be found to do so.<sup>m</sup> And afterwards he came to meet Fô himself in a pleasure garden in the shape of an old man, in a miserable and pitiful state, expressive of all human misery, and the Prince resolved to <sup>n</sup>Chap. 22 quit the world.<sup>n</sup> This was strengthened by another apparition which he showed him on the road whereby he passed, at one

- time feigning to be at the gates of death, at another time a dead body; all this merely to convert him.<sup>o</sup> Another Heavenly spirit undertook the same task appearing to him in the shape of a Bonze, though there was none yet, giving him many reasons for quitting the world. This is little coherent with the eternal desires of saving it.
- Chap. 25 At this time<sup>p</sup> the Princess, wife of Fô, was taken with great pains of labour (unless they wish to give another Father to this son, they must needs admit that he was wanting in the continence which they supposed in chapter 1). But though well married, Fô was not able to resist any longer, and determined to ask permission from his Father to quit the world, representing to him these four motives which led him to it, namely, Fô alleged (1) I desire not to grow old. (2) I like to remain young (this is the same as the first). (3) I do not relish to have diseases. (4) I wish to be immortal (fine notions indeed for a novice!).<sup>q</sup> The Father did not grant it, and the Angels seeing this made the guards fall asleep, and he mounted a horse, the earth shook, and he fled through the air, which happened to him on many other occasions, the four legs of the horse being sustained by 4 Angels<sup>r</sup> (then the horse is useless), up to a certain copse where the novice cut his hair with his own hand, and the Angels gathered it and took it to Heaven to be adored (they seem to suppose that he was a Chinese as regards hair, though they said that he was born in Hindustan. The text does not say where the equerry was, but as it says that he was with him at the copse, and that he sent by him messages to the Princess and the other ladies giving them hopes of a speedy return, which he never fulfilled, he must have clung to the mane while the Prince flew through the air).
- Chap. 31 In this wilderness<sup>s</sup> he noticed the various and severe penances which many Hermits practiced in order to be reborn in Heaven and he told them | 'You will have to be born again F 57 on earth and will not evade the troubles of this life, to which I will put a stop, and I shall not be reborn again.' For this reason they say that the Glory of Heaven as well as the pains of Hell have a limit, except in the case of those who take upon themselves the life or state of Pagodes.<sup>t</sup> For this purpose he asked a Hermit: 'What was the root of death.' He replied pointing out various maxims of perfection, but Fô made no account of them, and opposing him with various thrusts and arguments to the contrary, he concluded saying: 'If you undo your own being putting aside all cares and thoughts of this life, you will cut the root | of death.' He did not speak in the moral meaning, nor
- Chap. 23
- Chap. 28
- Chap. 33
- P 99

- do his followers so understand him, but physically, and all their meditations consist in suspending the advertence of the mind and occupying themselves solely in counting the number of respirations; in order not to think of anything else, spending many years in meditating on nothing, pretending to be in an ecstasy and out of the senses, and more accurately beside themselves, a doctrine which Fô taught them in chapter 34<sup>u</sup> as the highest perfection for them. And yet they do not achieve the object of becoming immortal, for they die like the rest, deceiving however the ignorant people so long as they live, and they find people who give credit to this delirium, though among the wise they gain no credit.
- Chap. 34

Fô spent six years in penance without eating anything save a grain of *gergilim*<sup>1</sup> and another larger one of wheat each day; and by this mortification he made satisfaction for the sins he had committed in past ages: all this in order to save the dwellers in Heaven and earth, though they suppose him to have been a god in all past ages. Calvin will find this theology a great help.

- Chap. 36 At last<sup>x</sup> he felt hungry, whereupon an Angel, to whom they also give a name, moved some shepherdesses to recruit his strength with Milk, and with this refreshment he became glad and strong.
- Chap. 37 He began Redemption<sup>z</sup> with the fishes (even in these their theology must have found sin) and obtained it by washing the body—it is a common mistake of all Eastern heathendom that sins are got rid of by Ablutions—whereupon the fishes straightway went to be reborn in Heaven.<sup>y</sup> Then, when he wished to sit under a tree, the Angles, spirits of the wind, swept the place for him by blowing hard,<sup>a</sup> and for a seat they placed a cushion of straw whereon he sat in the shade. This tree without doubt is the one which in India is called [the tree] of the Pagode, which for that reason is found in all Pagodes. And under it, they pretend, is acquired | perfection F 57v and the rank of Pagode, though there is no (tree) more attached to the earth, because the fresh roots which the branches throw on the ground form so many trunks, that sometimes one cannot know which is the principal one.
- Chap. 40
- Chap. 41 Then<sup>b</sup> appeared the King of the Dragons (which, though they do not deny them to be animals, they esteem as supernatural beings) with his wife and daughters applauding his intention of saving living beings<sup>c</sup>; and there were found
- Chap. 42

<sup>1</sup> *Sesamum indicum*, gingeli or gingelly is a name adopted from the Portuguese who took it from the Arabs.

under that tree 48,000 Pagodes exercising themselves in virtue.<sup>d</sup> But at this time the chief of the Demons, moved by some dreams he had, (dreams and spirits scarcely go together) mustered his troop to frustrate the plan of Redemption, though they also were to be redeemed; and the principal son of the Demon did many things to dissuade him from it, but failed completely with Fô.<sup>e</sup> Seeing this, the Captain of the gang determined to make war on him by means of female Devils, assailing him with Lascivious things, but he behaved as if he were not of flesh, and it must have been no small feat to resist many women Devils, if all this had not been | a fable. I omit many answers of Fô, all based on the transmigration of souls, a common error of the Oriental Heathen, which he teaches to be the lot also of Angels and Demons, which error infects nearly all the Chapters of this Scripture. He imagines also Heavenly Angels in Heaven, on earth earthly Angels, in the mountains mountainous ones, reborn like men in all these places, and becoming, according to their merits, sometimes men, at other times Demons and Angels, imagining prodigies and nonsensical things, of which the chapters 45, 49, 52, 53, 55, 59 and many others of the second part are full, everything leading to the conclusion and main business of honouring Fô, and of gaining large alms for his Bonzes.

<sup>f</sup> Chap. 51 After this<sup>f</sup> resistance, he became confirmed as a Pagode under the name of Fô, for up to this time he was called Xekia; and being free from all that to which human nature is subject, incapable of change, with a general and abstract nature which is invariable, and realising this privilege, he made a kind of litany of his praises and good deeds of past ages by means of which he had obtained his present state.

## CHAPTER 18.

### SUMMARY OF THE SECOND PART

#### OF THE LIFE OF FÔ, FROM THE THIRTIETH YEAR TILL HE BECAME OLD

<sup>g</sup> Chap. 1 The first chapters begins with the congratulations | which. <sup>F 58</sup> all kinds of spirits and Heavenly Kings gave him, offering him scents and perfumes for being confirmed as a Pagode and as a conquerer, with divers poems which the text gives <sup>h</sup> Chap. 2 in full, in return for which he communicated to them various<sup>h</sup>

doctrines beginning with his own praises and comparing himself to the Sun which illumines the just and the unjust, high and low, without any acceptance of persons, hills and dales, wherein he imitates the luminary illumining by his doctrine all kinds of living beings in order to save all. He sat down in the Palace of the Dragons, which they considered a great happiness, and their King received the law of Fô, and the text<sup>i</sup> says that he was the first Dragon to be saved.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>l</sup> Chap. 4 Afterwards one of the Emperors of Heaven alleged this service, saying that, when he was a shepherd, he had given him milk. He must have been fond of this, for this offer is found in many places, and even in Heaven, when he went to see his mother, she let fall from her breast a quantity of it as is related in Chapter 105 of the second part. This Emperor begged him for a favour, and Fô granted it, and also ordered him to become a Bonze and to observe his precepts, to which he submitted, being the first of that family.

<sup>P 101</sup> | As he was already<sup>l</sup> sanctified, he began to distribute his relics, giving hairs and nails to some merchants on the following occasion. When some merchants were passing by the place where Fô was with 500 loaded wagons, the [draught] cattle stood motionless till they offered him something to eat; and when he gave them these relics in recompense, they promised to build a beautiful tower wherein they were to be worshipped. Then there came down a Heavenly King, with a further troop from the 33 Heavens (they imagine as many) begging Fô to preach his precepts to them, who replied to them: 'When I wished to prove the Law which in itself is very profound, it is difficult to see and believe what it contains, neither by discussion nor even by thought can it be properly declared; and only those who become Fô can do it,' (then he was not one yet) 'wherefore it is better for me to be silent.' In proof that this reply is also taken from the Koran, in that very Chapter this crowd of spirits recommends the Kingdom of Meca to Fô, begging him to go there to preach, because it was troubled and confused by many and perverse Sects, and in it, they say, was his longest stay, calling it Mekia, because of the incapacity [to write it properly] with their letters. Fô resolved<sup>m</sup> to preach therein, but only five were converted, whom he taught to make acts of Faith, questioning them whether Fô existed in all things; for thus <sup>n</sup> Chap. 35 they explain the being of God, saying in Chapter<sup>n</sup> 35 that all things partake of his nature | whether they be Angels or Kings, <sup>F 58</sup> or men or women, and that he exists in all as their universal cause.

It is here in this ninth chapter that they place the ten commandments of their Law. 1. Not to kill any kind of thing; 2. Not to steal; 3. Not to fornicate; 4. Not to bear false witness; 5. Not to drink wine; 6. Not to murder; 7. Not to praise oneself at another's cost; 8. Not to be avaricious; 9. Not to be wrath; 10. Not to speak ill of Fô and his precepts. He gave no precept to obey one's Father and Mother, though that is the first duty of men, rather he allowed his Father to prostrate himself at his feet and to adore him as a Pagode, acknowledging<sup>o</sup> him as Lord of the 3,000 worlds, for they imagine so many.

Soon there gathered round him various disciples, one of whom he constituted his successor in the chair, because he was an excellent Preacher. A boatman pretended to ignore all this,<sup>p</sup> and would not let Fô cross a river without first paying for it. He crossed it through the air, and not forgetting the injury, he complained to the King, who obliged the boatman to let henceforth all Bonzes pass free, like the Fakirs of the Moors and the Yogis of the Heathens who in all use of boats have this privilege.<sup>q</sup> Fô gave other favours similar to these which are narrated in chapter 58. Not the smallest prodigy was to divide the waters of a river, as happened in the Jordan, to cross it without payment with an army of disciples who followed him; and malice had no shame to imagine and write such things. Very solicitous<sup>r</sup> for the conversion of a man of name, he went to him, and as he was lying down at night in a small house of rock, a Dragon tried to prevent him by fire, but he made little account of it, and put the Dragon under the bowl in which he used to receive alms. It must have been a small Dragon or the bowl must have been a big one, but a big bowl was unnecessary for a grain of *gergilim* and another of wheat, which they said was all his fare, and besides it would seem that the friendship with the Dragons had already ceased. He preached some apposite moral precepts, without ever promising an eternal reward or punishment for their good or bad actions, placing before them as their end the *materia prima*, incapable of glory or pain, which they consider to be independent and immutable, though it can be united with various forms.

<sup>s</sup> Chap. 19 In the Kingdom of Teulokivâchâ,<sup>s</sup> which name seems to have been invented or adulterated, he converted a famous Bragmane by name Kiaiye, who profited so well by his doctrine, that he was the Preacher of the Panegyric at the funeral of Fô, and was much esteemed by the Angels on that account.<sup>t</sup> Some false sectaries persuaded a woman in labour to impute it to Fô, but a principal spirit with his Angels hastened to prove the falseness of the charge and of such prodigies many are related.

<sup>u</sup> Chap. 21 To one of his brothers, who also<sup>u</sup> became a Bonze along with a servant whom he had ill-treated and despised, Fô gave a fraternal warning, saying that Religion is like an Ocean into which flow great Rivers and small, but none is distinguished from another in the Ocean, and that though that man was his servant that distinction should not have place in Religion, but he, however, wished to be worshipped by the nations.<sup>x</sup> He showed no small contempt of the world in a matter of great delicacy, for though it was 12 years since Fô parted from the company of his wife, and when it was only seven years, she had a child, he received him for his own in order not to stain his wife, just as it happens with Guzarate Banianes who, if their wives conceive in their absence, say that it was because the wives called them to mind.

<sup>y</sup> Chap. 22 He did not lack<sup>z</sup> Apostates from his Sect, and one was his own Brother, for whose salvation it was necessary to take him body and soul to Heaven, where at the sight of many women, who flattered him [by saying] that he would be future Emperor, if he persevered, and other fictions, he resolved to become a Bonze, and attained consummate perfection

within 37 days.<sup>y</sup> Not less was necessary to make his son become a virtuous Bonze. Such was the devotion caused by the zeal with which he preached, that there was one who gave him so much silver to build a large monastery, as was sufficient to cover the whole space of the ground.<sup>a</sup> At this time it happened that the fishermen caught a fish of such size, that a thousand men were needed to drag it to the shore, where they counted in it a hundred heads; and Fô compelled it to own that it was in former times a Bragmane of acute ingenuity, and because in the school he despised the others, calling them | blockheads and brutes out of pride, he paid

for his fault<sup>b</sup> in that form. There arose against him a persecution of six principal sectarian Patriarchs of the Law who disputed with him, and various spirits taking the side of Fô, the text says, they placed bombs of fire on the top of mortars and fired them above the heads of the sectaries, who fled in such terror, that they could not see their way. And this is the first time I see a law defended by pounding with mortars, a course for which there was great need.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. 41 He wished to introduce<sup>c</sup> the veneration of his image and did it by [means of] a prodigious transfiguration, changing his real being and appearing full of admirable resplendence, which issuing from his head spread throughout the whole world, his face becoming like a mountain of precious pearls; and forthwith there appeared a hundred-thousand images of him, and there bloomed | before it a water-lily with a thousand



petals, each petal with a thousand resplendences, and in each resplendence a thousand Pagodes. By this transfiguration he introduced his adoration after death, concluding it with large promises and with the eternal gift which is granted only to Pagodes.

- <sup>d</sup>Chap. 116 In chapter 116<sup>d</sup> he greatly praises a King for the good example of making a statue of him, canonising him among the Saints for it, and promising him many good things. Here they imagine that one of the greatest Angels came to offer his congratulations to this King, because he heard Fô speak in Heaven in great praise of him at a time when he was still on earth. Thus he prepared the way for making statues of scented wood, and cast in silver and gold with great pomp, promising his benefactors many temporal goods, honours and long life;<sup>e</sup> exhorting all to celebrate his birth, to wash his image, alleging his great merits and good deeds of past ages, whereby he had merited to be the son of a King; (they had said that this was his own choice) making mention also of the prodigies of his birth, and of those seven paces towards the four quarters of the world granting more than plenary indulgences to those who invoke his name, and set up his statue.

There were not wanting those who envied him so great dignities, and therefore they induced King Nacânâlô to make drunk 500 elephants, so that they might attack Fô and his followers. But he, holding up the five fingers of his hand, produced five Lions, whose roaring made the 500 elephants

- <sup>f</sup>Chap. 53 fall on their knees without daring to raise their heads.<sup>f</sup> In chapter 53 the same is imagined with regard to birds, and the same also with regard to oxen<sup>g</sup> in chapter 54, imagining that they talked and begged pardon of Fô for their audacity and sins, besides other similar fables which human invention can imagine, which I omit to be short.

- <sup>h</sup>Chap. 51 A daughter of a King<sup>h</sup> was so ugly, that she did not dare to show herself, and commending herself to Fô became good-looking, and the door was opened to more shameful vocations, for there are monasteries of Lamazes (who have already penetrated hither) with such Pagodes, that they persuade the barren women that they will be fruitful, if they touch their genital parts with them. The Tartars forbid it, because of other shameful consequences; but even then these pagodes are opened sometimes during the year.

It will be irksome to recount the prayers they have invented. One of his disciples dreamt that he saw the Demon in various terrible and monstrous figures, and that it told him he would die in three days and would be reborn among famished

devils. He had recourse to the Master, who taught him a certain prayer, and making use of it and offering moreover some dishes to the numberless famished devils, the Demons were for once satiated | and he became free from the tribulation. This same prayer saved him on many other occasions, especially in a furious temptation of the flesh, when he made use of it, and they say it has power to save one from hell.

- <sup>1</sup>Chap. 75 One of the disciples<sup>1</sup> wishing to free his Mother from a ravenous appetite, Fô gave him this prescription: On the fifteenth of the seventh Moon get together all kinds of viands, the best in the world, with good wine (though it is against his fifth commandment) and invite the Bonzes, and your parents who have gone before you for the last seven centuries will have a hundred years of life, and they will be free from all torments, and will be reborn in better condition, free from all hunger. Here is disclosed the intention of providing the Bonzes with food.

- <sup>1</sup>Chap. 76 A devil<sup>1</sup> who lived on human flesh seized a boy of six years, to eat him. Fô rescued him promising the devil the necessary sustenance by recommending his Bonzes to take care of him, a diligence whereby he saved the boy and reduced the devil to the observance of his doctrine and commandments.

- <sup>m</sup>Chap. 78 A female Demon,<sup>m</sup> who had a family of 500 little devils, was also feeding on human flesh. Fô seized the youngest of them whom she loved very much, and hid him under the bowl from which he ate. The mother searched him all over the world and not finding him, asked Fô for him, who said to her: 'You have 500 devil sons and are still so importunate, because of the loss of one, without minding that each day you eat those of others, even the only sons of their mothers, only in order to feed yourself.' She realised her fault, promised amendment, and received his law and precepts.

- <sup>n</sup>Chap. 89 In chapter 89<sup>n</sup> they add that all kinds of Angels, Demons and Dragons assembled and listened very devoutly to his doctrine, [preached] in parables and figures all directed to his Pythagorean end, reducing everything to a confusion of effects put together and kept as in a sack, from which they come out into the world or into which they enter, as it falls to each one's lot. And in order to make illustrious the holiness of his doctrine, it is said in chapter 99,<sup>o</sup> that he had recourse to very powerful Kings, because his disciples without this authority would not be able to achieve it.

<sup>P 105</sup> | He sought to practice something of what he preached, and being absent and at a distance, he was found present at the death of his Father, and he wanted to carry the bier on his own back. Four Heavenly Kings prevented this act of humility, begging Fô to leave that matter to them, which he at once conceded, but he followed them to the place of cremation, as is the custom of the heathen of further Asia, when with his own hands he piled up the wood and set fire to the dead body, making | an exhortation to all, declaring <sup>F 606</sup> all the greatness of the world to be little worth, even praising himself into the bargain and saying that to be a Pagode is a permanent thing. Nor did he show less pride in setting himself up as Master of death, giving to an aunt, who asked him for it, permission to die, because her heart would not suffer her to live after the death of Fô, and he also gave this permission to 500 other devout women who wished to accompany him, encouraging them to bear that trial with a brave heart.

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## CHAPTER 19.

### SUMMARY OF THE THIRD PART

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#### THE OLD AGE AND DEATH OF Fô AND WHAT HAPPENED AFTER HIS DEATH

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<sup>P Chap. 1</sup> As it seemed to the Devil<sup>P</sup> that the life of Fô was already sufficiently long, the very chief of the Demons (Lucifer as we should say) came, and with great reverence and courtesy proposed to him that it was now a convenient [time] for his passage (thus making out in this text that the Demon was the author of death and life); and though in former times, because his doctrine was not yet promulgated, he had rejected this proposal, yet this time, as this reason did not now hold, because his doctrine had then taken root and a multitude of disciples had been confirmed in it, he agreed to the arrangement, saying that three months thence he would pass to another life. This answer greatly delighted the Ambassador, who communicated the news to his companions, who received it with equal pleasure and joy. If he were going to Heaven, Hell would not have rejoiced so much! Onan alone of his disciples was grieved by this reply, and running up to Fô he said: 'Lord, Master, Thou hast told me that thou wouldest not leave us and the four spirits so soon,' (it would seem that

he meant the four senses, for they do not admit [the sense] of touch; or the four powers of the soul, for they add one and judge the head to be an element, which powers, plus the elements, make up the man) 'and that in this way we can live a long life; and would it not be good to live a century doing thy will with joy, since thou hast taught that the ignorant and the wise, the good and the bad, the noble and the plebian, all come to the same thing and will be the same.' This is also affirmed in chapter 92 of the second part, and in many <sup>P 106</sup> other places | they disclose this veiled atheism. But Fô, being compelled not by his will, but by his old age, answered Onan in that way, though he had greatly desired to remain young, as was mentioned in his motives for embracing Religion. Onan became very sad and wept copiously at this news.

<sup>4 Chap. 2</sup> | After this<sup>4</sup> embassy also there occurred an opportunity <sup>F 61</sup> of showing his power, for appearing in the figure of a Bonze with his two fingers and a breath he reduced to powder a rock which thirty-thousand men could not move.

Feeling that he was growing old and feeble, he went to a <sup>F Chap. 3</sup> River to wash himself, warning Onân<sup>5</sup> to notice carefully the 32 beauties or marks of his body. Here the disciple asked him what he should do with his relics after his death, and the reply was that his body would be divided into portions as small as the seeds of mustard and these should be divided into three parts and one given to the Angels, another to the Dragons and the other to the Demons, who would adore his relics, as if the body were present, and excite desires of their perfection with his presence. What remains over would be taken by a King who would build 84,000 towers wherein to adore them, and his example would be followed by 60 thousand Kinglets who would build towers of their own and would adore the same relics with sweet scents, flowers, roses, lights and sweet songs and with humility, for which he granted a plenary indulgence to those who receive his habit with devotion. In conclusion [he said]: 'And as my eternal essence is united to my material body, their merits will be infinite.' From all this one can see how the Devil counterfeited the mysteries of the Incarnation.

He wished also to advise the Heavenly Spirits to acknowledge him as their Superior and to protect his Sect, for which purpose he ascended to the third Heaven, where the Supreme Spirit gave him the first place, and prayed in this wise with humble submission. 'I shall not live very long, wherefore I recommend to thee the protection of my Law.' The hearers broke out into tears, bewailing his absence, ('then it was not to Heaven that he was going!') saying: 'Reverend Master

wherefore art thou going to another life so soon? Will thy bodily eyes be closed for ever? We will do with great pleasure and with all our power whatever thou recommedest us.' The Supreme Angel added: 'I have helped thee so much as I was able, so long as thy last hour had not arrived, but to deliver thee from death my power is not equal, nor does my might extend so far.'

<sup>a</sup> Chap. 5 He made the same<sup>s</sup> recommendation of his doctrine to all the Kings of the Dragons, whom they imagine to be supernatural Spirits, in spite of which the text goes on to say that they replied: 'We Kings of the Dragons are ignorant and brutal, and are therefore numbered among animals, and when we leave, we do not know what our lot will be in the next world.' (Under such a name and shape did the Devil get himself adored).

<sup>t</sup> Chap. 6 | Many people gathered<sup>t</sup> on the eve of his death, begging <sup>F 610</sup> him not to die, (though it had been said that this was not within his power, and that not even the Angels could help him) and as he did not say anything in reply, they all began to weep and lament.<sup>u</sup> The same lamentations are

<sup>u</sup> Chap. 7 said to have been made by those in Hell, when they heard that Fô was going to die (they must have thought that he was going into imaginary space, since his absence was lamented both in Heaven and Hell!). But Fô consoled them saying that one must needs die, if he is born, which is little in keeping

<sup>x</sup> Chap. 8 with the themes of his conversations.<sup>x</sup> There came then the chief of the Demons with many Heavenly Spirits, men and women, offering many dishes to Fô to revive him, saying a certain prayer which they had composed for his approval,

<sup>z</sup> Chap. 10 which he did at once, giving permission to publish it.<sup>z</sup> One of his devotees also asked him not to die; and when his request was not granted, as his heart was not able to bear the death of Fô, he asked to die before him, which he granted, and his obsequies were performed with great solemnity.

<sup>v</sup> Chap. 11 There came on that same day<sup>v</sup> all kinds of Spirits to offer him their regrets at his death, and because one of them failed in this duty, the others resented it so much, that they killed him by curses. At this time there was born to him a Spirit from one of his arms, while he was saying a prayer, and it promised great things to those who would have recourse to

<sup>a</sup> Chap. 12 him.<sup>a</sup> Then he named Onân as his successor, giving him wholesome advice and declaring that he had authorized his

<sup>b</sup> Chap. 13 doctrine by his deeds.<sup>b</sup> Finally he consoled his disciples, saying that death must needs come, that he had fulfilled his duty, and other suitable sentences, among which is found one of that Spiritual Master in chapter 65 of the second part,

for when some novices were disputing which was the greatest temporal evil, and each one had settled it according to his fancy, Fô defined it [saying] that the body was the greatest evil, that it follows us, even when we do not want it, in spite of us, and that we have to carry that worthless thing about us and are unable to get rid of it. The Bonzes venerate his last sermon as a token of that hour, just as we [venerate] that final [pledge of] love which Our Redeemer gave us at the last Supper.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. 15 His last command<sup>c</sup> consisted in saying to Onân: 'Take my body, and when thou hast dressed it properly and embalmed and burnt and venerated it with all royal pomp, gather the ashes in seven precious vessels, and in the city, in the four principal streets, erect seven towers with four gates to each, and place my relics there to be venerated by all spirits, and see that there is equity in the distribution; (he who invented this falsifies and contradicts, for he had already said that his body should be divided without burning it.) Hearing this, the Angels and | men and those who were present broke <sup>F 62</sup> into lamentations, but he consoled them saying: 'Do not grieve, for though I go away, I shall be with you for ever by means of my relics; and whoever sees them sees me.'

<sup>P 108</sup>  
<sup>d</sup> Chap. 17 | The last hour<sup>d</sup> approached with pains all over the body, and on these he began to meditate, not by applying the senses, but by suspending them, (as was already said, they suspend the senses little by little till it ends in the quietude and confusion of effects and of indistinct causes [which is] their imaginary happiness, which they place in a certain quietude without glory, but with the negation of pain, imagining that there is an intelligible centre free from all manner of life or death. To try to understand, not what they say, but what they mean to say, makes one's head turn giddy, though it is not worth the while).

<sup>e</sup> Chap. 1 Thus while<sup>e</sup> he was in this devout occupation in the city of Kiûxînâkiâ, under the polo tree (or in the Poro tree, for there is no R in Chinese) with many people and surrounded by eight orders of Dragons (fine guardian Angels indeed!) on the fifteenth of the second Moon, in his royal bed, reclining on his right side, with the head towards the North and the feet towards the South and his face to the West and his back to the East with two polo trees in each of these directions, at dead of night, he died. As soon as he was dead, the branches of the eight trees bent down and joined one with the other covering the royal couch, [and] changing their green colour into white (which is the Chinese style of mourning), they little by little withered up. There was forthwith an earthquake

throughout the whole world, the sea was agitated and the fountains and rivers ran dry. I do not know how they dared to publish such falsehoods in China, where one can convict them from the very Chronicles of the Realm wherein all notable events and among them the deluge of Noe are found [recorded]. There was also darkness throughout the whole world, for the Sun and the Moon did not give light, and unless they had a revelation about what took place in the Antipodes, this miracle of the Sun takes place whenever one dies at night. Such moreover were the shouts uttered by the Angels at his death, that they were heard throughout the world, and the whole world testifies that all this is false and was perhaps added by the Chinese after they had notice of the death of Christ.<sup>1</sup> At the very instant of his death, his

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 20

defunct Mother had horrible dreams in Heaven which led her to suspect that her son had died. (The dead person then did not go there<sup>2</sup>). A Bonze arrived in haste with the news, (he passed many thousand leagues in a short time) whereupon she knew it for certain and complained greatly that death came on him too soon, though he had the news three months before. There was great lamentation and much evil was said of death, and she ended by saying: From all eternity we have ever been together, Mother and Son, but |  
 now we shall not see each other again.<sup>3</sup> (The beginnings are here quite inconsistent with the end.) The Mother at once came down from Heaven with many damsels to wail for the departed, but she was consoled on seeing the staff and bowl of her son, which appeared before her with Pagodes [who were] his creatures to give her due thanks for coming from so far. The second apparition was to one of his disciples who came from Meca (it could only be through the air) | along with  
 500 others to venerate his body, which, though already enclosed in a coffin, stretched out the feet, which the disciples saw and touched.

<sup>3</sup> P 82v

<sup>h</sup> Chap. 22 They placed the coffin<sup>h</sup> in a large and splendid theatre to be burnt, and though they applied lighted torches once and again several times, it could not be set on fire. Seeing this the Spirits of the sea applied their own torches, but in vain. Thereupon Fô, pitying their labours, sent forth fire from his own breast (too much they saw, unless the lid was of glass) and the body taking fire slowly was consumed in seven days. Then there came down four Heavenly Kings with much water to quench the fire and to take possession of the relics, but they did not succeed. There followed those of the sea with a great deal more [water], but it did not suffice. Then a disciple came forward and chid them for their covetousness, and they repented and desisted from their purpose.

<sup>Chap. 24</sup> Seeing however<sup>1</sup> that the eight Kings present each with his soldiers (which addition also, within so short a time, is supposed to be miraculous) attempted to take away that treasure by force, the Spirits pretended to be men in order not to be defrauded, but a person of authority settled everything by dividing the ashes into three portions and giving one to the Spirits, another to the Dragons, and the third to those eight Kings, keeping for himself three measures. Of what was left of the earth [sanctified] by contact and out of reverence they took 40 *picos* (which is a Chinese measure) and erecting as many towers, they placed these *picos* in them with much music, where they are venerated (but I know not in which place), while Fô emits such light, that the nights become day.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. 25 When this division<sup>1</sup> had been made, one of his disciples who had come with 500 pupils demanded attention and said: 'Go over the whole world and preach to all.' And the preaching having begun, there was found to be present 84,000 listeners assembled, to whom Onân, the successor of Fô, made a sermon. A devout King erected innumerable towers and placed some relics therein. And here end his testament and his commands, which in intelligent men cause laughter, in the pious pity, and in the ignorant wonderment.

| This is the substance of their Scripture, printed with great <sup>P 83</sup> authority and engraven in the Palace in large-sized letters, figures and engravings, which illustrate what is related in each chapter. They say that this translation was made with great authority by Bonzes from India and by learned Chinese, who held conferences and settled the foregoing. But to my mind there is no doubt that the greater part of it is fiction, first of the Devil, and secondly of Chinese cunning, because there are many things which are peculiar to China and are unused in India, which have been adapted to their taste, as for instance the rhymes which are imagined at every step in praise of Fô, for the highest wisdom of the Chinese consists in that, and they end where the Europeans begin, and with their so many thousand letters | they do not go further than our students of Rhetoric. At every step they speak of Dragons which are sacred in upper China only. They imagine titles and dignities in Indian Kings as is the case in China, giving them their own terms. They make the obsequies of Fô take place according to the Chinese fashion, except the cremation, and they suppose white to be the colour of mourning, which is a thing peculiar to China and Japan alone. They say he was placed in a coffin, which is not the practice among the heathen there [India] but

<sup>P 110</sup>

in China to be without it is to be deprived of the sacred burial, as amongst us. They erected large monasteries for Bonzes though the Yogis and Bragmanes and the like in India do not live in Monasteries (those of Ceylon have monasteries, I think) though they have very large temples. They consider shaving essential to their Order, though in India the Yogis grow their hair matted, and are thereby distinguished from the others. (The Ganezes of Ceylon also cut their hair.) They forbid eating any living thing, but the Lamas of Tartary do not imitate them in this, for they eat meat like tigers without giving more time for cooking than what is spent in their prayers, and once that is over, they eat it without any addition of bread or vegetables; and for these and other reasons I am persuaded that many things in these scriptures have been changed, as has been the case with many other sects of China.

These Bonzes do not wage any campaign against us, for here they are not esteemed as they are in Japan, nor are they men of letters, but low and despicable people, for no grave person becomes a Bonze, and they adopt this mode of life merely for a living, for entrance into it is cheap, and one finds these do-nothings at every turn; and being such, they receive no kind of reverence. The greatest use of their monasteries is that they serve as inns for wayfarers, to whom they hire them readily for payment, which makes them more despised, and there are some well-known charges made against them | at every turn and even in their books, and they are called by the name [of that crime], and in their histories many wicked and deceitful deeds are ascribed to them, and if they are true, it is strange that there should be any one who becomes a Bonze or gives them to eat. As they are ignorant, even when they dispute with us, which is rare, they grant whatever we want. In Japan however they have great authority.

Such is the summary of Father Thomas Pereyra, from which it appears that in their practices they do not differ greatly from what we have said of the Chingalas, and that their Ganezes in point of estimation and nobility resemble rather the Bonzes of Japan. And as it has been observed that the Ganezes of Ceylon, the Talpoys<sup>1</sup> of Arracan, Pegu, Siam and other neighbouring Realms, as well as the Lamazes of Tartary agree with the Bonzes of China and Japan in the essentials of their sect and profession, it is easy to understand

<sup>1</sup> Anglo-Indian, 'Talapoin' a word used by the Portuguese and after them by French and other continental writers as well as by some English travellers of the 17th century, to designate the Buddhist monks. The origin of the expression is obscure.—Hob.-Job.

that the Buddum of Ceylon, the Fô of China, the Xaka of Japan is the same as the Xekia of India, for the word Buddum is only an adapted name, and in Ceylon it means Saint by antonomasia. And if those who had | read the documents of Ceylon had been more curious and had not been weary of giving us more detailed information, we could have shown more clearly from what they relate of his life the additions made by Chinese malice.

If intelligent Europeans wonder, considering what it is that such intelligent people embrace as true, let them remember what heathen Europe so pertinaciously believed and worshipped. The fact is the Devil has forestalled everything. When we preach to the heathens of hither India, they reply that they also have a Trinity, and that their Vixnu incarnated himself times out of number; if we preach to those of further India and of Ceylon (for this Sect has disappeared from many parts of India wherein it began), they reply that their Buddum or their Fô or their Xaka also took the shape of a man, though he was an eternal being. And as the Religious of this Sect have a great reputation outside China, it is a very difficult matter to convert any of his sectaries, which has been the experience especially in the Kingdoms of Arracan, Pegû, Siam, Laos and others of lesser name. In the sixth part of our *Missionario*<sup>1</sup> we treat more fully on this subject and of the Sects of the one and the other India, refuting them in the best way that God was pleased to enlighten us, wherein the zealous and the curious can read it, for here we are only concerned with the information which we were able to obtain about the Island of Ceylon.

## CHAPTER 20.

### OF THE KNOWLEDGE WHICH ORIENTAL HEATHENDOM HAS ABOUT THE LAW OF MOSES

Let us now give some account of the conjecture | of those <sup>F 64</sup> who affirm that Fô preached the Law of Moses to this heathendom. It would seem that one cannot deny that there are good grounds for saying that oriental heathendom not only knew of, but even received from the Hebrews many observances, both genuine ones, which they falsified, and false ones which they embraced and amplified; not that the Written law bound any other than the Hebrew people, but that it

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Introduction.

was not forbidden to strangers and Proselytes; and it contained Natural precepts, so conformable to reason, that there are no Barbarians who do not admit them in theory, even though they do not carry them out in practice; and this heathendom is quite capable of accepting any falsehood which the Hebrews or other people admitted. But it is one thing to say that they adopted many Hebrew usages and abuses and profaned some dogmas of that holy law, and it is quite another thing to affirm that Buddum preached the law of Moses, because I do not see any other ground for it, than that he inculcated the Commandments abbreviated but with the additions of two, [viz.] not to drink wine, and not to kill any living thing. But the first of these was not a precept of the Written Law | but a practice of the Nazarenes and Recabites, their penitents, and given also by Mahomet for his convenience, that he might not appear to have put no restriction on the passions. The second is neither a law of Moses nor a Hebrew observance, but it is observed by other oriental peoples who do not follow the Sect of Buddum; and they go so far astray in this matter, that they think it a sin to kill an ant, but do not consider it a sinful thing to entertain inveterate hatred. Nor are the transmigration of the soul and the other things which Buddum taught in keeping with the Written law. The Commandments, however, are precepts of reason and of the natural law, and before they were written in the law of Moses, they were obligatory on all. And therefore Our Redeemer, and the Holy Apostles taught by Christ and by the Holy Spirit, abrogated the precepts purely Ceremonial and Judicial, but did not, and could not, abrogate the Natural precepts given by God as Author of reason, and [promulgated] through reason herself and nature; and if we abide by the information which we obtained and by what his followers hold, Buddum was neither a Hebrew nor did he preach the Law of Moses. Nor can unlettered men form an opinion in these matters, as is seen in the case of those who first entered Ethiopia, for on many fundamental things they were mistaken and allowed themselves to be misled by the Abyssinians, who are not only Schismatics, but even hold and follow a great many oriental errors, as was forthwith noticed by the first Father of the Society and by so many others who lived in that country for a century.

| Let us see now what this heathendom seems to have falsified <sup>P 640</sup> from the truths of the Hebrews, and what they seem to have adopted out of the abuses and errors of the Hebrews. And beginning with the first; Bramâ (from whom the Bramanes are said to have sprung) has as wife Sara Suati.

Abraham's wife was Sara. The wife of Bramâ, they say, was his daughter; the wife of Abraham was the daughter of his Brother, and throughout the whole of this heathendom the daughter of a Brother is called daughter, as we have already said. The son of Abraham was Isaac; the son of Bramâ was Iesatrû. Now from these facts collated, Abraham and Sara are the same as Bramâ (who according to them is the first person of their false Trinity) and Sara Suati. And this conjecture or strong presumption is not destroyed by the slight diversity in the names, for we know that there are greater corruptions in names even among Christians and Schismatics, as for instance Sant-Iago in Spain for St. James, in Ethiopia Alifoz for Ilefonço<sup>1</sup> [sic] Ayo candios for Inocencio, and many others, to which the penetration of the Patriarch D. Afonço Mendez alone, and his wonderful memory could find the clue, as may be seen from his works.

When these heathen offer sacrifices, they are within doors out of sight of the people. From the first chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke we gather that Zachary, when he offered sacrifice, was within doors while the People were awaiting him outside.

<sup>P 113</sup> | Of the river Ganges, which among them gives its name to every large stream of fresh water which they call *Ganga*, they say that it has its source in Paradise: And we have it from Sacred Scripture that [a river] had its source in the Terrestrial Paradise. And as it became known only in recent times that it has its source in Mount Caucasus in the lofty peaks of Siranagar, they could not have said this on account of anything they had seen, but because of the information about what it was, which they could have obtained only from the Hebrews.

The Europeans reckon four ages, of Gold, Silver, Copper and Iron, because of their knowledge of and in allusion to the image of Nabucodonosor,<sup>2</sup> which in truth, by the four different metals, indicated the times of the four Empires; and as we have already seen, there are four ages celebrated in this heathendom, which they call *juga*,<sup>3</sup> wherein owing to their erroneous computations the time and the length of life and merits go on decreasing; and that now we are in the last, in which they say there is naught save sin. And this likewise seems to have been taken from the Hebrew Scriptures.

<sup>1</sup> For Ildefonço (Affonso).

<sup>2</sup> Nabucodonsar's image, see p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> Yuga.

In [the] 6th [chapter] of Genesis God speaking to man says: Eruntque dies illius centum viginti annorum.<sup>1</sup> Of this [passage of] Scripture also they seem to have knowledge, though they misunderstand it and say that all men have their time of life determined, and equal for all, and that it is 120 years, and that if they die before, they have to be reborn | in order to complete the full time of their age, without minding P 65 those who under their very eyes lived longer, for not to speak of the Nestors nor of the well known cases in the histories of India, who lived more than 300 years, we ourselves buried a few years ago in Salcete<sup>2</sup> one of 125 [years] and in the beginning of 1636 we had speech with a Bramane who told us that he remembered Afonço de Albuquerque taking Goa for the second time on the 25th of November, the feast of St. Catherine, in the year 1510, and that he and two others were the first to be baptised by the Portuguese; and he could not but be over 130 years old.

The syllable *om*<sup>3</sup> corresponds in Greek to the Latin 'qui est.' And that is the name which God applied to himself speaking to Moses in Exodus 3, Qui est, misit me ad vos,<sup>4</sup> and this is the word most grave, most secret, most mysterious, most esteemed, most repeated and reiterated above all others, which is ever on the lips of the most Learned men, Penitents and Religious of this heathendom. The *Saniasses* were bound to repeat this syllable, 11,000 times every day, though on account of their ignorance and because of its many significations they gave it diverse explanations. And whence did they come to know it, if not from the Hebrews?

They have knowledge also of the deluge, which in their books they call *Gelapralaya*<sup>5</sup>; but they have corrupted the story with as many fables as did the ancient Poets of Europe, and they say that once when a Pareâ<sup>6</sup> named Tiruvaluven was taking his meal with one of his daughters within a pumpkin, there came down of a sudden an inundation so great, P 114 that it covered the whole World and killed all men | and that by a disposition of the god Xiuem<sup>7</sup> there escaped only the

<sup>1</sup> And his days shall be a hundred and twenty years.—Gen. VI. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The author was Parish Priest of Salcete a few years before he wrote this book.

<sup>3</sup> *Om*, verily, the mystic monosyllable of the Upanishads.

<sup>4</sup> He who is, hath sent me to you.—Ex. III. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Skt. *Jala-pralaya*, destruction by water.

<sup>6</sup> Pariah.

<sup>7</sup> Siva,

old man and his daughter who were floating above the water in the pumpkin, till the waters subsided, and he became Father of his grandchildren, thus restoring the human race over the face of the earth. And they must either deny that they are men or they must admit that they are all Pareas, which however they deny, for such is the incoherence of their fables.

Different castes cannot marry from outside, as we have said but only within the Tribe, and if they marry in any other way, neither are the children legitimate nor is the marriage acknowledged; and a wife of the same Tribe is called *Culastri*,<sup>1</sup> and the Canarese, as we said, call those of the same tribe *Gotriz*.<sup>2</sup> The Hebrews likewise cannot take wives outside their Tribe.

They have it by tradition that the Royal Caste, Exatum or Praô maccalu, married or contracted alliances with the Bramanes. Among the Hebrews likewise those of the blood | P 65u Royal took wives from the Priestly Tribe or gave wives to them. Luc 1 Et ecce Elizabeth cognata tua.<sup>3</sup> 2 Parl. 22 Elizabeth autem erat filia regis Joram Uxor Joiadae Pontificis.<sup>4</sup> The women neither speak nor appear in the presence of their husbands and out of courtesy they cover themselves. It was also the custom of the Hebrews. Rebecca, Gen 24. Covered her face, when she saw her husband Isaac. At illa tollens cito pallium suum operuit se.<sup>5</sup>

Here they buy their wives, as we have shown. It was also the custom among the Hebrews. Gen. 34: Augete dotem et munera postulate, et libenter tribuam quod petieritis, tantum date mihi puellam hanc uxorem.<sup>6</sup> Ose 3: Et fodi eam mihi quindecim argenteis.<sup>7</sup> 2 Regum 3: Redde uxorem meam Michol quam despondi mihi centum praeputiis Philistinorum.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Kula-stri.

<sup>2</sup> See. p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> And behold thy cousin Elizabeth.—Lk. 1, 36.

<sup>4</sup> Now Josabeth was daughter of King Joram, wife of Joiada the high priest.—2. Parl. XXII., 11.

<sup>5</sup> But she quickly took her cloak and covered herself.—Gen. XXIV., 65.

<sup>6</sup> Raise the dowry, and ask gifts and I will gladly give what you shall demand, only give me this damsel to wife.—Gen. XXXIV., 12.

<sup>7</sup> And I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver.—Os. III., 2.

<sup>8</sup> Restore my wife Michol, whom I espoused to me for a hundred foreskins of the Philistines.—2. Kgs. III., 14.

They use jewellery of the shape of snakes which they worship, and the women wear hanging from the cartilage of the nose a jewel of that shape. The Jewesses of Mascate and of Cochin also use these Jewels, and it was without doubt a custom of the Hebrews. Isaias 3 : Periscelidas et murenulas<sup>1</sup> Cant 1. Murenulas aureas faciemus tibi.<sup>2</sup>

The Ladies also use another jewel which falls on the middle of the forehead and in Canarâ it is called *Motina botu*. It was likewise a practice of the Hebrews Isa. 3. Et gemmas in fronte pendentis<sup>3</sup>; and it is also in use in Portugal.

Bracelets on the hands are common in all the East; in the case of the men-at-arms it is the reward of some valiant action. It was also a custom of the Hebrews. Judith 10 Dentrariola.<sup>4</sup>

To bore the ears and to wear earrings in them, as the natives of India do, was also a common practice of other nations and of the Hebrews. Exod 31. Tollite in aures aureas de uxorum, filiorumque, et filiarum vestrarum auribus, et afferte ad me.<sup>5</sup> | Jud. 8 : Date mihi in aures ex praeda vestra. In aures Ismaelitae habere consueverunt.<sup>6</sup> But there is no indication of such enormous split earlobes as in Hither India.

When great men die, they shave the beard and head. The same was done by the Hebrews, and Jerem. in Chapter 16 considers it a punishment of God for the sins of his people that it was not done in time of war and destruction. Morientur grandes, et parvi: non sepelientur, neque plangentur neque calvitium fiet pro eis.<sup>7</sup>

Here it is a sign of peace and friendship to give the hand, if to a lessor person to place it on the head, if among equals to touch hands. The same was the practice of the Hebrews. 1 Mach. 11. Date nobis dextras et cessent Judaei oppugnare

<sup>1</sup> Ornaments of the legs and tablets.—Is. III., 20.

<sup>2</sup> We will make thee chains of gold.—Cant. of Cant. I. 10.

<sup>3</sup> And jewels hanging on the forehead.—Is. III, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Dextraliola (Vulgate) bracelets.—Jud. X. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Take the golden earrings from the ears of your wives and your sons and daughters and bring them to me.—Exod. XXXII., 2.

<sup>6</sup> Give me the earlets of your spoils. The Ismaelites were accustomed to wear golden earlets.—Judg. VIII. 24.

<sup>7</sup> Both the great and the little shall die, they shall not be buried nor lamented and men shall not make themselves bald for them.—Jer. XVI. 6.

nos.<sup>1</sup> And verse 66. | Et postulaverunt ab eis dextras accipere, et dedit illis.<sup>2</sup> 2 Mach 4. Et datis dextris cum jurejurando.<sup>3</sup>

In these lands, besides the power which the Kings and their ministers have to inquire into and punish crimes, each one of the castes has its own judges who rule them, and have power to chastise. The same is gathered from what is related of the Patriarch Judas, Gen. 28, who ordered his daughter-in-law to be burnt: Producite eam ut comburatur<sup>4</sup>; and from the case of Susana. Dan 13.

Here they wash the feet on entering a house and before eating, and at night before going to sleep. So also did Abraham, Gen. 43. Introductis domo attulit aquam, and laverunt pedes suos.<sup>5</sup> It was the lack of this which Christ rebuked in the Pharisee. Luc. 7. Intravi in domum tuam, aquam pedibus meis non dedisti.<sup>6</sup> Marc. 2. Pharisei afor nisi baptizentur, non comedunt.<sup>7</sup> The spouse, Cant. 5. Lavi pedes meos, quomodo inquino illos<sup>8</sup> ?

It is an important ceremony for the greater and smaller castes to eat separately. So did the Hebrews. Gen. 43 Quibus appositis, se seorsim Joseph, et seorsim fratribus; Aegyptiis quoque vescebantur simul seorsim; illicitum enim est Aegyptiis comedere cum Hebraeis.<sup>9</sup> Act. 11. Disceptabant adversum Petrum, qui erat ex circumnsione, dicentes. 'Quare intrasti ad viros proepitium habentes, et manducasti cum illis.'<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grant us peace and let the Jews cease from assaulting us.—1 Mach. XI., 50.

<sup>2</sup> And they desired him to make peace and he granted it them.—Ib. 66.

<sup>3</sup> And gave him his right hand, with an oath.—2. Mach. IV. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Bring her [Thamar] out that she may be burnt.—Gen. XXXVIII., 24.

<sup>5</sup> And having brought them into the house, he fetched water, and they washed their feet.—Gen. XXXIII. 24.

<sup>6</sup> I entered into thy house: thou gavest me no water for my feet.—Lk. VII. 44.

<sup>7</sup> The Pharisees, when they come from the market, unless they be washed, they eat not.—Mc. VII. 3.

<sup>8</sup> I have washed my feet, how shall I defile them?—Cant. of Cant. V. 3.

<sup>9</sup> And when [bread] was set on, for Joseph apart and for his brethren apart, for the Egyptians also that ate with him, apart, for it is unlawful for the Egyptians to eat with the Hebrews.—Gen. XLIII. 32.

<sup>10</sup> They that were of the circumcision contended with him saying: why didst thou go in to men uncircumcised and didst eat with them?—Acts XI. 2.



Nor do they eat anything cooked by people outside their own caste. Thus likewise said Judith to Holofernes Jud. 12. Non potero manducare ex iis, quae mihi praecipis tribui non ueniat super me indignatio.<sup>1</sup>

Here they cannot drink nor touch water brought by the hand of another caste, nor from the tanks of the High castes can those of lower castes drink or wash themselves. Joa. 4. The Samaritan woman was surprised that Christ asked her for water as the Samaritans were looked upon by the Jews as excommunicated, heretics, and scorned of God. Quomodo tu Judaeus cum sis, bibere a me poscis, quae sum mulier Samaritana ?<sup>2</sup>

P 116 | It is an inviolable custom of people of good caste and those who care for penance and merits to wash themselves daily, which they call *Nanna*.<sup>3</sup> It was also a custom of the Hebrews, and used by Judith even in the army of the Assyrians. Here [in Goa] it is not even forbidden to the Bramanes who are imprisoned, for in company with a soldier they are allowed to go to wash, just as Judith in Jud. 12: Et Exhibat noctibus | F 600 in vallem et baptizabat se, in fonte aquae.<sup>4</sup>

It is a custom of these people not to touch anyone, or allow oneself to be touched after washing, and to wash themselves after touching or accompanying the dead. They wash themselves after menses, after child-birth, and on similar occasions, and consider themselves as polluted and remain separate for some days. It is a custom observed by the Hebrews. Eccl. 34. Qui baptizatur a mortuo, et iterum tangit eum; Isai. 52. Pollutum nolite tangere.<sup>5</sup>

The Bramanes cannot enter into a house of people of low caste, and if they enter, they must afterwards wash themselves. The Jews consider the uncircumcised as low, and therefore, Joan. 8. Et ipsi non intraverunt in Praetorium,

<sup>1</sup> I cannot eat of these things which thou commandest to be given me, lest sin come upon me.—Jud. XII. 2.

<sup>2</sup> How dost thou, being a Jew, ask of me to drink, who am a Samaritan woman?—Jo. IV. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Skt. *Snāna*, bathing, ceremonial lustration.

<sup>4</sup> And she went out in the nights into the valley and washed herself in a fountain of water.—Jud. XII. 7.

<sup>5</sup> He that washeth himself after touching the dead, if he toucheth him again.—Ecc. XXXIV. 30.

<sup>6</sup> Touch no unclean thing.—Is. LII. 11.

ut non contaminarentur, sed ut manducarent Pascha.<sup>1</sup> Wherefore if they have some business, they transact it outside, as the Jews are said to have done in the same chapter 29. Exivit ergo Pilatus ad eos foras.<sup>2</sup>

In token of friendship these heathen are wont to take hold of their friends' beards and to embrace, just as the Jews. 2 Reg. 20. Dixit Joas ad Amazam, salve mi frater, et tenuit manu dextera mentum Amasac quasi osculans eum.<sup>3</sup> It is also a practice of the Moors, but not so of Lopo Barriga, when in the presence of the King of Marrocos he gave a slap to the one who wanted to touch his beard.

These people are not wont to shave, when their relatives or friends are in trouble, and when their wives are in danger at child-birth. The same is observed by the Jews. 2 Reg. 19. Miphiboset quoque descendit in occursum Regis, illotis pedibus, et intonsa barba; uestesque suas non lauerat a die qua egressus fuerat Rex<sup>4</sup> out of grief for the troubles of David on the rebellion of Absalao.

When relatives come from a distance, or if they had not met for a long time, on the first occasion they meet, they weep and cry and lament, as when one dies and in case of great trouble. It was likewise a custom of the Hebrews. Tob. 7: Misit se Raguel et cum lacrymis osculatus est eum (Tobiam) et plorans super collum ejus<sup>5</sup>. Gen. 29. Et adaquato Grege osculatus est eam et eleuata uoce fleuit.<sup>6</sup>

In their feasts these people anoint their head with oil. So also the Jews. Matt. 6. Tu autem cum jejunas unge caput tuum, et faciem tuam laua,<sup>7</sup> showing joy in penance.

<sup>1</sup> And they went not into the hall, that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the pasch.—Jo. XVIII. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Pilate therefore went out to them.—Ib. 29.

<sup>3</sup> And Joab said to Amasa: God save thee, my brother, and he took Amasa by the chin with his right hand to kiss him.—2. Kgs. XX. 9.

<sup>4</sup> And Miphiboseth came down to meet the King, and he had neither washed his feet, nor trimmed his beard, nor washed his garments from the day that the King went out.—2. Kgs. XIX. 24.

<sup>5</sup> And Raguel went to him and kissed him with tears, and weeping upon his neck (said)—Tob. VII. 7.

<sup>6</sup> And having watered the flock, he kissed her, and lifting up his voice, wept.—Gen. XXIX. 11.

<sup>7</sup> But thou, when thou fastest anoint thy head, and wash thy face,—Mt. VI. 17.

P 117 | When they invite Bramanes to a dinner it is a customary mark of honour to give them oil to anoint their head, which they call *Abenga*. Alluding to this | custom Christ rebuked P 681 the Pharisee, Luke Chapter 7. *Intraui in domum tuam oleo caput meum non unxisti.*<sup>2</sup>

It is the custom of the Bramanes to eat at three in the afternoon. It was also the same with the Hebrews, and as it was the usual thing among them. To those who said *Musto pleni sunt isti*<sup>3</sup>, St. Peter said in Acts 2, v. 15. *Neque enim hi Habraei [sic] sunt cum sit hora diei tertia,*<sup>4</sup> which is nine of the morning. And as in Asia many are abstemious by day and get drunk at night, this sense also may be given to that text.

## CHAPTER 21.

### ERRORS AND ABUSES OF THE HEBREWS AND OF OTHER NATIONS WHICH ARE FOUND IN ORIENTAL HEATHENDOM, AND OTHER INFORMATION

This heathendom, as we said, acknowledge a first cause, and they call him Para Bramâ,<sup>5</sup> Para Panuota, Para Gisti, Para Madmao, Adi Vrana. Of him they hold that he is both unborn and incorruptible, without beginning and without end, which they call Anadi Auata.<sup>6</sup> But when they come to the application of this doctrine, they say a hundred-thousand absurdities, just like all other heathens who lack the light of Faith, as we show more at length in another work.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Folio 67 has been left blank.

<sup>2</sup> I entered into thy house. My head with oil thou didst not anoint. Lk. VII. 44.

<sup>3</sup> These men are full of new wine.—Act II. 13.

<sup>4</sup> These are not drunk (ebrii) seeing it is but the third hour of the day. *ib.* 15.

<sup>5</sup> Parama-Brahman, Supreme Spirit. Suragiesta, Paramâtman, Adi Varna (brahaman).

<sup>6</sup> Anâdy-ananta.

<sup>7</sup> See Introduction.

They had knowledge of the mystery of the most Holy Trinity and they say that there are three Persons and one only God, and according to the diverse Sects they give him divers names and in diverse order. For of Vixnu, whom they call Adi Vixnu, which means first principle, they say was born Bramâ, his only begotten son, generated by the first principle without a Mother, and that Bramâ means Science, without remembering that in the book called Xita Nandi, it is taught that their Trinity was born of a woman called Paraexatÿ as we have already pointed out. To these two they add the third Rutren; and they name them thus, Bramâ, Vixnu, Rutren; or as the Naysnuuistas say, Ade Vixnu, his son Brumâ and Rutiran. The people here in the Concaô of Goa say Bramâ, Vixnu and Maessu. Others say Vixnu, Bramâ, Issurâ. Of Brumâ they say that he created everything, and that it pertains to the three to create, preserve and destroy, ascribing preservation to Vixnu, and destruction to Rutren or Issurâ, which they explain by these words: *Xrisxti Stili Laya*, which seems to be what the European Poets attributed to the three Parcae, of whom one spins the thread, the other rolls it into a ball, and the third cuts. But they do not distinguish corporal generation from intellectual P 118 generation, nor explain how God being One can be Three, nor finally do they understand this lofty mystery, but rather profane it with a thousand abominations which they attribute to each of these Persons and to the transformations of Vixnu.

Alexander the Great is not only known to these people, but is even worshipped as a god whom they call Aricxandranu, and they say there are in Caxe<sup>1</sup> in the Kingdom of Mogul some columns erected by him. But as it is certain according to all Historians who speak of him, that he never went beyond the Kingdom of Cambaya, where he gave battle to King Botro<sup>2</sup>, it is quite clear that the Bramanes added this fable in order to bring credit on the city of Caxe, in which they say they had a King. They affirm that of him were born the Raja Putros<sup>3</sup> who occupy [the country lying] towards Sind, from Cambaya to the river Indus; and this caste they admit to be the best in India both in valour and nobility. But they are so many in number that it is incredible that they are all descendants of Alexander, and it may well be that they attribute to the Greeks of his army what he alone could not do, nor is bastardy an obstacle to their nobility.

<sup>1</sup> Khasi (modern Benares).

<sup>2</sup> Porus is meant.

<sup>3</sup> Râjaputre, Rajputs.

The name Moses was adopted from the water, quia de aqua sumptus est.<sup>1</sup> These heathen have a god whom they call Narayana,<sup>2</sup> and it means water, who they say was born on a leaf in the middle of water, thus corrupting the true history of his birth and giving him divine worship or Latria,<sup>3</sup> when they should honour him as a Saint with dulia.

Their Men of Letters say that virtue in this world, and happiness both in this world and the next, consist in not having passions. Such was the opinion of the Stoics, and the Greeks called it Apathia.

When they enter a Pagode, they must not tread on the threshold of the door nor on the steps. It was likewise a custom of the Philistines. 1 Reg. 5. Non Calcant Sacerdotes, et omnes qui ingrediuntur templum Dagon super limen.<sup>4</sup>

They do not enter the Pagodes with their sandals or shoes, but barefooted, as is done in respectable houses out of courtesy, but here out of reverence. God commanded the same to Moses. Lev. 3 [sic]. Solve calceamentum de pedibus tuis, locus enim in quo stas sanctus est.<sup>5</sup>

The Pagodes abound with food and public women. So was it with the Greeks in the temple of Jerusalem. 2 Mach. 6. Templum luxuria, et comessationibus gentium plenum, et scortantium cum meretricibus.<sup>6</sup>

The most renowned god in this country is the principle F 69 of generation, represented by the *pudenda humana* and the whole of India lies between two pagodes in which that turpitude is venerated, one in Ramasuora in the shallows of Chilao between Jafnapatao and the confines of the Kingdom of P 119 Madurê, which they call Ramanacor; the other in Caxo | on the Ganges on the borders of the Kingdom of Mogol, which is the Rome and Jerusalem of these heathens. Thus the Palestinians and along with them the Hebrews, worshipped Comos and Beelpogor; and the Greeks and Latins Priapus

<sup>1</sup> Because he was taken out of the water.—*Cf.* Exd. II. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Skt. Narāyana.—*Cf.* Mon. Williams s. v.

<sup>3</sup> Latria, supreme worship as offered to God alone, Dulia, veneration paid to Saints and Angels.

<sup>4</sup> Neither the priests nor any that go into the temple of Dagon tread on the threshold.—1 Kgs. V. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Put off the shoes from thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.—Ex. III. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The temple was full of the riot and revellings of the Gentiles and of men lying with lewd women.—2 Mach. VI. 4.

and the goddess Venus. But the Sect of Lingam,<sup>1</sup> the most obscene in these countries, carry that shameful figure in a little box hanging from the neck or tied round the arm.

It is a common belief of these people that all souls are one and that God is the soul of all. It was the error of the Platonists.

Continuo caelum, et terram, camposque liquentes.  
Lucentemque globum Lunae, titaniaque astra.  
Spiritus intus alit, totosque infusa per artus,  
Mens agitat molem.<sup>2</sup>

It is on account of this that they say that all animals have the same souls as those of men, and that they greatly dislike eating flesh and fish. It was the error of the Pythagoreans. It is among them a very grievous sin to drink the wine of the country, and to drink it or to touch it is as great an offence as not being a Bramene. They go to excesses in everything, for it was also a custom of the Nazarenes, and of the Recabites it is said in Jer. 35, in their praise, that they did not drink wine, as we already pointed out.

The Queens and wives of the Grandees do not uncover, and when they pass through streets and ways, they either go cloaked or in covered palanquins. So also the queen Vasti, when summoned by Assuerus, did not appear. Esth. I. Rex praecepit Eunuchis ut introducerent Vasti coram Rege ut ostenderet cunctis pulchritudinem illius, quae renuit, et venire contempsit.<sup>3</sup> It is there so inviolable a custom, that when the Queens are at the windows, no man may pass by the streets, and there are guards for the purpose, and if they pass, they may not raise their eyes.

The Kings of the country, when they go on foot, are wont to lean upon the arm of some of the Grandees, as did the Samorin when he came to speak to the Conde do Redondo, and not only because [their arms] are full of bracelets and

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *linga*, mark, especially Phallus of Siva worshipped in the form of a stone.

<sup>2</sup> Vergil Aen. VI. 724-27. The first word is usually 'Principio'  
'First the heaven and earth and the watery plain  
The shining orb of the Moon and Titans star,  
A spirit within sustains and pervading its members  
The mind sways the whole Mass.'

The poet is describing what the Stoics call the 'Soul of the Universe or *anima mundi*.'

<sup>3</sup> The King commanded the eunuchs to bring in [queen] Vasthi before the King to show her beauty to all the people, but she refused and would not come.—*Cf.* Esth I. 10.

armlets. It was also a custom of the Hebrew Kings and other Orientals, 4 Reg. 5. Quando ingreditur dominus meus templum, Rhenon, ut adoret, et illo innitente super manum meam.<sup>1</sup> 4 Reg. 7 Respondit unus de ducibus super cuius manum Rex incumbabat.<sup>2</sup> 4 Reg. 7, | Rex ducem illum, in *P 69v* cuius manu incubuerat constituit ad portam.<sup>3</sup>

Around the graves of the great men they plant flowers and groves. Job. 3, alludes to this. Somno meo requiescem cum Pegibus et consulibus terrae, qui aedificant sibi solitudines.<sup>4</sup>

*P 120* These people think that all divinity is in the Kings and in great men, and their usual hyperbole is: 'God cannot be seen, I see you, who are a God to me and a true God.' The Bramenes say that they are the god Bramâ. Some are so proud, that owing to ignorance of the divinity, they not only call themselves gods and give to drink as a relic the water with which they wash their feet, but even call god their servant and offer to him the remnants of their meal, and are not ashamed to make a god of one whom they treat like a little dog. From this we can understand why Mardocheus did not want to worship Aman, either because he wished to be considered a god, or because he had [hanging] from his neck the idol which the other adored. Ester 13. Non pro superbia feci ut non adorarem Aman superbissimum, sed renui ne honorem Dei mei transferrem ad hominem, et ne quemquem adorarem, excepto Deo meo.<sup>5</sup>

They also make heaps or mounds of stones on the wayside, and all those who pass by add a stone to the heap. On the top of it they offer flowers to the god Bomba Devaõ or Cada Tirmola Devaõ. The same was formerly done to Mercury. Prou. 26: Sicut qui projicit lapidem in acervum Mercurii.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> When my master goeth into the temple of Remmon to worship, and he leaneth upon my hand.—4. Kgs. V. 18.

<sup>2</sup> One of the lords, upon whose hand the King leaned, answered, 4. Kgs. VII. 2.

<sup>3</sup> And the King appointed that lord on whose hand he leaned to stand at the gate.—4. Kgs. VII., 17.

<sup>4</sup> I should have been asleep and still with Kings and consuls of the earth who build themselves solitudes.—Job. III. 13.

<sup>5</sup> It was not out of pride that I refused to worship the proud Aman, but I feared lest I should transfer the honour of my God, and lest I should adore anyone except my God.—Esth. XIII. 12.

<sup>6</sup> As he that casteth a stone into the heap of Mercury (so is he that giveth honour to a fool)—Prov. XXVI. 8.

It is the usual custom in these countries to erect Pagodes under trees and to adore trees. The Hebrews were rebuked for this by Jer. 2: In omni colle sublimi, et sub omni ligno frondoso tu prosternabaris meretrix,<sup>1</sup> which means that they idolized it. 4 Reg. 17. Fecerunt statuam subter omne lignum memorosum.<sup>2</sup> From this passage of Jeremias and from many others in the Books of the Kings we know that the Hebrews erected on all hills the idols which they call excelsa. It is a custom common to all this heathendom.

All the Pagans paint on their foreheads the symbol of the god they worship. Those who worship Vixnu make it of very white clay, which they call *Namo* or *Trinamo*, which is obtained from a mountain in Mysore. Those who worship Xiuen make use of ashes. The Sect Tattuabi form with sandalwood on three different parts of the forehead and other parts of the body, the letters of the name of their God. Of Anti-Christ we know from scripture: Apoc. 13. | Et faciet *P 70* omnes pusillos ac magnos, diuites, et pauperes, liberos et seruos habere characterem, in dextra manu sua, aut in frontibus suis,<sup>3</sup> In another work<sup>4</sup> we explain this passage in some novel way.

The heretics who deny corporal penance say that St. John the Baptist fed on a kind of little fishes, though St. Mark Chapter 1, says: Joannes Locustas et mel syluestre edebat,<sup>5</sup> for they think locusts cannot be eaten. In this part of Asia the poor people dry them and do eat them, and when there is a swarm of them, they lay in large supplies. Wild honey is found in the forests and in different forms both of bees and of wasps,<sup>6</sup> and the Holy Baptist must have eaten of both, for both the one and the other are tasty, and the honey of the wasps is an excellent cure for limbs paralysed with cold.

*P 121* There is found there a stone which they call Belichecali,<sup>7</sup> very hard, which serves to strike fire with, and they split it into fragments, so fine, that they cut through meat and wood like a knife. These must be the stones with which the

<sup>1</sup> On every high hill and under every green tree thou didst prostitute thyself.—Jer. II. 20.

<sup>2</sup> And they made statues under every shady tree.—4. Kgs. 10.

<sup>3</sup> And he shall make all, both little and great, rich and poor, freemen and bondmen, to have a character in their right hand or on their foreheads.—Apoc. XIII. 16.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>5</sup> John ate locusts and wild honey.—Mc. I. 6.

<sup>6</sup> de Mosquitos! Perhaps the large black bee (*bambara*) is meant.

<sup>7</sup> Malayal *Vedi-ikkallu*, fire stone.

Hebrews circumcised. Exod 4. Tulit ergo Sephora acutissimam petram, et circumcidit preputium filii sui.<sup>1</sup> Jos, 5. Fac tibi cultros lapideos, et circumcide secundo filios Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Leaving aside other likenesses, from the information they had of the universal Resurrection wherein the good will receive an eternal reward for their good deeds and the wicked eternal punishment, they imagined other generations in the transmigration of souls in which they will receive the reward for good deeds or punishment for misdeeds.

From the knowledge which they had that in the Church of God there was from the beginning of the world a true remission of sins, of the guilt and punishment, and that in the Law of Grace they are remitted by the sacrament of Baptism, they imagined, and all their books teach, that sins are pardoned by the ablutions of Caxe, of Ramexura, of the River Caveri at Combuconaō,<sup>3</sup> and of other celebrated places in their midst. They likewise believe that they are also pardoned, when sacrifices are offered to the gods, and they are invoked; in which they are so superstitious, that they hold that a devout invocation of Ramen (Vixnu transfigured), one single invocation, is enough to obtain the pardon of all one's sins; and that if his name is invoked twice, he is very much embarrassed, because there is no reward which can sufficiently recompense a virtue of such excellence. The same is said of the names of Xiuen, Chrisnan, Velayden and many others which they often repeat. They expressly say that sins committed are pardoned on confession, for such is the meaning of *Xeydapauam*, *Challa tirum*. But they do not speak of a Sacramental | confession, which they do not know, nor will it be in keeping with their other principles. P 70v

As they knew that there was in the Church of God True Indulgences, they imagined such powerful Popes who applied them to their ceremonies and sacrifices, which they signify by diverse names: the bloody sacrifice they call *Belli*,<sup>4</sup> the bloodless *Pāgey*,<sup>5</sup> that of flowers *Archiney*,<sup>6</sup> the Burnt offerings *O-Maō*<sup>7</sup>; and all these four kinds, they say, have very great indulgences, and we have not succeeded in preventing bad

<sup>1</sup> Sephora took a very sharp stone and circumcised the foreskin of her son.—Ex. IV. 25.

<sup>2</sup> Make thee knives of stone and circumcise the second time the children of Israel.—Jos. V. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Benares, Rameswaram, Kumbakonam.

<sup>4</sup> Skt. *bali*, offering of portions of food such as grain, rice, &c. to certain gods, semi-divine beings, spirits, &c.—Mon.-Wil.

<sup>5</sup> *Pūjā*: Worship.

<sup>6</sup> *Archana*.

<sup>7</sup> *Hōma*, oblation with fire.

Christians from offering these at every nook and at the foot of every tree and on any stone. They also apply indulgences to the beads they use, and the best known of them are the stones of the Rutraxão<sup>1</sup> fruit, for it is only those of the Sect of Xivan who have recourse to these Chimeras.

The Rutraxão which is of one single face (that is to say it has no stripe or any division whatever) is of such excellence, that he who finds it will be equal to the god Xivan, and he will obtain full remission from the sin of killing a Bragmane or a cow, which in their opinion are the most heinous possible. [The Rutraxão] of two faces has the like virtue, one of three, P 122 they say, has the image of fire, and that | it pardons the sin of killing a woman, an easy remedy indeed for the jealous. One with four faces pardons any number of Braminicides, even if the Bragmanes themselves or even the god Brumâ himself be the accuser. And the reason for this virtue is because it is with this Rutraxão that Xiuan got rid of the sin which he committed by killing the god Brumâ for having shamelessly fornicated with his daughter, but these turpitudes I leave for another place and to a different Language. One with five faces pardons all sins of deed, and it has another rare indulgence that not even Eamen, King of Death, can do any harm to one who has it, and though they all go about laden with Rutraxōs, they die like flies every day. One with six faces has moreover the virtue of the two and the three, but I have never heard that two and three make six. One with seven faces is still more miraculous, for besides giving permission to commit incest in the first degree of kinship, he who has it will not be bitten by a snake, which in these countries are infinite in number and species and so venomous, that some do not give the stricken time even to pronounce the name of Jesus. One with eight faces remits the sin of a disciple fornicating with the wife of his spiritual Master. One with nine faces is marvellous, and is powerful enough to extinguish the sin of killing a million Bragmanes, and whoever carries it tied to his left arm is predestined, for without any further virtuous deed he will obtain | the glory of Xiven. P 71 One with ten faces pardons any amount of sins, however grievous they be; and no animal or Devil can do any harm to one who wears it. One with eleven faces confers all the happiness and Glory of Xiven. One with twelve makes the wearer resplendent like the Sun itself and procures him all the merits of the sacrifices which are offered throughout the world. And we never saw any other resplendence save

<sup>1</sup> Skt. *Rudrāṣṭha* 'Rudra-Eyed' *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*, or its berry used for rosaries.

that of their olive colour. Those of thirteen give great qualities of subtilty and swiftness to appear in any place they like in the world in an instant, and pardons all incest and other sins of impurity. And as they did not find any stone fruit of this kind which has more than thirteen stripes they did not invent further miracles. About the number they only say that, if one wears a thousand, there is no thing or action which is a sin for him, for the intention of the Devil in these obscene indulgences was nothing else than to multiply sins, and the pagan Bramanes [had no other intention] save their self-interest, and to make themselves worshipped.

From the knowledge they had of the spiritual war which took place in Heaven between St. Michael and the good Angels and Lucifer with the evil angels, they invented that formerly there was division between the gods, and that a great number of them became accursed, and that along with their happiness of state they lost also the name, and they are called Raxader,<sup>1</sup> a name as ignominious as Demon. The Canarese call them Mharu. Those of the Sect of Buddum also knew of this, | and that the Holy Scripture calls Lucifer a Dragon, and they imagined in Heaven a king of Dragons; and the Emperors of China took it as their special badge and by this trick also the Devil tries to get himself worshipped. Many other resemblances we could point out, but these are enough to confirm our statement, and there shall not be wanting a place in another work<sup>2</sup> to continue the subject at greater length.

## CHAPTER 22.

### THAT THE BRAMANES ARE NOT DESCENDED FROM THE HEBREWS, AND WHAT THEIR NOBILITY AND ASIATIC SCIENCES ARE

The foregoing comparison and observations clearly prove that the pagans of this Asia, and especially the Bramanes [who are] their Teachers and the Authors of all the fables they believe, had received much intelligence concerning the teachings of the written Law which they perverted; and though

<sup>1</sup> Rākhasa. There are three classes of them, the one alluded to here is the one corresponding to Titans, relentless enemies of the gods.—*Cf. Mon.-Wil. s. v.*

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity had not been made known to all in that | ancient Church, yet many of them knew *F 71e* it and it was foreshadowed in the Old Testament. Likewise they received many errors and abuses of the Hebrews, or the Hebrews from them, both the one and the other retaining the errors peculiar to each, and many errors of ancient heathendom are common to them. But it does not follow from this that the Bramanes are descendants of the Israelites, either as sons of Abraham and of Cetura whom he took as a second wife after the death of Sara and after turning out of the house the slave woman Agar with her son Ismael, or as some think by descent from the Levites who accompanied the Tribes separated from the Kingdom of Juda, of whose journey to the parts East of Palestine, Esdras speaks in the 4th Book, as some people suppose, because it is said there that they went in order to observe the Law, because being persecuted by the neighbouring Kings, they could not observe it in the Kingdom of Israel under the Kings of Samaria, and that they would return at the end of the world with the rest who were there. And though it is not a Canonical book, it is worthy of so great credit, that the Catholic Church appended it to Sacred Scripture. Nor had they any other ground for this fiction than the resemblances aforesaid, from which can be gathered only what we have pointed out.

And that they are not descendants of Cetura, the Pagans themselves admit, for they claim to be descended only from their god Bramâ, and the Christian [Brahmins] deny it; for as they have already realised the falsity of heathenism in imagining that they are sprung from the head of Bramâ, [who is] one of the persons of their false Trinity, on the occasion of a discussion with another Caste to which they have an irremediable antagonism, one of them tried recently to *P 184* make known to us their former ascendancy and nobility. | And though we told him in a friendly manner, when he was busy with his undertaking, that all their traditions and Puranas were mere fables, full of Idolatry, and that he should rest content with the esteem in which they are held by Asiatic peoples and by the Portuguese, he thought he could prove his point with the authority of foreign Writers, Christian and Pagan, and published a short treatise on the subject, from which I will only extract what is to our purpose along with the grounds and reasons wherewith he tries to prove it, for it is not our object to detract any credit from it, but only to bring out the truth as far as a History admits of a profitable digression.

He maintains, 1st, that the Bramanes are not descendants of Cetura, wife of Abraham, because she is the same as Agar, as St. Jerome holds in his *Questiones Hebraicae*, St. Cyril in *Joan.*, Book 6, Chapter II., where he says that it is the opinion of the Hebrews.

2nd. That if Cetura is the same as Agar and the Ismaelites | <sup>F 72</sup> are sprung from Agar, Abraham and Cetura are not the progenitors of the Bramanes. And if the Bramanes were descended from Abraham and Cetura, they would have observed circumcision and other Hebrew rites and would have retained the Paternal names.

3rd. Holy Scripture in Gen. 10, says that the generation of Sem passed over to inhabit the Orient before Abraham and after the confusion of Babel.

4th. That the name Abraham was not corrupted in course of time into Bramâ, nor Sarâ into Saraspati, because Bramâ means observer of Heavenly things, and Saraspati does not mean Lady, but science, as is proved from their Poets, who use this word for science in invoking their false gods to perfect their poems.

5th. That the Bramanes are the offspring of the Bramâ-Deu, who was really not a god, as the pagans imagine in their fables, but a King, for even today they call the Kings Devâ Rajâ, which means God of the country, and in Maliam<sup>1</sup> the King is called Tambarâne<sup>2</sup> which means god, and in the Ghates and in the other lands of Telanga they call the King Deu Ruru, which is interpreted, 'God of the country', and it is in this sense that the Pagans call Brahmadeu god.

6th. That from this King Bramâ, who was at the same time a Pagan Priest, and from his wife Gætri sprang the four original Castes through four sons who were Bramanes,<sup>3</sup> Qhetris, Vayssus and Sudrus, and to each of them he assigned an office or service according to his inclinations. To Bramâ the first born son, Priestly dignity and literature, giving him as his insignia and device the thread and *Sandear*<sup>4</sup> which the pagan Bramanes use, and a rod called *Dandda*<sup>5</sup> wherewith to rule and govern the other castes, and therefore they make to him the reverence called *Danddavâta* which means: Before you I am like dust; Qhtri he ordered to profess arms, and

<sup>1</sup> Malayâlam.

<sup>2</sup> Malayal. *tamburâm*, lord.

<sup>3</sup> Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya, Sudra.

<sup>4</sup> Skt. *sandhya*, the religious acts performed by Brahmins morning, noon and night.

<sup>5</sup> Skt. *dandâ*, staff given at investiture with the sacred thread.

<sup>P 125</sup> gave | him as his device and insignia the thread, the Sandeâ, with some difference in the courtesy: *Ramâ, Ramâ*: which means; May God free you from the danger of arms; To Vayssus he gave the business of commerce and of selling and bartering; To Sudru the yoke to cultivate the land which they call *Junua*, and to both the courtesy of *Junuara* which means I am ready to serve you; as given by Duarte Barboza in Book 5 Chapter 10, Concerning the ceremonies and Sects of the Bramanes; and it is these castes alone that Father Thomas Stephen makes mention of in the Purâna<sup>1</sup> he composed, and which he offered them as one | who knew their <sup>F 72v</sup> language so well. But from this it cannot be inferred that there is equivalence and parity in the four castes, in that they proceed from the same progenitors, for in all nations, even when they have the same ancestors, there comes diversity afterwards.

7. Over and above this King Bramane, [the writer] found another in Calicut,<sup>2</sup> for as Friar Manoel dos Anjos relates in his *Universal History* Chapter 1; and Bishop Ororio in folio 365 'concerning the affairs of King D. Manoel' when Vasco da Gama (afterwards Admiral of India, Conde de Vidigueyra, whose descendants today are Marquesses of Niza) reached the City of Calicut, he found a Temple dedicated to the Most Holy Virgin, whom in the Malabar language they called Marien, [and who is] venerated by the Pagans of the country. Only Bramanes Priests were allowed to enter her Chapel; others must remain in the body of the Church, in which they showed him an image of our Lady, and when her name was uttered, they fell prostrate on the ground. And Vasco da Gama ascertained that it is related in the annals of that Kingdom that Chery Perimale, Emperor of Malavar, founder of that City and Temple, was a Bramane, one of the wisest in India, [and that he was] one of the three

<sup>1</sup> The Christian Purana of Father Thomas Stephens, S.J. Pt. 2, strophe 42. Father Thomas Stephen, S.J. 1549-1619 of Bulstan, Wiltshire, the first Englishman in India (Ency. Brit. art. 'India'), was the first to make a scientific study of Canerese (Dict. of Nat. Biog.). He composed manuals of piety, grammars, 'A collection of Christian Doctrines' (Canarese); 'A Grammar of the Konkani Language,' the first Grammar of an Indian tongue by a European. But the literary performance which made him famous was the 'Christian Purana' a poetical work describing the old and new Testament history in 10962 strophes. 'The Christian Purana not only possess the greatest poetic beauty possible in such a composition, but also has the rare merit of containing almost literal renderings—all the more lively for being literal—of the words and phrases, and of whole passages sometimes, of the Holy Scriptures, interspersed in appropriate places.'—J. L. Saldanha, B.A., in his introduction to the latest edition of the Purana.

<sup>2</sup> Calicut.

Magi who at Bethlehem adored the Son of God Incarnate, and that on his return he erected that temple, chapel and altar. He also says that King Bramane was the King Bramã who conquered Martauã and a great part of the ancient Empire of Pegû, and that Ptolemy places in the country which lies between the mount Beligo and Mount Beli at an altitude of 128 degrees of Longitude and 19 of Latitude, the Bragmãna City, which name it took from its King Bramã, wherein lived the Bragmanes Magi, as is mentioned in the Seventh Book in the table of Citra-Gangetic Asia, f 195; and that since Ptolemy wrote 800 years before the birth of Christ, it is now 2486 years that the Bragmanes have been known and named.

8th. That the Greek writers Megasthenes and Strabo, as related by Damiaõ de Goës in 'the Chronica of King D. Manoel' Book I. Chapter 42, call the Bragmanes the philosophers of India. And St. Jerome in his 'Epistle to Paulinus' relates that Apollonius went to Oriental India to hear a Bragmane named Hiarcaõ, who, sitting on a throne of gold, taught the course of the stars and the movement of the Sun to many of his disciples; | and lastly Christouã da Costa Africano in his treatise on Solitary Life, recounts and enlarges on the life and customs of the Bragmanes and praises their virtues, saying that they are | pagans of India.

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Such is the whole argument wherewith this anonymous [author] tries to prove that the Bramanes are the descendants of a King, that they had Kings and were the priests and Teachers of heathendom in this Hindustan, and that for these reasons they are the most noble folk in this land and that the other castes besides the four above-mentioned are either their subalterns or bastards. Of the others I do not speak, for I am not concerned with the genealogies of the Orient, the government of which both of the pagans and of the Moors was ever tyrannical; and it is only those who govern that have any wealth or power, and that only so long as they govern, and the traders and merchants have [wealth and power], because of the conveniences that result therefrom. As for the rest, whether of the highest or lowest castes who preserve themselves without intermarrying with others, they are the poorest, as we have said, and of the Christians no one disdains to serve any European either out of necessity or for convenience: of the pagans, however, all lack that support of nobility which results from the disregard of riches for the love of God. For after many definitions of civil Nobility, only those are heeded who place it in Wealth, continued in a line of Illustrious Ancestors, distinguished for their deeds.

Not that Nobility consists in Wealth, but that the latter preserves its lustre and is the condition without which Nobility does not appear. Even among the Kings and Emperors of the world, who are not to be compared with Lieges, the greater the wealth and the power attained, the greater is the lustre shed on the Crown. But it is in the distinguished deeds of Progenitors, worthy of all praise, that the essence of Nobility, civil and hereditary, consists, which is the greater in proportion as it is more ancient and continuous; which are two necessary qualities that make Nobility complete and recognized.

But as regards ecclesiastical nobility which depends on the spirit, worship and office, wherewith God is served, and is wholly derived from the Religion and Faith [shown] to the same God, it is clearly seen that the only true Nobility is the one that is derived from the [worship of the] True God, and that there is only false and imaginary nobility, when false gods are concerned. It is true indeed that this misunderstanding ever prevailed in this world on account of the errors which the world ever embraced, but as all this veneration is wholly based on error, and we Catholics are free from such error, we must without hesitation accept this truth; for just as the natural deeds of courage and prudence and learning, &c., when marred by violence and murder and injustice and other vices, may make one feared, but do not make him really honourable, so the cult and actions which are performed out of Religion and Faith in the True God are worthy of honour, | and can excel to such an extent, as to make a human being worthy of receiving a worship superior to civic honours, as in the case of the Saints.

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P 127 But if it concerns only false gods, it may be | held in honour by a mistaken notion, but does not deserve it in truth and justice. And as this reference to the true God is as sublime as it is supernatural, a true and prudent judge considers it so highly, that he prefers it to the highest civil dignity and honour, as when Kings and Emperors humble themselves before the Pontiffs, reverencing their powers of [holy] Orders and Superior Jurisdiction. And though the Mahometan Power has come to be the greatest in the world and there are in it most puissant Monarchs, the Catholic Church has declared that those of that blood and profession are disqualified for the Priesthood, and Christian people have so high an esteem for this qualification to the sacred office, that a pious and intelligent Catholic, however poor and low he may be among his own people, will not take to wife the greatest Mahometan Princess, so long as this mark of infamy lasts. And that infamy weighs the heavier on those of Mahometan and



Hebrew blood, because of the greater obstinacy of the one and the other, and because of the greater knowledge which the Hebrews had of the True God, and moreover because of the profession they make of being hostile to the Law of the Faith of Christ. And the priests of Idols have no just claim to this pre-eminence, except in the minds of those who are prejudiced by the dictates of infidelity.

And to be frank and not to seem to deny truth, I admit that it is manifest and well known that the Bramanes are the Priests of Idols in this Hindustan, and in the countries between the Indus and the Ganges as far as Mount Caucasus, for beyond that they never crossed; and they are not only the teachers of this heathendom, but are also the authors of all the idolatries which are practised in that district, and of all the impious, foul and impure dogmas that are believed therein, from the time they paved the way by admitting and publishing them about their gods. For how can a pagan persuade himself that in the matter of customs men are not allowed to do what is allowed to the gods? or that anything is repugnant to human decency which is not repugnant to divine holiness? And if one acknowledges God as the Author of the whole creation, and that reason itself is a participation of the Divine [reason], how can he believe that God not only made reason against reason, but that though human reason is a participation of the divine, in so much as it is virtually contained in the abyss of divine perfections and is regulated by the divine [reason], it can be at variance with the being from whom it proceeds, with the holiness which regulates it, with the precepts which he lays down, | with the P 74 counsels which he gives? or that God is inconsistent with himself? But the reason why they teach and preach so iniquitous and impure dogmas about their gods is that he who does not conceive God as one, has no notion of the True God, and Brahminism like the Anthropomorphists never succeeded in forming a notion of a spiritual being and their knowledge never extended beyond corporal beings; and as they did not conceive God as a Spirit, which alone can be the principle of reason, they did not succeed in conceiving what reason is, P 128 what its operations are, and how they should be regulated | by the immediate rule of reason, conformable in all things with the divine reason; for the operations of reason cannot but have a spirit for their author and are essentially dependent on it. And as they philosophised only about the material and brutal in accordance with their principles, they palliated all kinds of impurity. Nay more, they were so blinded, that they gave to plants and brutes the same soul as to men.

Nor have they to boast of their natural sciences, for they did not discover the principles of speculative philosophy nor of moral. All their Rhetoric consists in some silly hyperboles which approach closer to falsehood than to exaggeration, and in some metaphors or parables in which all Asiatic elegance consists. Even in their fictions they were never able to weave a plot which had some appearance of likelihood imitating Heliodorus, and in our times Barclay, in prose, and Lôpe, Montalvao and Caldeyrao in verse, who wove such romances and invested them with feeling and elegance, that their stories not only seem true to reality, but even please and satisfy the understanding by the humour of their plot, the eloquence of their sentences and conceptions. On the other hand the overstrained falsehoods of the fables [of the Brahmins] and the manifest impossibility of their fantasies show neither taste, nor elegance, nor wit, nor any discretion, and can only deceive those who have no idea of God or of good manners. Of their Mathematics and Astrology we have already said something, for neither this nor the other sciences ever crossed the Euphrates, save after the Europeans came to India, and some natives had studied Mathematics in China. Of medicine, however, either by their own researches or from foreigners they learnt some principles, and by experience they came to know the virtue of some excellent herbs and other natural medicines which Asia produces. To the Asiatics, moreover, our Authors attribute the principles of Arithmetic a science which Europe, the Mother of sciences, afterwards brought to perfection.

| And as this is not the place to enlarge on this subject, P 740 in another work<sup>1</sup> I will make it so manifest, as to leave no reason for doubt. Meanwhile it is enough to know that, though there are many who are learned and inquisitive who know perfectly the Marasta language and the Guirindaõ in which their writings are published, no one ever found them so pleasant nor did they inspire into anyone the desire to translate any of their works into Latin or the vernacular; as has been done in the case of all Greek Authors of name and fame. It is not because they thought that it was undesirable, because the books were entirely Pagan, for if this reason had any force, the Pagan Greek books, which contain many errors, would not have been translated nor would the Latin Pagans have been read in the schools merely to learn the purity of that language. Equal and even greater are the presumptions which the Chinese have on the subject of wisdom, P 129 and no none | ever found in them any other knowledge save

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction.

medicine, more experimental than theoretic, and Arithmetic, the most imperfect and exposed to many errors. They fall little short of adoring their philosopher Confucius, and we saw here his best work turned into Latin, and it only served to disappoint us on the subject of Asiatic sciences. Not because it lacks intelligence or ingenuity, for in that respect there are no barbarians in Asia, but because when the light of Faith is wanting, reason finds little even in natural things and nothing at all in the supernatural. If some Greek Pagans reason rightly, it is because of the knowledge they had of Sacred Scripture; and if in Rhetoric there were eminent Pagans, Greek and Latin, it was because, besides their great application, they found great disposition for it in their languages. Mathematics began before the Deluge, and afterwards there were found the observations of the first men, made by the experience of many years of life, and from the traditions of the first Man, who had knowledge infused. It was resuscitated in Chaldea, and through Egypt it passed to Europe, where it was perfected along with other sciences.

### CHAPTER 23.

#### THE ARGUMENTS ADDUCED TO THE CONTRARY PROVE NOTHING

1. Not the first; for Liranus and Thomas Anglicus<sup>1</sup> and the Hebrews are the authors who held that Cetûra was the same as Agar, and that Abraham, on the death of Sara, ordered Isaac to bring back Cetûra. But these, says Cornelius a Lapide, are Jewish commentaries which Abulense and Cajetan refute at length. And though | St. Jerome <sup>F 76</sup> quotes them, it does not follow therefrom that it was his opinion, nor can the Bramanes prove that they are not descendants of Abraham by Cetûra on the ground that she was the same as Agar, the Mother of the Agarenes, or Ismaelites, who are descended from her through Ismael.

Nor the second; as is already clear, for circumcision was not imposed by God as a law, save on the people of Israel, and from it therefore it cannot be proved that the sons of Cetûra also should have been circumcised. The names which designate families are the names which we call surnames,

<sup>1</sup> Thomas of Jorz of the Order of Preachers, master of theology, Oxford, Prior, Provincial, Confessor of Edward, created Cardinal in 1305, died in Germany while on a mission from Clement V. to Henry VII. of Germany. His body was transferred to Oxford. Chief work 'Commentaria in IV. libros Sententiarum'

which were not yet in use in those times; but just as in Spain we find many patronymic surnames in the case of those who take the name of the Father as a surname, so also in those ages and in Sacred Scripture, when the sons were named they added 'son of so and so'; and in the Chronicles of Arabia the same style is found. It is certain then that Abraham married Cetûra after the death of Sara which took place when she was 127 and Abraham 137. By her he had six diverse generations, either in the course of nature, because <sup>P 130</sup> human nature was not incapable of it in those days, | or by divine intervention, as was the case in the birth of Isaac; and of all these sons of Abraham and Cetûra the Madianites are the only ones that are known, though Josephus says that they populated Arabia Felix as far as the Red Sea.

Nor does the third; for when the Scripture says that the sons of Sem inhabited the Orient, it does not mean India, but Chaldea and Mesopotamia, which lie to the East of Palestine, as the Interpreters say. And if one wants to know whence proceed the Indians of whom mention is made, let him consult the Genealogical tree of the Patriarchs or Progenitors of the Human Race after the Deluge in Tirino 'Chronica Sacra' Chapter 46, and he will find that from Cam, the second son of Noe, sprang Hevila, and from him the Indians. Nor does [the author] make use of what has some appearance of truth, [namely] that the Bramanes might be of the Tribe of Levi; but we have already answered it.

Nor does the fourth; for to the wife of Brumâ who is called Saraspatî, the Masters of their craft give the name of Paraxactî, from which may be seen how weak their conjectures are. It is the same with the name of the husband, for him whom he calls Bramâ they call Brumâ, and in the Puranas themselves it is said that the Bramanes were born from the face of Bruma, and that they expressly say they are God Brumâ himself, from whose shoulders, they say, were born the Rajus, the Camotîns from the thighs, and from the feet the Sutrez. How can one derive true genealogies from such ridiculous fables? But it is nothing wonderful that | Indian credulity <sup>F 750</sup> easily believed that the Bramanes were born of Brumâ and that they are identical with him, though they are so distinct and so many, that they occupy the whole of Hindustan, since they believe that Brumâ himself was born from the navel of Vixnû. Let [the anonymous author] give as many interpretations as he likes to the names of Bramâ and Saraspatî, for I do not myself admit the corruption of Abraham into Bramâ nor Sara into Saraspatî, and nothing can be concluded with certainty from their *puranas*, because they are mere fables of men who were bent on reducing truth to impossible chimeras.

Nor does the fifth; for if it is taken from his *Puranas*, it is notorious that they deserve no credit. But it is false that the Pagans call Bramâ, King, or God of the country, for they say that he is the first person of their Trinity, and when they want to explain what God is, they find nothing greater than their false and iniquitous Trinity. I do not deny that they call the Kings of the country god, because of the dominion and power he participates in, but no heed should be paid to this in the meaning of the pagans, for even the Kaffir King of Quiteue calls himself god. And if the pagans imagined Bramâ to be God of Heaven, how can they call him god of the earth in their sense? Heathen Bramanism never claimed that Bramâ was called Bramadeu, nor that he was the King whom [the anonymous author] indicates; and if it is not known from their books, nor from foreign books, as we shall see, whence did he find out that Bramâ was the King Bramadeu? Does it perchance follow that there was a King Bramadeu from the fact that Kings were called Deva Rajâ? | and not Deva Rajâ, King of the country, but only Deu Rajâ. I say the same of the word Tambarane as of this Deu Rajâ, from which it cannot be inferred that there was a Bramadeu in the world. The more so as in the *Puranas* he is called Brumâ rather than Bramâ, and so also the more accurate Bramenes; and if he maintains that Bramadeu is the same, he reduces everything to principles far removed from truth. Let him consult his *Puranas* and he will find that Bramâ was married to a wife named Sara Suado. How then does he say that the wife of Bramâ was called Gactri, merely to escape the force of the similarity of names between Abraham and Sara. It is quite certain that neither the *Puranas* nor the foreign Histories call his wife Gactri. Where then did he find it? With the same Liberty wherewith he imagined a wife, he imagined the castes born of her, for the foreign books do not mention this, and his own books do not say that the four castes were born of her, but that they were born to him, and they say that they were Bramanes, Rajûs, whom the Anonymous author calls Qhitris, just as he calls the Vayssus Camotins and the Sudras, Xutres. And how does he hope to convince us that Bramadeu, though so powerful a King as | he describes him to be, had so little pride, and that his sons the Princes were so worthless, that the youngest took the yoke as his office and badge, and that the third accepted the functions of a Baneane shopkeeper? It is not a novelty in the world, that nobility degenerates with time, but in purer ages than those before and after the deluge, the division of offices to the sons of Bramadeu is manifestly false. Equally

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disproportionate are the badges, for how does a thread indicate arms? It would have been more in keeping, if he had made him a Weaver or a Tailor. And how can it be the badge of the Nobility of the Bramanes and Qhitras, if few indeed are the pagans of the most diverse, even of the lowest, castes who do not wear it, as for instance the Blacksmiths and other castes of the same standing. It is equally news to me, as it will be to all, that *Ramâ Ramâ* means: May God save you from the peril of arms; for if the word is ever the same and has the same meaning, how can it signify such a great diversity. Do you know why Duarte Barboza believed it? Because he was more credulous than I, and as he was in Portugal, he did not know how much they lie in India, nor that the Pagan *Purânas* are full of falsehoods not only in dogmas of religion, but even in historical matters. Father Thomas Stephens speaks of their castes, because they are known now by one name now by another, but he never said that they were born from the head, shoulders, thighs, and feet of God Bramâ, like the pagans; nor [that they were born] of king Bramadeu, as the anonymous Author does.

And what will he say of me, if I should maintain with Faria in his *Asia* Tome 2, part 4, chapter 4 that in Malavar there are also the same four castes, but with such diverse names as Bramere, Exastri, Bacsti, Chudra? Yet it is also said there ascertain, and he boasts of being the first to give the information, that the Bramanes | are descended from the Fishermen, and that they wear the thread in token of the nets they gave up. I mention this so that he may not rely too much on foreign writers who say what was told to them or what the Bramanes relate; the latter is all fable, the former may be false. Nor is there in India the same reason as in other parts of the world to despise castes that are descended from the same Parent, for as there is no mixture by marriage among them, and as they do not take their nobility from deeds based on wealth, there is no reason why learning and Priesthood should not belong to them also. There is no reason why there should be inequality between the three, and the nobility which the Bramanes claim does not in truth pertain to them on the score of learning, which they never had, nor on the score of their Priesthood of false gods except false veneration, as has been pointed out. It is a ridiculous thing to reduce nobility to consist in not eating flesh and fish, and for men | bereft of polity and property to lay down the law to the whole world. If this were so, the Bramanes of Velur and Maduré and all those who live on the Ghates will have reason to despise the Bramanes of this Concaô, for even when they were pagans they ate fish,

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and after they became Christians, they would have no nobility, for they all eat fish and flesh, if they get them. The divisions of nobility that are found in other nations spring as from a legitimate Root from heroic deeds of the arm or the mind, and the Bramanes cannot boast of any such thing, for though they are sharp and keen, they spend all their ingenuity in misleading and perverting India with horrible fables, cults, ceremonies and customs.

Nor the seventh either; for though some respect is shown to the Royal dignity, [yet] nobility is not deduced from it, and at the present day the majority of the Pagan Kings of this Hindustan are Sudros, to whom the Bramenes pretend to be superior in nobility, wherefore with these patches they cannot make a garment. The church which is mentioned might be one founded by the Apostle St. Thomas during the lifetime of Our Lady, as did also St. James and St. Peter. And from this alone one can infer the pride of the pagan Bramanes, for they retain such respect for our Lady without being able to say who she was, but afterwards when they learnt from the Portuguese of the birth of Christ and of the mysteries of our Holy Faith, in order not to submit to a foreign teaching and not to give up the interests of which they make a living, they kept no remembrance of it or of the Temple, nor did they embrace it, and there is nothing so difficult in these countries than to convert a Bramane, in spite even of the miracles which God works daily among them as St. Francis Xavier experienced.

As for what he says about the King of Calicut, Queri Perimale, Emperor of Malavar, who was one of the Magi who adored Christ in Bethlehem, though Navarco said that one of them was King of Calicut, and others followed him, there were many opinions on the point. It is clear from the Gospel that they were from the East. | Ab oriente uenerunt.<sup>1</sup> It is known moreover that all three saw the star in the East. Vidimus Stellam [ejus] in oriente.<sup>2</sup> Ecce stella quam uiderant in oriente<sup>3</sup>. It is the common opinion of Interpreters that the star was not in the Heavens, but in the neighbouring atmosphere; that it was seen by them as soon as Christ was born; that they adored the Christ on the 13th day after his birth; that Sacred Scripture speaks of the East with regard to Palestine and not with respect to the world, just as Christ speaking of the Queen of Saba called her, in Palestine, Queen of the South. It is also the common | opinion of the Holy Fathers that the Magi were of the generation of Balaam, F 77

<sup>1</sup> They came from the East.

<sup>2</sup> We have seen his Star in the East.

<sup>3</sup> And behold the Star which they had seen in the East.

and he lived in Mesopotamia; Numbers 23, 7. De Aram, (id est Mesopotamia) adduxit me Balac Rex Moabitarum de montibus orientis.<sup>1</sup> Deuter. 23. 4. Conduxerunt contra te Balaam filium Beor Mesopotamiae Syriae ut malediceret tibi.<sup>2</sup> Now let him put these things together, and he will see clearly that the Magi came from Mesopotamia, or from the neighbourhood of Arabia, and that neither all nor any could have been from this India. Not all, for the King of Calicut was not a descendant of Balaam; nor any of them, for since the star appeared in the atmosphere, it could not be seen at the same time both in Calicut and in Mesopotamia, and as navigation in those days was always along the coast, as is done now, by the help of land winds and other breezes, and whether he went by the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea or across Arabia, he could not have gone with the others, as is stated in the Gospel, nor arrive in Jerusalem in so short a time except by a great miracle; all of which is easily explained, if they went on dromedaries. And if some were of this opinion, it was because they did not fully consider the force of the text, and because they had not measured this distance well. Whence it appears in all clearness that none of the Magi who adored Christ was a King of Calicut. And that it was not Queri Perimale, as the Anonymous Author writes, or as Joaõ de Barros did in decade 1, Book 9, Chapter 3, quoting from their chronicle, Sarama Pereymal, whose capital was Coulaõ. When the Portuguese entered India, it was 6120 years after he had governed Malavar, and as D. Vasco da Gama came to Calicut for the first time in the year of Christ 1498, it is impossible that this same King should have adored Christ in the manger. In the same place Barros says that Pereymal in his old age became a Moor and that on their persuasion he embarked to go to Meca and died on the way. And as the Mahometan Sect began in the seventh century of Christ, how could Pereymal adore Christ when he was born, besides that there is no Author who says that any of the Magi became a Moor. And from this one can see the falsity of the fable which he wants us to believe.

The King Bramã who conquered Martavaõ and part of the ancient Empire of Pegu is well known to have descended from the neighbourhood of Asiatic Tartary, and the Bramanes never crossed the river | Ganges, nor have they anything to do where there are Ganezes, Talapoys, Bonzes or Lamas; and

<sup>1</sup> Balac King of the Moabites hath brought me from Aram, from the Mountains of the East.—Numb. XXIII. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Because they hired against thee Balaam, the son of Beor, from Mesopotamia in Syria, to curse thee.—Deut. XXIII. 4.

though these embraced various idolatries, the Bramanes were never their Priests, and there is no *Purâna* or Author who says that these Bramaz were Bramanes.

All the force of his argument is in the authority of Ptolemy and the others | whom he quotes in succession. But he must pay heed that Araccan, Pegû, Martauaõ and the other countries of these parts, as far as the Caucasus which ends at the walls of China belong to India beyond the Ganges and not to India on this side of the Ganges of which Ptolemy speaks; and the Bramenes, as their Authors and the *Purânas* write and speak, are one thing, and quite another thing are the Bragmanes spoken of by the Authors he quotes; and one who is so scrupulous about the corruption of names ought to have been equally so in this matter, but he was misled into thinking that this one would serve his purpose. In many parts of the world there were Magi addicted to Magic, and Magi given to science; and even of those who adored Christ, St. Thomas and before him St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. John Chrysostom thought they were Magi addicted to Magic. But St. Cyprian, St. Leo, St. Isidore, St. Anselm, Rupert, Paschasidus Bede, Hugh and the Gloss . . . . . held that they were Mathematicians. The name Magus is no objection to this, as St. Jerome and Celio pointed out, because it was only among the Persians, that there were Magi given to Magic and Magi given to science about whom the Jew Philo treats at length. And there are not wanting those who with St. Jerome and Jansenius deny that they were Kings. But everything can be easily explained, if we take them to be Kinglets, as Arabia, Syria and Chaldaea were petty Kingdoms, tributary to the Romans. And if the pagan Bramanes were and are still known for their magic and sorcery, not less celebrated are the Magi of Ceylon who were not Bramanes. The Bragmânes were the philosophers of India and had a King, but just as their King perished, so did they perish also.

The city in which the Bramenes still learn the little they know is not Bragmâna, but one called Caxe on the Ganges, and there is no mention of any other in the Books they learn, nor can [the anonymous author] point out any. And as the principles of their mathematics are so ridiculous, how can he believe that Apollonius ever came to India to hear them? By merely distinguishing Bramenes from Bragmanes, he will avoid all these confusions and will understand that Megasthenes, Strabo and St. Jerome speak of Bragmânes and not of Bramenes, and that Damiaõ de Goês is ambiguous, because he is ill informed.

No. 8 has already been answered, but there is good reason to be surprised at what he relates of Christovao de Costa. In so far as he extols the life and customs of the Pagan

Bramanes, he has an excuse in that he was mistaken about matters he did not see; but the Anonymous author who is a Christian has no excuse for praising the life and customs of the Pagans, when they are such, | that they are the most perverse in their belief and most obstinate in their idolatry, and are the most accomplished soothsayers | of all this heathen-  
 P 135 dom, whereby they are the greatest obstacle to the conversion of Asia. And seeing that they are destitute of reason where-  
 F 78 with to defend their wholly brutal doctrines, which only stupid men can believe, they appeal merely to antiquity and to the many nations that follow them, turning impossible chimeras into occult mysteries and falsifying by a thousand abuses and turpitudes the greatest mysteries of the Triune and Incarnate God. And though Asiatic people are by nature mild, docile, intelligent, and capable of high culture, intellectual and moral, they only succeeded in perverting them to such an extent, as totally to banish all truth, gratitude and courtesy, and to make them similar in their behaviour to the gods whom they painted for them. This was quite sufficient to make them the most shameful, cruel and infamous men in the world, but the natural intelligence and natural modesty and shame, modified in practice the force of the example of their gods, and the diabolical subjection to the abominations they teach quite contrary to the practice of vulgar writers. They act so artfully out of self-interest in order merely to be maintained without working and to be worshipped like gods, and they were able to persuade the pagans that they are gods; and such is their pride, that one who sees a pagan Bramane among his own people, and the arrogance with which he speaks addressing even his god Rama as [Pleyro] Potter, a very low term among them, though it is an obscure allusion to what God did in the field of Damascus, and sees the contempt with which he treats all who are not of his caste and whom he does not fear, will realise that in deeds of pride he represents Lucifer himself who reigns in him.

Leaving the rest to be dealt with in its proper place in other writings, by means of what is here touched upon, I advised the Anonymous author, as I said, not to speak on this subject, because it was altogether odious, and that he had no other title to nobility, pure and simple than the esteem of the Natives, which the Portuguese do not deny: that other nations of India have equally high opinions of themselves; that if any Rasbuto or Patâne should happen to hear a boastful Bramane claim that he is of the highest caste of India, he would kill him on the spot, even if it were to cost him his life; that the Rasbutos are considered by all to be sons of Alexander the Great with better reason than that the

Bramanes are descended from the head of Bramâ, and at least with less repugnance, because as they esteem the blood of that King very highly, any drop of it suffices to credit that high opinion, and the same may be of their descent from the Greeks, as we have pointed out, and as the example of Ethiopia shows, where the least drop of Portuguese blood is enough to make one claim to be a Portuguese. | The Patanes were masters of a great part of India, and are so proud, that on no account would they acknowledge anyone to be equal to them in nobility. P 789

P 136 | In Ceylon, if they allege their descent from the head of Brama or from King Bramdeu, [the Chingalas] would throw in their face that of the Sun, of which they are so proud, that all the Apuamis or gentlefolk, when they are baptized add the name Dom to their Baptismal name; and though they know that many Portuguese gentlemen do not use Dom, yet they do not give it up, not to lose that mark of pre-eminence. It would be a matter for laughter or perhaps for resentment, if a Bramene were to say to a Chingala that he was nobler. Such is the vanity of those people and of others of India; wherefore it is not prudent to try to put oneself above all others among Indians or among other nations. The Council of Goa<sup>1</sup> which he quotes, when it declared the Parabus<sup>2</sup> of the North fit for the priesthood, did not forbid others being admitted, as in fact others are admitted, because the Church has only disqualified for the Priestly state some classes of people, because of their perversity, and others are not wont to be admitted, because they are rude. But when there are no such shortcomings, and given a sufficiency of learning and good manners, she does not exclude any, for the humility which Christ taught does not allow fantastic presumptions and in the ecclesiastical state there is no greater qualification than virtue.

We have given enough information about the inhabitants of Ceylon and the Divisions of the Island and about the customs of this Heathendom in general and of Ceylon in particular, about the pagan Sects they profess, showing clearly that the Law of Moses had never been preached to them. And as in the course of this History we shall have to give further information of the people and the land, it seems to me desirable not to speak of them twice, but to begin at once the following History.

<sup>1</sup> The fifth Council of Goa [1606] declared that of the people of India only 'the sons of Bragmanes and Parabus and other castes held in esteem should be ordained.'—*Archivo Port. Or. IV. 241.*

<sup>2</sup> Skt. *prabhu*, lord, master, a title of honour used by certain families in Goa.

## BOOK 2

### OF THE

# CONQUEST OF CEYLON

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#### CHAPTER 1.

#### DON LOURENÇO DE ALMEYDA DISCOVERS CEYLON AND THE KING OF COTA BECOMES A VASSAL OF THE CROWN OF PORTUGAL.

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THE Island of Ceylon and the condition of its inhabitants being described according to the information obtained after its discovery, it is easy to understand on the one hand the importance and on the other the difficulty of its conquest. Its importance is evident, for being peopled by the heathen, if subjected to a Catholic dominion, it will sooner or later be entirely converted to our Holy Faith, as the event showed and [the conversion] would have been more complete, had the dominion been effective and more stable. Coming now to things temporal, we can already judge of the salubrity of that climate for life, health and fecundity, the first thing that should be looked for by one who intends to found a permanent state; likewise of the profit and gain of those who hold it, because of the fertility of the soil and the wealth of its spices and precious stones, besides the convenience for navigation, for it is situated in the midst of these seas subject to the two monsoons that prevail therein, affording ingress and egress throughout the year to and from its harbours either in the North or in the South both going to or coming from Portugal. No less manifest is the difficulty of its conquest, owing to the inaccessibility of its highlands, the impenetrability of its thickets, and the mettle of its natives grounded on the fantastic conceit of their celestial origin, on the length of their | ancient lineage, and the complete absence of foreign domination; considerations which we shall weigh in the last Book more at length and in the unerring scales of experience.

At present we shall give a fuller account of its discovery ; of the many things which our arms achieved to uphold the Kings of Cota, of the military events after we considered it our own, wherein will be seen a prodigious valour discounted by many disorders ; and of the war which we carried on with Holland till it was altogether lost. And as on all this we shall discourse at length later on, we shall then be better able to appraise the valour, the disorders, the loss, the punishment and the profit we derived at such cost and bloodshed and from so many lives sacrificed to honour.

Now let us begin the History of this discovery and conquest. There set out from Cochim D. Lourenço de Almeйда in the November<sup>1</sup> of 1505 of our redemption with nine, <sup>F 79v</sup> baxeys,<sup>2</sup> of which the captains were Payo de Souza, Lopo Caõ, Nuno Vaz Pereyra, Fernaõ Coutrim and others whom the negligence of time has left in oblivion, making for the maldives, which are 60 leagues from that port, to await the ships of the South which sail between those Islands to the strait of Meca ; and being driven by contrary winds and finally by a violent storm, D. Lourenço sought comfort from Father Friar Vicente, a Religious of St. Francis and a man of known sanctity, and said to him : ' Father, What Jonas will put an end to this tempest ? For were it in my power, I should try the impossible to carry out the order I have, not so much because of the prizes that would be secured by this expedition, but rather that I might not seem to be wanting in my duty.' Friar Vicente replied : ' The secrets of God are known to Him alone, and to those who by His favour share in them. I trust in the same Lord that towards morning I shall be able to give a better solution, for in matters of such import all hurry is rash.' They passed the night in hopes of this reply, while the wind opposed the desire of all. It abated in the early morning, and afterwards they heard mass, which being over [they listened to] Frey. Vincent who said to them in public : ' Brethren, the purpose of God in diverting our course will be shown by His divine Majesty Himself, for before beginning mass, I placed under the altar stone two writings in which I begged Him to show us whither He was pleased we should sail, for the maldives or back to Cochim, and looking for them afterwards I found neither ; and as there was no way for the wind to carry them away,

<sup>1</sup> November 1505 is also the date assigned by Castandeda (II., 20). Corraera, (I., 643), gives 1. August. Ferguson endeavoured to show that this date was wrong. J. XIX., 284-400.

<sup>2</sup> ' Baxel ' (*vascello*) is the name given to an Arab vessel of the old form. Cf. Anglo-Indian ' Buggalow '.

I conclude that Heaven is leading us in another direction for the greater service of God.' And though the virtuous man tried to encourage them, they were discouraged all the more, because it appeared to them that since those ports disappeared, there was only the sea left to them. But, by a dispensation of Heaven, when they least expected it, they came in sight of the port of Gâle at the extremity of the Island of Ceylon, God wishing thereby to show them that He did not lead them to India to be pirates, but to be conquerors.

<sup>P 139</sup> | There he had speech with land and some refreshment, and with the scanty information of one who ill understood them, they went coasting along up to the port of Columbo, where they anchored on the fifteenth of the month of November causing as much astonishment to the natives as grief to the Moors there resident for the loss which they foresaw either from our trade or from our presence, for, as hitherto we had made no attempt at the other conquest,<sup>1</sup> they could not suspect that loss. They prudently dissembled this their distrust by visiting our squadron and inquiring from the Captain-Major what spices he wished to buy and giving withal such information about the country and its people that, though for the nonce it seemed deceitful, the future proved it to be true.

Forthwith King Paracrame-Bau learnt<sup>2</sup> of the arrival of the Portuguese, | of whom he had already heard before, <sup>F 80</sup> and when our men meanwhile relying on the fair words of the inhabitants of Columbo sent [on land] for wood and water, they tried to hinder them. But as they had so far had no experience of fire arms, so great was their astonishment at the balls, that they stopped only in the interior, and the King of Cota, which is one short league from Columbo, at once sent his Ambassadors the next day to give satisfaction for the preceding disorder and to offer peace and friendship to D. Lourenço with vassalage to the King of Portugal. They brought presents of value [and] expressed how much the King was pleased that the Portuguese should come to his ports and carry on commerce with that Island. For

<sup>1</sup> Spiritual conquest.

<sup>2</sup> This is Dharmma Parakrama Bahu IX. ' It is clear from the Dondra stone that Vijaya Bahu VII. assumed regal power in 1505 A.D. : it is no less certain from the Kelani inscription that Dharmma Parakrama Bahu IX. commenced to reign in 1508 A.D. The suggestion seems reasonable that the assumption of sovereignty by Dharmma P. B. at Kotte was disputed by his brother Vijaya Bahu, and that at least for a time, one part of the nation acknowledged the latter as sovereign, while the rest adhered to his brother.' Bell, Keg. Rep. 86.



as he had already had tidings of our arms, he thought it better counsel for the while to submit rather than run the risk of perishing. Such is the power of fear in a Kingdom that is not prejudiced! So much did God facilitate the undertakings as long as misgovernment and wrongs did not frustrate them!

D. Lourenço accepting the apology showed himself pleased with the proposal, and keeping sufficient hostages sent Fernão Cutrim to visit the King and to assure him that, when he set out from Cochim with that squadron, it was for a different purpose and not for the one which circumstances brought about, and that since Heaven had led him to that port, he would be ever grateful for the kind welcome which he gave him; and he commissioned Cutrim to act according to his wishes. The envoy set out, and though the way was very short, through the industry of the Chingalaz he spent three days on the journey, going up hill and down dale and crossing the same river several times. But as everything was foreseen and it had been agreed that a gun would be fired at every [turn of the] hour-glass, he knew very well that the distance was short. He remonstrated with those who guided him, but in reply they laughed outright making fun of his ignorance of the lie of the land, for their intention was merely to secure themselves from any danger. Cutrim reached Cota, but had no audience of the King [who] intended thereby, it seems, to make himself more revered. However he accepted the visit and agreed to comply with the proposal. The envoy returned in another three days, | the Chingaláz keeping up the same deception, and gave D. Lourenço an account of what took place and of the favourable reply which he brought, which the Captain-Major ordered to be celebrated by firing all the artillery; waving flags and dressing the ships.

The Moors did not understand that this was a courteous demonstration of joy, but thought it was [a manifestation] of hostilities owing to an unsatisfactory reply; and in fact it drove such fright into them, that they began to cross over to the opposite coast on the main land, preferring to quit their fatherland than [to lose] their lives. D. Lourenço hindered this, and sending for some persons of authority he told them: 'That when he arrived at that port it was not [his purpose] to make war on the conquered, but to defend the timourous: That they were not well advised in abandoning for his |  
F 80v sake the land in which they were born and in which they lived, for his intention was not to injure them, but to defend them, for if he understood their minds well, it was not a time

for fresh altercations.' They went back satisfied for the nonce with this assurance, though they suspected it was a trick to take them more unawares. They were confirmed in this fear, when they heard what the reply of the King was, and the rejoicings of the fleet.

These people had come to India by land and sea. The seafarers on occasion of the commerce with Arabia had introduced themselves little by little at diverse times into the seaports of Malavar, and they were ever the pirates of these seas, especially along this coast of India up to Sinde and from the coast of Coromandel up to Bengála. The Conquerors by land were the Mogòls, who setting out from Moguestan first conquered King Patanede<sup>1</sup> Udeli, a potentate of this Hindustan, whence they spread till they became Masters of one of the greatest Monarchies of the world, about which I intend to give abundant information in another work.<sup>2</sup> Later on this sect was received by the three Kings of Golconda, Balagâte<sup>3</sup> and the Dekan, though the greater part of the lieges always remained, and are, heathens. And they relate that when Habed was ruling in the Dekan with the permission of the King of Cota, he ordered a Factory<sup>4</sup> to be opened in Columbo, and by occasion of trade they increased to such numbers, that they formed a goodly population; and the commerce of other nations supervening this port was so peopled and so rich, when D. Lourenço arrived there, that this must have given occasion to some to think that it was the Metropolis of that Kingdom, a title it never had. It is chiefly by means of these Moors that the products of this Island were transported, whereby they derived great profits, which on the arrival of the Portuguese they gave up for lost; and thus common hatred as well as private interest made them ever seek our ruin.

D. Lourenço did not like to interpose any delay in a matter of so great importance. He despatched Payo de Souza as Ambassador with every possible pomp to conclude what Fernão Cutrim had begun, giving him the necessary instructions |  
P 111 agreed upon in Council with his Captains. He set out for Cota accompanied by some Portuguese on elephants which

<sup>1</sup> Sic for 'Patan de Udeli' the Pathan [King] of Delhi. Pathan is the name commonly applied to Afghans and especially to people in India of Afghan descent.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> Balagate. A hybrid word from Persian *bala*, (above) and Mahar. *ghât*, the pass: 'above the passes' i.e., what is now called the Western Ghauts.

<sup>4</sup> Factory, a trading settlement in a foreign country.



the King sent, and led along the same way as Cutrim with no small trouble. He met the King in a large and dim hall (a [style of] Architecture common to these Asiatic heathen). It was hung with Persian<sup>1</sup> Carpets, and the King dressed in a white *cabaya* was seated on a throne of ivory delicately wrought, on a dais of six steps, covered with cloth of gold. On his head was a kind | of mitre of brocade, garnished with precious stones and large pearls, with two points or *sauastos*<sup>2</sup> of first rate workmanship falling on his shoulders. He was girt with cloth of silver, the ends of which fell on his feet, which were shod with sandals studded with rubies, and on his fingers were seen a vast number of them besides emeralds and diamonds. His ears were pierced and fell on his shoulders with ear-rings of great value. Many sconces and torch-stands of silver surrounded him, shedding their light to dispel the darkness of the building. On one side of the Hall as well as on the other, there extended two rows of men brightly clad in their fashion, with naked swords hanging and shields on their arms. Between them advanced the ambassador dressed in green velvet with loops of silver and a sword of the same metal. At the proper distance he made due obeisance in the European and Portuguese fashion, which the King was pleased to see, though the bystanders noticed the little abasement which we show to Kings, for as they treat them like their Pagodes, they want our manners to be accommodated to theirs. They call them *Suamis*,<sup>3</sup> a word which among them and in this country signifies Lord God. They also use towards them the words *Siêto*, *Amudurú*, *Pacadac* which mean Majesty, Highness, Excellency. Nor do they have less ceremony towards the lieges according to their quality, for it is only the officers of the household that they address as 'You' and to the rest they use the words *Tô*, *Umba*, *Tamunê*, *Tamucê*, *Tamunacetê*, *Tamundê*, *Tamanaz*, *Amidurú*, which have more applications than our 'Your Lordship' and 'Your Honour,' for in these trifles they are very heedful and observant. Nor is there in these Asiatic nations and castes of some credit anything of greater esteem than honour in the treatment due to them, nor on the other hand is there a greater grief than that anything due to them in this matter should be wanting.

<sup>1</sup> This passage is from a letter of King Emmanuel to Pope Julius (25 Sept. 1507) which Ferguson reproduces in J. XIX., p. 340-1. Cf. also Castan. II., ch. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Sauastes*? The latin text of the letter has 'cornua in capite habens' Castan., 'a cap (*carapuça*) with two horns of gold (*Cornos douro*) ?

<sup>3</sup> Cf. p. 94.

The Ambassador being seated after the first salutation and a long account of the Portuguese King and people to satisfy the curiosity of the Chingalá King, in whose opinion the King of Portugal had no less power than the greatest Pagode and the most powerful potentate in the world, came to the business which had brought him there, and he represented to the King how necessary it was for the Captain-Major to return at once to Cochim and to give an account of everything to the Viceroy his Father<sup>1</sup> for the confirmation of what was done there. The King had not the slightest P 142 hesitation, and calling | the council, he placed before his Ministers the advantages resulting to his Realm from the friendship and treaty with the Portuguese with such good reasons, as for the while were enough to satisfy them all. They agreed that the King should be willing to give every year as tribute to the King of Portugal 400 bares of cinnamon, on condition that all the ports of Ceylon belonging to his Kingdom should be under our protection to defend them | P 810 and protect them from those who on our account should attempt to do them harm. This short agreement, written in Portuguese and in Chingalá, was read in public and signed by the King and the Ambassador, who handed the Portuguese copy to those of the Council of the King and kept for himself the Chingalá copy on an *ola* of gold beaten for this purpose. Afterwards he took leave with many marks of friendship, and returning to Columbo was greatly welcomed by our people; and the Captain-Major, to whom fell nearly all the credit of this good success, spent some days in naval feasts and accepting the agreement conditionally, subject to the approval of the Viceroy, he ordered the tribute of 400 bares of cinnamon to be taken on board with the intention of leaving behind him as Factor, Jane Mendes Cardoso, with some Portuguese. He ordered the Quinas<sup>2</sup> of Portugal to be engraved on a rock in front of the Bay, a memorial which, though worn out by time, was ever there in our days. On the same spot he erected a small Hermitage under the invocation of St. Lawrence, which gave its name to that hill, and alongside of it a Factory, without any intention at the time of putting up other fortifications. The first Mass was said in it by the aforesaid Father Friar Vicente, who had

<sup>1</sup> Dom Francisco de Almeyda, father of Dom Lourenço, first Viceroy of India, 1505-1509.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, 'The Cinques' or 'Fives' (Lat. *quini*). 'As Quinas Portuguezas', the Portuguese coat-of-arms which consisted of five shields with five points in each shield. This rock was discovered in 1898 and is now in the Gorden Gardens. Cf. Ceylon Antiquary IX., 202-211.

come to India on the second voyage which the Portuguese made thither with Pedro Aluarez Cabral, and though he desired to remain in Ceylon to spread the Faith of Christ there, it did not seem convenient at the time before a more lasting friendship, and for other good considerations, to give scope to his Apostolic zeal, and he returned to Cochim in the same fleet. D. Lourenço experienced good treatment, as long as he was there, from the King and from the native Chingaláz and left them with the same regret as at leaving the Portuguese who remained there.

In a short time he reached Cochim and gave an account of everything to his Father. This news gave general contentment and was received with many profane rejoicings as jousts,<sup>1</sup> bull fights, and other demonstrations; and on the Religious side with processions, solemn masses, sermons and other thanksgiving to Our Lord, who by his means opened the door for the Mastery of a new Kingdom and to a large conquest of so many infidel souls. The Viceroy confirmed the agreement forming such an idea of the advantages of Ceylon, that he wrote to the King, D. Manoel, persuading him that a part of the fleet setting out from the Kingdom [Portugal] should be directed to Ceylon, where, after subjecting that Island, a new government could be created independent of the one already begun; and the advantages of this advice will be dealt with | at greater length later on. Our Lords, the Kings of Portugal, fully realized the importance of this conquest, as can be seen from the letter of D. Joaõ<sup>2</sup> III., who dwells much on it, and of King Phelipe IV.,<sup>3</sup> who writing to D. Miguel de Noronha<sup>4</sup> Conde de Linhares, Viceroy of India, said 'That to maintain Ceylon was of so great importance, that as long as he did not lose it, he would consider himself Lord of the East.' King D. Joaõ IV.,<sup>5</sup> of Portugal amidst the great undertakings of war with Castille, in India, | and <sup>F 82</sup> in other places with Holland, gave strict orders that on the defence of Ceylon should be spent all the revenues of that Island. These resolutions proceeded from the first reports sent at once by D. Francisco de Almeyda about this Island, and others which later enlarged on it more clearly. His

<sup>1</sup> Canas, reeds, jousts in which the combatants used reeds in place of lances.

<sup>2</sup> John III., 1521-1557.

<sup>3</sup> III. of Portugal, 1621-1640.

<sup>4</sup> 23rd Viceroy, 1629-1635.

<sup>5</sup> The Duke of Braganza crowned by the Revolution as John IV., 1640-1656.

nephew, D. Diogo de Almeyda,<sup>1</sup> used to show a report written with his own hand, in which, describing the coast of India, he makes particular mention of Ceylon, treating of its conquest and resources with great detail. At once in this summer D. Lourenço returned by his orders to take the vessels of the South, and he despatched D. Diogo Pirez, the master of his household,<sup>2</sup> from the Gulf with letters and a goodly present from the Viceroy and with the confirmation of the treaty, and being well received by the Prince, he returned and joined D. Lourenço once more.

## CHAPTER 2.

### OF THE OTHER THINGS WHICH HAPPENED IN CEYLON IN THE TEN FOLLOWING YEARS AND OF THE EXPEDITION OF THE GOVERNOR LOPO SOARES

But the affairs of Ceylon, owing to the inconstancy of the natives instigated by the Moors and owing to the great diversions of the Viceroy and of his successor Affonço de Albuquerque, did not proceed during the following years as satisfactorily as was expected from their beginning. There wintered in Ceylon coming from the Kingdom [of Portugal] Ruy Soarez, (according to other documents Fernão Soares) who returned thence with a cargo of cinnamon. To supply provisions to this ship and to the Factory, the Viceroy despatched Garcia de Souza, who remaining in Columbo was so much molested by the Moors and at their instigation by the natives—who being dissatisfied with what their own King had settled, attributed this disorder to his dotage [and acted] as if it had been done without his consent—that he informed the same Viceroy; [but] as there was at the time no means of taking satisfaction for these affronts, in the year seven [1507], he ordered him to return with the other Portuguese. And Nuno Velho Pereyra brought them to Cochim

<sup>1</sup> Envoy of D. Lourenço to Kotte according to Corea (I., 648) who was on land all the time of his stay in Colombo (I. 655). He was sent to Portugal to relate the matter to the King (I. 65). P. E. II., 537 n 43 says that the original of this memorandum was shown to Queyros by D. Jorge de Almeida, which is evidently a misconception of this passage and a confusion of D. Diogo with D. Jorge.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ayo', governor or tutor of a young nobleman. Its feminine, *aia*, *aya*, has supplied Indo-English with 'Ayah'

with the rest of the Factory in the ship *S. Espirito*; and though both he and Ruy Soares wished to take satisfaction before they set out, the Viceroy did not allow them to violate the peace that had been made, because he understood that <sup>P 144</sup> these disorders did not spring from the Royal mind; | and the two Captains regretfully set out from Columbo. Nor was the Viceroy less [grieved] at not being able to remedy this, for Portuguese India was then in peril owing to the arrival of Miracem,<sup>1</sup> Captain of the Sultan of Egypt, who helped by Melique As,<sup>2</sup> Lord of Diu, was determined to drive us out of India, and to take first the ships of Cananor and Cochim which used to take cargo in Chaul. And as there took place then the unfortunate death<sup>3</sup> of his son, the brave Captain D. Lourenço de Almeyda, he [the Viceroy] first treated of avenging [it], which in fact he did, destroying gallantly in a naval battle the power of the Rumes.<sup>4</sup> Afterwards he was obliged to hand over the government to Affonço de Albuquerque,<sup>5</sup> and what is worse, | he who was the terror <sup>F 822</sup> of the Moors of Granada and Egypt as well as of this Asia, perished<sup>6</sup> at the watering place of Saldanha at the hands of the Caffirs, and it was not possible to find a remedy for this loss in India nor to look to Portugal for one. Affonço de Albuquerque likewise being diverted by the three conquests of Goa, Ormuz, and Malaca and by the two expeditions to the Red Sea and various other expeditions which his valour accomplished, was content for the while with the prizes of cinnamon which were captured and taken to Portugal in the three years of eight, nine and ten [1508-10]. Under the eye [of Albuquerque], Pero de Alpoem captured four large junks of the Moors which were taking cinnamon to Calecut to pass thence to

<sup>1</sup> Mir (*Amir*) Hozem.

<sup>2</sup> Melique (Ar. *malk*, King) Az.

<sup>3</sup> Dom Lourenco fell in action 1507.

<sup>4</sup> Turks. *Rumi*, literary Romans, but used for Ottoman Turks. '*Rum* for the Roman Empire continued to be applied to what had been a part of the Roman Empire, first to the Seljukian Kingdom in Anatolia, and afterwards to the Ottoman Empire seated at Constantinople' Hob-Job 767.

<sup>5</sup> Successor of Almeyda and first Governor of India 1509-1515.

<sup>6</sup> In 1509 on his voyage home, Don Francisco de Almeyda put into the bay of Saldanha to take water. A party went ashore to barter, and a servant of the Viceroy was badly assaulted by the Kaffirs. Whereupon he was persuaded to avenge the affront. He landed with 150 men, pursued and punished the natives, but was attacked on the way back and Almeyda was struck through the throat by a dart. (*Cf. Dan. I. 147.*)

Arabia. But as all eyes were turned on Ceylon, he [Albuquerque] did not escape popular complaints for delaying the revenge and the conquest [of Ceylon], because he was ill-disposed towards the affairs of D. Francisco de Almeyda, and on account of the common vice of successors, especially of Portuguese ones, of not carrying on to a conclusion what had been begun by their predecessors.

King Paracrame-Bau being displeased with his lieges and they with him, the common fate of old age, and especially of the recent incident, did not live undisturbed on Ceylon. There rose in rebellion against him a Captain on the frontier of Candea, a most dangerous place, and as he could not subdue him by arms, he ordered him to be killed by poison. Even in his own Court, though the rebellion did not become declared as happened later, there were manifest signs of the natural restlessness of the Chingaláz. But either by capture or by purchase so much cinnamon was obtained, that with the exception of Diogo Lopes de Sequeyra in the beginning of the government of Affonço de Albuquerque with whom he had fallen out, this spice was carried to Portugal in the ships of Pedro Affonço de Aguiar in the same year, [in the ships of] of Gomez Freyre, Francisco de Sâ and Sebastião de Souza; and in the following year [in the ships] of Gonçalo de Siqueyra and Duarte de Lemos, and in the three other years [in the ships of] D. Ayres da Gama, João de Souza de Lima, Manoel de Melo, and D. Garcia de Noronha.

The great Affonço de Albuquerque was succeeded in the government of India by Lopo Soares de Albergaria<sup>1</sup> a gentleman very acceptable to King D. Mancel, because of his great experience in the war of Africa and because of the acquaintance which he already had of India, whence he had <sup>P 145</sup> set out in the year [1]505, to whom is imputed that he advised Tristaõ da Cunha to decline to come to succeed D. Francisco de Almeyda in order that he himself might supplant him; but this imputation of India does not agree with what we heard from his great-grandson, João Nunes da Cunha, Conde de S. Vicente, the Viceroy who died here,<sup>2</sup> that this great-grandfather of his, a celebrated man in those times, did not come to India when appointed to that office, because he had lost his sight; nor with what Lopo Soares himself said below, for it is not credible that in an assembly he would say | <sup>F 83</sup> the contrary so boldly; nor is it in keeping with his character

<sup>1</sup> 2nd Governor 1515-1518.

<sup>2</sup> Viceroy 1666-1668, died 6 Nov. 1668.

nor with the sincerity of those good old times. He reached Cochin with 12 ships in the year 1515, and after making an expedition to the Red sea, he busied himself in the following year [15]16 with preparing for the voyage to Columbo in great secrecy, the soul of war and of successful undertakings. Some thought that he would go again to the Red sea and the coast of Arabia; others that no Malavar moor would be left alive that year, till finally he ordered the drum to be beaten with the proclamation under pain of death that all Captains and soldiers should embark at once. He himself did so, and sending for the Captains and influential soldiers into his galley, he addressed them in the following speech:—

‘When I left India for Portugal, the chief favour which I begged from the King was to employ me in the wars of Africa, if I were any good as a soldier; and if my valour did not deserve a place in the army, to be pleased to let me live quietly in the fatherland, where I could live like my neighbours, who have no lack of what the country produces, in an ordinary dress. This request was due to the sad fate which honourable thoughts meet with in India and the success with which evil intentions thrive therein. And though in the course of the years spent in the service of the King I had gained nothing but troubles for my pains, I became so hardened by this long experience, that instead of the answer which the aforesaid request deserved, His Highness was pleased that I should begin services in India in reward for those I had rendered in Tangere. You see, Gentlemen, what an unexpected response it was that His Highness should send me to the very place which I wished to escape. I was constrained to obey and to accept the very opposite to my wishes to show that I was but a vassal and that we who have a Master are not free, the more so that to such righteous orders it ever behoves us to sacrifice our will, even if we were free. In the present case I neither decline nor cease to be ready to fulfil the order given me; and this obedience I hope will be an example to you to serve in the same spirit the King who governs us, when I inform you that besides giving me that order on entrusting me with the government of India, for which honour I kissed his hands, His Highness said to me: ‘Lopo Soares, the prosperity of the East begins with you. You are the one whom I picked out for my relief, and I tell you that I did so, because it seems to me that one who was a good soldier will be a good Captain. See that you are imitated, | making yourself obeyed as you obeyed. So long as they respect your name, you will be free from calumny.’

The principal reason why I send you to India is, that you may erect a fortalice in Ceylon on the spot which seems most convenient to you, | for I want to secure that Island, so that in case I lose the other praças which I have in the East, (the which may God forbid) they may be recovered from there, and that the Portuguese, (whom I love not only as lieges but as children) may have a place whither they may betake themselves. I recommend you that when you reach India you remember that on your departure from here I reminded you of this, and lest it escape your memory carry it in this collar which perhaps will remind you of it better than my words. When I call to mind the gentleness and affability with which the King my Lord threw his arms around my neck honouring me and binding me with those most powerful fetters, believe me, Gentlemen, I sigh for his company, and it makes me desire the more to spend my life with him serving him, than be Emperor of the world far from him; but as this boon is not for all, I feel jealous of those who enjoy it, but I obey him.

I take it that I have declared [my mind], and that you are perfectly acquainted with my plan, and that there is no doubt remaining as to the purpose of this expedition. What behoves us now is that all agreeing with me and I with you, we all set out for Columbo, remembering that those who have courage and honour can gain in that Island as much renown as in the most perilous conquests. You already know for certain the impatient courage of its natives, and though the Portuguese arm will prevail over their obstinacy, yet, if we neglect to repress it, they will become indomitable. Let us not give them time, so that being forewarned they may make difficult for us the victory which I hope to gain over them, if they resist, obliging them afresh to pay the tribute promised and even more. I quite understand the pain our arrival will give to the Moors; but as the sword which you see in my hand is one which I have often seen stained with their blood, I do not consider it a novelty to soak in Mohametan blood the sword with which I vowed to die, since our conquests in general are more against them than against the heathen, who are excused by their ignorance, while the Moors are condemned by their malice. You have seen briefly three things, the obedience with which you must proceed, the people with whom you must fight, and the flag which you must follow. You have embarked; go to your ships; give sail, and tell those who do not approve of this conquest: ‘That if India be a mother to the knave, Ceylon will be a step-mother to the honourable man.’

With this saying which became a proverb in India and was repeated as a prophecy, the Governor ended his speech and began the expedition. He took 17 sail of which seven were Galleys of which the Captains were Dinis Fernandes de Melo, (with whom he embarked), Christovão de Souza, Manoel de Lacerda, Gaspar da Silva, Lopo de Brito, Antonio de Miranda de Azavedo and João de Melo. The rest were 10 foists of which the Captains were Nuno Freyre de Andrade, Manoel de Castro, Thome Barreto, Bertholameu Soarez, Christovão Mourato, Jeronimo de Souza, Francisco de Alpoem, Antonio Rapozo, D. João de Souza, [and] Simão de Moraes. There were besides two ships with munitions and other material for the work of the fortalice in charge of Vicente Pinheyro and Gonçalo Falcaõ, with eight foists which D. Guterre de Monroy, Captain of Goa, sent with his Brother the Captain-Major D. Fernando de Monroy; the other Captains were Gil Barbosa, Lourenço Monteyro, D. Pedro de Monroy, Vasco de Almeyda, D. Diogo de Menezes Royxo, Manoel de Valadares, Ambrosio de Siqueyra and Antonio de Souza Coutinho. There went in this fleet 850 Portuguese and some Nayres of the King of Cochim. The Governor left that port' on the 10 September of 1517 before the end of the winter, and as the winds were contrary, he put into the port of Gâle, where he made a stay of a month and a half either because the weather gave him no opportunity or because in truth he wished to erect the fortalice there, for which there were the conveniences which will be pointed out later and which can already be seen from the description of the Island. And, they say, that when everything was ready for the laying of the foundations, he changed his mind because of the uneasiness (unless it were the usual imprudence of India) lest the Moors and the Chingalàs should say that for fear of them and because of the proximity of their Court he deviated to Gâle. There remained there some houses the foundations of which were used afterwards to build a residence for the Captains, for he met with no resistance. He sailed for Columbo and before he anchored the Moors wished to visit him, but he did not like to speak to them in order to show them that he was well acquainted with and resented their proceedings and the treacheries which they plotted, beginning to chastise them for their hatred in this manner.

<sup>1</sup> Cochim.

## CHAPTER 3.

## THE FIRST VISIT OF THE GOVERNOR AND HIS MEETING WITH THE KING, AND THE FRESH RISING OF THE CHINGALÁS

The Governor having come to anchor in Columbo sent an intimation to King Paracrame-Bau that he had arrived there and had some business to treat with His Highness. And although the message was not about satisfaction to be given or sought, nor accompanied with presents, the watch-light whereby Asiatic Kings are guided, the reply was so favourable, that the envoy João Flores before reaching the Governor, who was still on board, shouted aloud: 'In this Island, Sir, there are no thorns for us but all are flowers.'<sup>1</sup> To which Lopo Soares | replied jestingly: 'What has to come P 148 will not be long in coming; | a time will come, when you will find them.' And if Flores did not find small thorns in Ceylon, big ones pricked him in the Pearl Fishery in the year [1]528, for when Lopo Vaz de Sampayo sent him as Captain of a caravel,<sup>2</sup> a barcaça<sup>3</sup> and three foists to guard and collect its revenues, he valiantly withstood 20 *parôs*<sup>4</sup> of the Moors and was burnt along with them.<sup>5</sup>

On the day following, the King came to Columbo, where the Moors welcomed him, as it was a great novelty, disguising their fear and reserving for another time what the present denied them. The Governor greeted him with a salute of artillery, musketry, trumpets and tambours and other tokens of naval courtesy; and while a *serame*<sup>6</sup> was being prepared on the point of land and some details regarding the manner in which they should treat each other were being settled, he disembarked in a gilded brigantine accompanied

<sup>1</sup> A pun on his name Flores (flowers).

<sup>2</sup> 'A round vessel (*i.e.*, not long and sharp like a galley) with lateen sails, ordinarily of 200 tons burthen.' *Cf.* Hob-Job. s. v.

<sup>3</sup> A large barge, pontoon.

<sup>4</sup> Malay. *pāru*, boat. Pietro della Valle describes them as ships which 'goe with oars like our galeots or foists.'

<sup>5</sup> Correa III., 235-6.

<sup>6</sup> From a Malay word meaning a gate house, or portico such as are erected before temples and private houses, or for the reception of guests.

by the pick of the fleet, the other captains and soldiers being already on land formed in two lines with banners unfurled and in good order. The Governor passed between them on a rich chair in costly and grave attire. The King awaited him at the foot of the *Serame* a short distance from the shore, his long gray beard and authority of person marking him out from the rest. There were great courtesies on mounting, and in spite of all the Governor did, he could not help being the first. Seated on similar chairs, the King excused himself on the score of his age for not coming to seek him in a Galley<sup>1</sup> and [said] 'that he who had left his court and come to Columbo, a place which he had never visited before, would as easily have gone out to sea to meet him; and he thanked him for the favour done to all by visiting that country of which he could dispose as if it were his own; for he must have already heard that he was always well affected towards the Portuguese since he came to know them, and desired their friendship, as all those who had come hither acknowledged.'

The Governor showed his satisfaction with many courtesies saying: 'That from the experience of that good-will sprang the confidence to visit him and to treat him as a friend, so that he might better understand the fidelity and dealings of the Portuguese and be disabused of the infamies which the Moors spread to the detriment of their good name, staining the credit they had acquired and conserved in all places to their [the Moors'] regret, spurred by which and by the inborn hatred, which their sect infuses into them against Christians, they avenge themselves only by deceit; That it should be well-known to him that for many centuries back the arms of Portugal ever flourished over Mahometans, and that at present it was principally against them that they were employed in India, pursuing them from East to West with a hatred bequeathed by their ancestors from the time when that wicked sect appeared on Earth, because long before the defeat of an unfortunate King of Spain named Rodrigo, they had felt | the edge of the Portuguese sword <sup>P 85</sup> in various battles and victories, and in the recovery of that <sup>P 149</sup> lost liberty they have felt their | power more forcibly; and this war of so few against so many was kept up in these seas and lands with such rigour, that in their celebrated mosque of Meca they gave themselves up for lost several times at the sight of our fleet in the Red Sea and on the coasts of Arabia and Persia, and still more frequently on the coast

<sup>1</sup> To seek him in Galle would seem to be the meaning. The Ms. has Galé, probably a clerical error for Gâle.

of India, because our purpose was nothing else than to pursue them and to show the world that though we are few, we are worth more than all of them. And the truth with which we proceed and the deceit with which they deal were already patent, as His Highness had experienced, and would see better each time in the dealings which he would have again with the Portuguese, from whose friendship he would derive so many advantages, that very soon he would realize the truth of the reason why the Moors hate us.

For these reasons and for these good purposes it was necessary that he should be pleased that a fortalice be built at this port with a Portuguese Garrison; and if perchance it was through some fear that he allowed the Moors to remain there, he assured him on his word that he would distribute such fleets along all that coast as to bury them in the sea within sight of land'. These were the last words he uttered there; and both descending, the King asked him for two days time to consult with his people on this matter about which he had no hesitation, but he was obliged to place it before the council, so as not to give occasion for complaints, and to decide therein what would be of greater use, because though as Lord he could do anything, it was the duty of Kings who have to be judged, to see that the affairs of the commonwealth which concern many should not be settled by one alone. And making use of the licence of old age, he told him with great wit: 'Know, Sir, that when I was young, a man happened to kill another in the city of Ceitavaca. The dead man had no relatives to accuse the criminal, nor had the murderer 50 Larins to redeem his life with. The matter being tried at law, it was decided to execute the murderer, as there were no heirs on one side and no money on the other. The penalty was carried out; and as soon as he was beheaded, his sons caught hold of the headsman asking him for the 50 larins which the Law imposed as penalty on murderers. The executioner found himself in straits, and pleading justice was saved by it, but was not altogether relieved, for as the accusation was based on an interpretation of the law, it was necessary that the plea should come before the Court; and as Kings are born to listen to all, and for this reason they are represented with ears on their feet, my Father the Emperor, Paracume-Bau, put this question to the accusers: 'Tell me, if the soldiers on my orders robbed you of your headdress, whom would you blame for the theft? Me certainly, seeing that that action depended on another's order, and he who does the deed represents him who orders, and if the Prince deserve it, he shall be punished, if he ceases to represent

him whom God alone can judge. Here you have the solution and the murderer his excuse. However | I do not wish you *P 150* to blame me | nor go away without the satisfaction you sought. Take 50 larins and let the law established by my ancestors remain in force. The Emperor acted in this merciful manner, because it seemed to him that great ones ought to seek every means not to aggrieve the lessor folk.'

The Governor applauded the story (which they are wont to narrate with words and gestures) concluding from it that the King wished to accomodate the Moors in another part of the Island in order not to fall out with them nor cause trouble to the Portuguese. Under this supposition he replied: 'That His Highness was eager to please every one, and though he could justly exclude the Moors from his realms because of the damage they caused, yet he did not wish to displease even them, though the complaints they might make would be ill-founded.' In these and other conversations was spent the evening which the Governor declared was short because of the pleasure he had in listening to the wise old King and in seeing the gravity of his person. He went on board his Galley, and the King returned to Cota, whence on the following day he sent a goodly refreshment which the Governor requited with such liberality as to surprise the Chingaláz.

It seemed to the Moors that they should not put off their plan any longer nor wait till the minds of the Chingaláz should become altogether friendly to us. Their leaders came to Cota, and after suborning the Ministers and attendants of the King, they had audience of him, wherein they proposed so many chimeras concerning the proceedings of the Portuguese and so many dangers to his Realm, that it could have moved a far stronger mind; for besides telling him that the Governor made this expedition from self-interest and because of the many riches which he hoped to get from Ceylon, they held forth on the ruin to that Realm, because it was ever our practice in order to usurp Monarchies, to profit by commerce and by that means to open the door to obtain what was more difficult. They quoted examples invented by them, pointing out that it was not from private interest that they did so, but out of compassion for the blindness of the natives, with whom they had grown up and whose misfortune they felt, considering that though able to prevent the danger, they disregarded the certain loss which awaited them, for the time would soon come when from being free men they would have become slaves, because they would not consider whither the intentions of the Portuguese led.

Then they turned to the satisfaction of their services and to the little reward of their labours, though they had dwelt in that Island with such zeal for its prosperity, as the Chingaláz would testify, neglecting to spread their sect, as they were wont to do everywhere else so as not to cause annoyance nor interrupt their heathen worship | [which was] the first *P 151* foundation of the Portuguese policy, for in a short time they would see ruined and laid low the idols they worshipped'. They had scarcely finished stating these reasons, when all zealous to see their country preserved, their heathen worship increased, and their liberty secured, moved by their natural changeableness | and noticing the dissimulation of the King, roused the people to mutiny against the Portuguese, supplying them with arms, so suddenly, that everything was in peril. Though the King, warned by experience and fear, under plea of common safety ordered with rigorous punishments to stop the uproar and the mutiny in the City, especially of the Ganez who, jealous for their pagodes, were the first in this confusion, being encouraged by the Moors, the prime movers of this affray, who the better to display their grief and to endear themselves to the natives, imitated them even in dress, tongues were let loose against the [Portuguese] nation and the Governor: now they called him a paricide (an unpardonable crime among them), now a refugee from the fatherland and an executioner sent from Heaven for their chastisement, besides other insults the usual result of hatred and daring. This torrent, ill repressed, involved even the King; and while the Governor was waiting for the reply, it was given him by orders to seize some Portuguese, who, relying on the friendship, were heedlessly walking on land, a habit if not a vice of this nation, for if it is due to inadvertence, it has no excuse, if to contempt, it calls for punishment. He ordered a stockade to be erected and furnished it with the artillery which was already provided, and trenches on the shore. From it and from them in the morning they began to fire at the fleet large and small shot with clouds of arrows. But they were so well answered, that at the cost of many lives they retreated.

The Governor at once came on land so hurriedly, that he took only 300 Portuguese and some Nayres. He burnt Columbo and the houses of the quarter of the Moors, who received great loss, and our men if not profit at least reputation. And not finding any resistance, they made their way towards Cota, but found themselves surrounded by ambushes, at which they are most dexterous; and as our men were marching in bad formation, there arose such doubt

about the victory, that it seemed admitted on the side of the Portuguese and acclaimed on the side of the Chingalás, had not the Heavens miraculously darkened and the night advanced more rapidly than the course of the sun required, and like another Egyptian wonder there appeared to the natives a roaring and smoke of artillery, and to the Portuguese a column of fire which guided them to the sea, hindering the progress of the one and encouraging the other to resistance. It was never right to look for miracles, and if on other occasions the sun delaying, assured the victory, here the anticipated shadows covered the retreat, while the issue might have been different, had the Governor not risked his person with so few. They retired to the fleet with little loss | on our side and <sup>F 36</sup> much on the side of the enemy, and the first Portuguese to fall there was Verissimo Pacheco, brother of Antonio Pacheco, Captain-Major of Malaca, who had come to inform the Governor that his brother was put in prison by Nuno Vaz de Castelbranco, Captain of that fortalice. In his death <sup>P 152</sup> opened the way to those whom we shall mention in the course of this conquest. He fell transfixed by a dart, and from his valour the Chingaláz could have foreseen other great successes; as in the death of the Roman soldier Lysimachus, the Carthaginians foresaw the success of Hannibal, and it was one of those celebrated in sonnets and epigrams, the death of one being bewailed by so many, while that of so many is not felt by a single one.

The Chingaláz after burying their people set about erecting a new stockade, of which one warned us, though the Governor was not able to find out whether it was a mutiny of the Moors or of the Natives also. The Heathen asserted that the King had nothing to do with it, whose great age had deprived him of vigour to punish, and that everything was due to the Decaniz,<sup>1</sup> for so the Moors are called. And as it could also be surmised that he was sent by the King, after giving him some pieces [of cloth], they sent him to Cota, whence he returned in great haste with a message from the King in a spirit of friendship, a change due rather to fear than to affection, for representing in council the losses sustained in India by those who had taken up arms against us, and realizing the fruit which would result from so many deceits, with great grief the Moors and the Chingaláz decided to make peace once more with the Portuguese. The King sent to excuse himself for the recent mischief, and to offer the necessaries for the erection of the fortalice, putting the blame on the Moors,

<sup>1</sup> *Dakkini*, coming from Deccan. Cf. p. 21, n. 2.

in order to turn the suspicion away from himself. Lopo Soarez <sup>Cap. 4.</sup> sent word to him to say: 'That the praça must be built according to the orders of his Lord the King'; and immediately he ordered a large ditch to be dug to serve as a protection against the elephants, making the counterscarp of stone and mud for want of other materials.

#### CHAPTER 4.

##### PEACE IS CONFIRMED AFRESH AND THE SHORT TIME IT LASTED

Paracrame-Bau found himself worn out by age and worries, and mistrusting the inconstancy of his people and apprehensive of the determination of the Portuguese, he returned to Columbo; and both parties treated of concord through envoys, while the fortalice was being erected on the mound of St. Lawrence over the bay. When this was done, the Governor sent word to him to say, 'that, unless he wished to see his lands destroyed and the life of the one who was the cause of the death of the Portuguese taken away, he must become a tributary to the King of Portugal, his Lord, with the same tribute as was imposed by D. Lourenço | de Al- <sup>F 37</sup> meyda, and other things which are expressed in the *ola* of vassalage.' Scared by this determination, the King did not refuse the terms, and yielding to circumstances, he signed the following writing, in which may be seen how little the pride of the beginning is in keeping with the submission at the end.

<sup>P 153</sup> ' | Rightful Lord of the world,<sup>1</sup> fortunate descendant of the Kings of Anu-Raja-Purê, the greatest of all on earth, scion of the Gods in this Island of Ceylon, Rightful Lord of the Empire of Cota and of the Realms of Jafanapatao and Candea, God of War in conquering Rebels who are more like women than men, Rightful heir of the Kings of Dambaden and of the great peak of Adam; preserver of the law of Budduas, vanquisher of the Kings styled Ariavança, for they are traitors; descendant of the son of the Sun with the star on the head; true Master of all sciences, Legitimate descendant of Vigia-Bau, I, the Emperor Paracrame-Bau, in the heart of my Empire 40 years called Segara, am content and it pleases me mightily to give to the Kings of Portugal each year as tribute 400 bahars of Cinnamon and 20 rings set with rubies that

<sup>1</sup> P. E. I. 457, gives the Sinhalese equivalents for these terms.



are found in this my Island of Ceylaõ, and 10 tusked elephants on Condition that the present Governor and the Viceroy and Governors who shall succeed Lopo Soarez de Albergaria in the State of India, shall be obliged to favour me and assist me against my enemies as the Vassal that I am of the Crown of Portugal'.

This is the purport of the writing preserved in the Archives of Columbo from which original this translation was made, and it was approved by all the Kings who succeeded to Cota. Meanwhile the praça was building, also of stone and mud, a work at which the Governor was himself present with a goodly company, as he had been taught by recent experience to consider it safe to be wary. In the January of [15]18 there arrived at that port from Bengal or from Maldivas, his nephew Joaõ da Silveyra with four sail in which were also the Captains Joaõ Fialho, Tristaõ Barbuda, and Joaõ Moreno, and as kinship enhanced the good opinion and merits of this Captain, he [the Governor] greatly rejoiced at his arrival, because he could entrust the work to him and return to Cochim to attend to other business, as in fact he did leaving as Captain of the sea Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo, both gentlemen of good report among the many there were in those days; and it was not necessary for him, as it was to Alexander, to yearn for a Cleobe for the security of Persia or like Caesar to sigh for Clito to secure Gaul. Besides serving men he left 100 men as garrison with the arms, munitions, and provisions that seemed to him necessary, the King taking upon himself to see that they should have no lack of convenient provisions. On leaving the bay | the Galley of Joaõ de Melo struck a sand-bank without any loss of life, he saving there a little Chingalâ girl less than seven years old with as much piety as Afonso de Albuquerque in a similar danger. P 87

The Chingalâz put up with this fresh yoke so long as the summer lasted and there was fear of reinforcements. In June, when winter set in, they began warfare; and opening trenches one night, they destroyed a part of the wall, without D. Joaõ being able to find out whether the King was a party to it, | to whom he complained that he could not believe that this impudence could take place without his order. P 154 And in truth the proximate author of this war was his nephew, while the King in secret favoured our men, so that considering that his lieges took offence at this fresh subjection to a nation at that time so much feared and which at the same time was contending with all the Kings of the Orient, and overwhelmed by this consideration and by the fear of future events, he completely lost his reason, though thereby he showed well

that he had no lack of good judgment; and his people judging him to be incapable of governing, entrusted it to his son Vigia-Bau, who, impatient at his prolonged life, under pretence of a preservative afterwards gave him poison, of which he died, having, in the course of the 46 years during which he reigned, enjoyed great good fortune, which in their vaticinations became misfortunes because of the arrival of the Portuguese.

He was succeeded by this younger son, because he was better fitted to govern than the elder Chiacraude<sup>1</sup> Bau, though the sons of the latter were already capable of governing. This new King immediately sent to ask help from the Samorî,<sup>2</sup> who was ever a traitor to the State and who heedless of the peace made with Afonso de Albuquerque sent him, in great secrecy, from the port of Cunnale, eight galliots commanded by Pate Marca,<sup>3</sup> and arriving in Columbo they came to land. With this new reinforcement they attacked the fortalice in which there was already a great lack of munitions, but they were driven back with all valour and with loss to them. And Silveyra considering this and other straits made a speech to his men saying: 'That the safety of that praça lay in the strength of their arms; That they saw quite clearly the present and future danger to life, if they should fall into the hands of such perfidious enemies. That they should place success in the hands of God, for he was determined to sally forth on three sides and fall upon the Malavar Moors without quarter; That if they should fall there, it would be a better proof of courage than [to die] at the hands of necessity.' That night they attacked the enemy unexpectedly and with such resolution, that taken unawares they took to flight leaving their arms, and many, their lives. As the odds were most unequal and the loss of the enemies great, Silveyra realizing it to be the work of the hand of God, ordered a padram<sup>4</sup> to be erected there with this Inscription: 'On this spot 40 Portuguese obtained the victory over 3,000 enemies | summoned to the Island by the Moors, who were put to flight and killed. God be thanked for this good fortune, for it would be an improper boast to attribute it to human strength. Twentieth June, 1518'. P 88

<sup>1</sup> Sakalalaká Walla (?) Raj 74.

<sup>2</sup> King of Calicut.

<sup>3</sup> Marcar represents the modern Marikkar (from *markab* ship ?) and seems to mean 'owner of a boat' *Marakkan* is Mal. for pilot or master of a boat. Marca was the 'titular appellation of the Moplah Mohametans on the South-West coast of India' Hob-Job. 561. Pyrard de Laval I., 395, says: 'Marcare means lieutenant or Viceroy.'

<sup>4</sup> Padram, (lit. 'pattern') inscription on stone.

Pete Marcâ escaped though severely wounded by a musket shot and others of lesser consideration. Of the Portuguese there died four, and some were wounded by arrows. Marcâ promised to return shortly and with greater forces, boasting that on the very day of his arrival he would show the Portuguese that fortune did not always have the same face. He P 165 set out on the second of September | swearing to burn all our vessels which he should meet, but he was so unfortunate, that one morning he came across Captain Antonio Miranda de Azevedo who had gone to seek reinforcements in Cochim and was bringing them in six foists, the Captains of the others being Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, D. Braz Henriques, Pero Mexia, Francisco de Azevedo and Roque da Silueyra who also brought some Nayres. The Moor lost three *paros* in the conflict and profitted by his speed and oars to escape to Calecut, where he bewailed the repeated losses. Vijia-Bau, who had not altogether declared himself, hearing of the ill-success of Pate Marcâ, sent one to visit Silveyra and to congratulate him on his good success excusing himself for not coming to his aid on the ground that he was engaged in affairs which diverted him; 'that he fully acknowledged the obligation to favour us inherited from his Father, and that if on this occasion he failed, others would occur to make good his word.' Thus he disguised his fear lest it might be suspected that he sought help from the Malavar. D. Joaõ was not unaware of the truth, but as he had no orders from the Governor to break with him, he replied with the same dissimulation.

In September, 1518, there arrived in Goa from the Kingdom the new Governor Diogo Lopez de Sequeyra<sup>1</sup> with a new order of government for Columbo. There came as Captain Lopo de Brito, and as Alcayde-mor his Brother Antonio de Brito, Andre de Rodriguez de Beja as Factor, and as clerks Joaõ Rebelo and Gaspar de Araujo, who arrived at that port with 400 workmen, Stonemasons and Carpenters, with order to erect the fortalice of stone and mortar, as the King D. Manoel desired to raise such a stronghold as would be sufficient to undeceive the Moors and be a dread to the natives and a security to the Portuguese according to the most recent reports of Lopo Soarez de Albergaria. The work was begun, and some houses were commenced, again awakening the dismay of the natives, because the yoke was made firmer on them, and they would lose the trade with the Heathen and Moors of the opposite coast owing to the little chance that remained to them of selling their goods. They took occasion of this to fail in supplying provisions, | intending P 166

<sup>1</sup> Third Governor 1518-1521.

to compel our withdrawal by their loss. Lopo de Brito complained to the Regedores of the port, and they put the blame on the people, and the people on them, for they thought that by keeping up this strategem they would be able to secure the abandonment of the work. The Captain prudently dissembled, though he was blamed by his own men, whom he satisfied with good reasons. Seeing however that the complaints gained strength and that what he had was enough to give a lesson to the enemy, he preferred to please them rather than suffer injuries. One afternoon, on 15th June, [1]519, he suddenly attacked Columbo with 50 soldiers and taking them unawares caused notable mortality, while the rest ran away foresaking wives and children. Brito being satisfied with the punishment, and the soldiers with the P 166 booty, they returned | to the praça. Andre Rodriguez was for improving upon it, seeing that they were again surrounded by the foe, but either out of bravery, which is more likely, or from greed, they would not throw away anything, but marched so confidently under clouds of arrows, that Lopo de Brito with great industry set fire to a ship<sup>1</sup> which defended their flank. There were however 30 wounded, of whom the majority died, the natives gaining fresh confidence from this success [more] than from all they had lost.

They continued the work with greater caution always molested by the foe and by Vigia-Bau, who on this small success declared himself entirely an enemy giving out that the treaty made by his Father was null for want of the consent of the people. He learnt this law in the school of the Moors, along with other tricks in which the devil instructed them to our ruin. Brito sought to frustrate their designs at one time with fair words, courtesies and gentleness, at other times roughly with contempt and threats, but the former were not sufficient, to undo their intrigues nor the latter to frighten them from their deceit. The King however was dissembling, as long as the reinforcement which had set out from Goa was on the way, but knowing that some were dead from complete want of everything, he tried to muster an army wherewith to attack the fortalice before it could be completed; and it being now the 7th May, 1521, he laid siege to it with 24,000 Lascarins commanded by valiant Modeliars, two thousand pioneers and as many serving-men against 80 Portuguese and 200 Nayres, which is all that remained, the former worn out by hunger and continuous warfare, the latter despairing of succour, reasons enough to promise them the victory.

<sup>1</sup> 'Nao'. I think this is a mistake for *rua*. According to Couto (III., IV. 6) Brito 'ordered to set fire to a broad and straight street.'

## CHAPTER 5.

## SUCCESSSES OF THE SIEGE OF VIGIA-BAU

F 29

They erected a stockade so strong and lofty, that it looked into the interior of the praça; they opened trenches and esplanades, mounted artillery and other ordnance, more than 600 muskets on supports, some of the calibre of berços<sup>1</sup> with which they threw wooden shafts, 10 palms in length with feathers of wild boar's hide; using also fire bombs, whereby they set fire to the thatched houses within the fortalice, especially after they had erected two bastions of palm trees and fascines. They continued this siege for a space of five months, not the least trouble of the Portuguese being that they had to obtain water at the cost of their blood from a well which was outside the praça. At night they occupied it by turns, disquieting the besieged with cries and P 157 mockeries calling upon them | to surrender before they were completely lost, as if they could know their state better than those who experienced it.

Lopo de Brito was well aware of his plight, but to display his valour, he prepared to attack the enemy at the dawn watch, and though it might appear rash, he chose rather to be blamed than to be guilty, because trusting in the scanty order in the [enemy] camp, he knew that he had some advantage; and on the 29th of September after a short address to the thirty companions whom he picked out, he ordered fire to be set on many sides and sallying out quickly he killed the sentinels, for they kept watch badly. He invested and entered the stockade, and those who were in it, without reflecting how little was the damage that could be done by so small a party, rushed out and courted death. Nor did the rest find out the cause of so great an uproar nor of so diverse fires, and those who fled persuaded the King that a great reinforcement had arrived from Goa, the slightest movement of the trees appearing to them a squadron drawn up, and the whole neighbourhood resounding with their cries. Our people returned in safety, and the regret that they were so few increased, when in the morning they saw the whole camp destroyed, for that day they would all have perished at their hands in the disorder, if we had had more men.

<sup>1</sup> An ancient short piece of cannon, 'Vieyra'.

Cap. 5.

They returned to the siege and rebuilt the stockade razed by the Portuguese with the intention of maintaining their ground. The King made great endeavour to get hold of the advices that the Captain sent to Goa, and in fact he captured two messengers with the letters that they were taking, which being read by a certain Lourenço Antunes of the Ilha Terceira, who a short time ago had gone over to them, turned out to be a greater danger to our men, because as everything was known to them, they represented the state of our affairs so naturally, that it would have imperilled the fidelity of some less honourable persons, had not Lourenço Antunes reaped for himself the evil which he intended for others, for the King thinking that his behaviour was that of a spy | ordered him to be P 89a killed, a just punishment for his infamous proceedings. Nor was it easy to find at once another who was willing to put himself in the same danger, but as money facilitates the greatest risks, there was one who offered to cross over without letters because of the danger, but with a message and words so well known, that they would be given credit. He reached Cochim in a short time, where D. Aleyxo de Menezes<sup>1</sup> was governing in place of Diogo Lopez de Siqueyra, who had again (amidst so many failures) carried the forces of India to the Red sea. He gave him an account of everything and of the great want of water, which being outside the fortalice had to be bought with blood. Considering all these troubles, the weather, the winter and the scanty reinforcement which he could send, he recommended all to pray and replied to Lopo de Brito animating him with his own courage and telling him of his regret at not being able to come to his P 158 assistance promptly or as it behoved in such a pass; and advising him to see whether without loss of Royal credit | he could assuage the ire of the King and of his lieges as long as he had no forces to avenge injuries; that when he obtained forces on the arrival of reinforcements from the Kingdom, or on their return from Arabia, he would be able to find an opportunity of renewing the war from the very occasion which they took to violate their sworn peace; that at the first dawn of summer the first vessel to sail from the bar would be to succour him.

The Messenger reached Columbo with this news at the time when those Portuguese had their hope in God alone, fighting day and night without an hour of repose; and though they understood they would in a short time be relieved, they did so much for life and honour, that in the space of the

<sup>1</sup> Deputy of Sequeira during the latter's absence in the Persian Gulf

six months of siege they wrought signal feats of prowess, and many of them were quite repentant of having given occasion to Lopo de Brito to hasten the war. They suffered incredible want of everything, for everything was rationed by measure, with great care; and the King finding that he was not able to reduce them by arms, attempted various treacheries without success owing to the vigilance of the Captain, who with great foresight evaded them. On the advice of the Moors he ordered poison to be put in the wells from which they drank, and it was a kind of fruit which they call wild Mango,<sup>1</sup> but he who brought it being taken in the deed was in their first fury killed with stones and kicks. D. Alexyo de Meneses on the 25th of August [1] 520 in great haste sent Antonio de Lemos in a Galley well provided with other things but with only 50 soldiers, who after great trouble were able to reach only on the Fourth of October. Lopo de Brito took heart the more, seeing that in his arms alone and in the favour of Heaven consisted the greatest succour. He ordered Antonio de Lemos to approach the bastion of the enemy and to batter it with artillery on the following night. He did so till day-break, when Lopo de Brito sallied forth from the fortalice | and with 50 soldiers attacked the enemy in the stockade, who diverted by the attack from the Galley and taken unawares owing to the rapidity with which they were set upon, fled to the town where the King was with the main body of the army. F 90

A doughty Chingalâ named Proytela Rala volunteered to retake the stockade on the instigation of the Moors, who facilitated the undertaking and offered to accompany him asserting that, for so limited a force and number of Portuguese, 2000 infantry picked and well armed would be enough with 150 Badagâ cavalry which they had and 25 elephants of war with castles on them and swords in their trunks and spikes of steel on their tusks and were managed so dexterously, that at the first onset some raw recruits were obliged to turn back. The others gave them such a volley, that being wounded by it they turned on their own men treading some under foot and putting all into confusion in such a manner, that Lopo de Brito pursued them killing and wounding them till they reached a brook, which was afterwards dammed<sup>2</sup> into a

<sup>1</sup> 'Manga Brava', literally 'wild mango', Cristovão da Costa, *Tractado del as Drogas y medicinas de las Indias Orientales*, (1578) quoted by Dal says: 'the fruit called Mangas bravas is so poisonous that the Blacks of these parts make use of it to kill each other, because if one eats even a small portion of it, he dies on the spot.'

<sup>2</sup> Dam Street, Pettah, commemorates a dam that was there in Portuguese times.

P 159 lake for the better | fortification of that City. Thence he returned with some wounded, but no one was killed, the Enemy losing many noble men in this encounter, for many a valorous feat was performed on both sides, one to retain what they had gained and the other to recover what was lost, under the eyes of their King, and of so many against so few. The King himself abandoned the camp despairing of success against the Portuguese, and our people on the following day again burnt the town along with two large mosques built by the former Moors who lived there. The Moors and the Heathen were astonished at themselves, as it seemed to them that though they were so many, they had neither arms nor heart against so few, seeing that they were so lowered in credit and reputation as well as by the death of their best Modeliares and Araches. And the King was ashamed to see that the Moors, though they were the first to incite to vengeance, were also the first to flee, and if on the one hand his need of them prompted him to pardon, anger on the other hand stimulated him to punish them, so that placed between these two extremes and considering that every hour might bring larger reinforcements, he chose the more convenient alternative and sued the Portuguese for peace. Lopo de Brito seeing that he could not stand the siege longer and that the reinforcement would be late, consented to the peace on condition that the tribute which his Father promised to the Crown of Portugal would be continued.

The King lost so much credit by this war, that he soon came to lose his life, for his Nephews,<sup>1</sup> sons of his elder Brother Chacraude Bau, being debarred from the Government, induced Javira Astâna, King of Candea, and other potentates, his tributaries, to rise against him. The King entered his territories with an armed force inflicting great violence and robbery which was so great | in the County of Pitigal, F 90r that the inhabitants retired into the woods. But as he made no resistance, it emboldened his Nephews the more, and with justice, Modeliares and Araches on their side, and helped by the King of Candea, they entered Cota, and within his own palace killed him sparing the life of a few and robbing all the riches which their ancestors had deposited there, and 'Vigia-Bau Code'<sup>2</sup> or 'the Robbery made on the death of Vigia-Bau' passed into a proverb in memory of it.

<sup>1</sup> Bhuvaneka Bahu, Maha Rayigam Bandara and Mayadume, the three princes born to Vijaya Bahu and his brother of the same wife; Raj. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Vijaya Bahu Kollaya*, 'The spoiling of Vijaya Bahu'. Raj. 76

On his death there began a new government in Ceylon which occasioned great unrest, though it might have been the best disposition for our conquest, since the power was divided, had the many things which the State undertook in those days been directed to what was the most convenient, as we shall show later on. The King of Candea assisting at the tragedy,<sup>1</sup> the three Brothers divided the Realm of Cota between them, the eldest already showing how little he was worth and what it would cost the Portuguese to keep him on his little throne. Boneca-Bau, or as others call him Bonegabago Pandar, the eldest, retained the title of Emperor and King of Cota; the second Reypam Bandar, | the country of Reypam and took that name from that place where formerly the Metropolis of the Island was, along with the lands of Valauiti and Passedûm excluding the seaports which pertained to Cota; the third Madûne Pandar, the most wily, [obtained] the lands of Seytavâca, Dinavâca and the Four Corlas, each one styling himself King of his possessions. This change, contrary to what Diogo de Couto says,<sup>2</sup> took place in the year 1521 of our redemption and was applauded by the people with heathen ceremonies being accompanied by homage and submission on the part of the two Brothers to the eldest.

There was peace between them for some time, so long as Ecanâca, an ordinary person, but a soldier, did not put forward a pretence to the Throne by force of arms supported by many of the masses because of the liberty he gave to all. He set himself up in rebellion in Apitigão<sup>3</sup> and soon built a fine town under the ancient name of Tamâna persuading his people that he was a descendant of the first Vigia-Bau and that the Empire belonged to him in that way. But as the Brothers were still united, Boneca-Bau was able to raise a force with which he seized him after much resistance, and according to his guilt he was judged, for not always does fortune nurture monsters. Meanwhile Lopo de Brito was able to enlarge his trenches and perfect the little praça, triangular in shape (either of stone and mud, as we said, or of cabook (taypa) as others have it, for lack of lime, for mud does not adhere to stone) and of such strength | as sufficed against the batteries P 91 of the Chingalâz and to resist the force of the elephants.

<sup>1</sup> The P. E. I 64 here interpolates: 'Acting on the advice of the great minister Illangakoon', and says in a note p. 463 n. 52. 'The name is given by de Queyroz alone and appears in my copy in this connection as Itâcon, an obvious copyist's error for Ilâcon.' Itâcon is not mentioned here and is quite a different name from Illangakoon which is spelt Izlangamcon by Q. *Infra* 384, 479.

<sup>2</sup> Couto said that this partition took place before 1517 (V. I. 5).

<sup>3</sup> Hapitigam Korale. Raj. 77.

Afterwards he gave over the praça which he had so gallantly defended to Fernão Gomez de Lemos who was the third Captain, lawful son of the Lord of Trofa, who had gone to India with Tristaõ de Cunha, already a soldier of reputation which he always kept up. But as he understood the mortification which this praça always caused to the Chingalâz and the signs which they gave, that peace would not last long, and that they suffered subjection better than these fetters, in the beginning of the year [15] 23 he wrote to King Joaõ the Third of the little benefit to be derived from that garrison, and that unless his designs were greater, and the difficulties of accomplishing them were very great, for the purpose of vassalage and commerce a Factory was enough and that all the rest was but a hindrance to the advancement of the State in other ways. In the same way, it is related, the Viceroy D. Duarte de Menezes<sup>1</sup> reported that only the trade in cinnamon was of any importance and that everything else was of little profit. And as there were many who even at this time greatly approved that conquest, and as temerity of speech was ever habitual in India, their presumption reached such a pass, that they said that too much gold ruined the praça of Columbo and that ambition was ever older than error and that in all ages there had been Monarchies in the world. These reports having been considered in Portugal, when D. Vasco de Gama,<sup>2</sup> the first discoverer of these seas, | came as Viceroy, King P 161 Joaõ the Third gave him orders, according to that which King D. Manoel had already left determined, to dismantle the praça of Columbo and leave only a Factory. For this purpose the new Viceroy of Goa ordered Fernão Gomez de Lemos to raze that praça and to bring back the Garrison and artillery to Goa in the ships of the Captain-Major Antonio de Lemos, his Brother. This was news of great joy to the Moors, and in gratitude for it they at once built a small mosque to their false prophet. Nor were the Chingalâz less relieved, and they attributed this relief to their good fortune. The King, however, knowing the spirit of his Brother Madûne, on the one hand esteemed the relief and on the other regretted the loss of that curb on him. With no little fear for the future there remained Nuno Freyre de Andrade as Factor and Alcayde-mor with 20 soldiers; and as in India even a Shipmaster governed on dry land, neither Fernão Gomez who abandoned it nor the Viceroy who only carried out the order of the King, were able to escape Satires. These clamours

<sup>1</sup> 4th Governor, 1521-1524.

<sup>2</sup> Second Viceroy 1524 September-December.

were in part occasioned by the loyalty of the Viceroy, though it was no real cause, for he took upon himself what could have fallen on the Kings who ordered it, writing the following letter to the King of Cota :

'I am sufficiently informed that in the recent wars and disorders which took place between Your Highness and Lopo de Brito, you had little guilt, though | guilt there may be in allowing oneself to be moved by the sayings of interested and impassioned persons who led by their private interests and not zealous for the commonwealth disquieted the King, my Lord, and gave him cause to complain and to make light of the friendship of Your Highness. But understanding that this fortalice is a cause of annoyance to you, to satisfy Your Highness, I ordered it to be pulled down and the Portuguese to be withdrawn. I only ordered a Factor to remain there to collect tribute and to trade in spices which are needed for the Kingdom. Wherefore, as he is committed to the keeping of Your Highness, I consider him given to you with the responsibility of giving me an account of him and of his company, which I know you will do. As there is not more, may Our Lord [protect] the person of Your Highness, &c.'

The King did not fail to be displeased with the terms of this letter, as was the case with many another letter of Portugal and of India, equally rude and addressed to Kings to whom more respect was due, because of their might and greatness, for colour does not increase or diminish Majesty, nor in Asia does politeness ever admit any derogation from its style. He dissembled however, and gave free permission and leave for them all to go on board the ships. Lopo de Brito embarked without taking leave of him, to which the King paid little heed, though he wished to justify himself with Lemos fearing that the former's complaints might cause him some trouble. The new Captain delivered his Alcaide-mor and his scrivener to the King who welcomed them with good grace promising them great favours and interest; and this being done, the others left for this<sup>1</sup> coast.

## CHAPTER 6.

### F 162 BEGINNING OF THE WAR WITH THE KING OF SEYTAVACA

King Madúne Bandar greatly rejoiced at this change, because as he ever intended to become Lord of the whole Kingdom and aspired to the dominion of the whole Island, he was completely relieved, for it was only the Portuguese

<sup>1</sup> The Author writing in Goa calls the Malabar Coast 'this coast'

he feared. And as the King of Cota thought that our recent decision was due to the Moors, the Brother began to favour them; and they, in order to recover the former goodwill by means of the Moors of Calecut, [the seat of the] Court of the Samorim, solicited an embassy to this effect from that Emperor of Malavar, who, thinking that we abandoned Columbo through fear, sent Galeacêm,<sup>1</sup> the chief Equipper of the pirates of Malavar, to visit King Boneca-Bau and to congratulate him in his name on this good fortune and to ask him for the Portuguese who under his protection remained in Columbo, and if he were unwilling to do so, to open | hostilities as far as he was able with the Moors whom he took in four Galliois. He reached Columbo, and to facilitate the delivery of the Portuguese, he made up this tale: 'That the *parós* of the Samorim had fought with D. Henrique de Menezes,<sup>2</sup> Governor of India, (for D. Vasco da Gama remained in the government only three months and 20 days and buried his memory where he won his reputation,) and had defeated them killing all the men he brought, and that the Kings of Cochím and Cananôr had laid siege to the others in order to regain what had been usurped from them, [which was] the occasion that led the Samorim, his Lord, to ask for the gift of these Portuguese to treat them as friends and to use them in the wars which he was waging with the neighbouring Kings that refused him tribute, and that when these were over, he would restore them to His Highness.'

The King to whom it appeared impossible that the Portuguese should be defeated so easily, replied: 'That the matter would be dealt with in council, and that if the truth of what was related was accepted therein, he would reply to them and do what was most to his credit and honour.' He called Nuno Freyre to the Council, and there he laid before him what had passed with the Malavar; and to hold the Moor in play and to prove him a liar by evidence, they decided that a messenger should go to Cochím to ascertain what took place, 'Because, D. Henrique de Menezes, Sire,' said Freyre, 'is one of the most valiant knights that set foot in India, and the force which he has is one of the largest which the Portuguese up to this time had in India. The King of Cochím was always a faithful friend; in Cananôr there is a *praça* [strong] enough to resist all the might of Malavar, and the others which we have in India are enough to repair any ill-fortune, even in case such should happen. And even if

<sup>1</sup> Ali Hassan.

<sup>2</sup> Fifth Governor, 1525-1526.

it were all true, what credit would a King of Ceylon gain by delivering to their enemies those who lived in security under his word?' In this sense [the King] replied to Galeacêm that he would not deliver them until the truth was ascertained. The Moor understood that the mind of the King was quite otherwise, and to assure him the more, he asked him to send to Cochim to find out the truth of the matter related. The King did so writing to the Governor what had passed; and it happened so much to the contrary, that at the time when the messenger reached Cochim the Governor was returning in triumph from Coulete, and he saw the parôs and the artillery which he had taken in battle; and receiving an answer he returned to Columbo.

Baleacêm<sup>1</sup> meanwhile, before the reply and exposure arrived, resolved to take the Portuguese of the Factory by force, and with this intention he ordered two galliots to be hauled ashore to prepare them for sea and men to be landed for this purpose. Seeing the unconcern of the Moor and foreseeing his audacity, Freyre went to speak to the King and confidently asked his permission to deliver an attack on the Malavares with the twenty Portuguese only; and [said] that the prize of the two galliots would be for His Highness. The King agreed to it on condition that he took in his company Salapuri Arache and 600 men; and on the 15th of February in the year [15]24 Freyre sallied out to meet the Corsair Baleacem, who, far from expecting such entertainment, was on land with the rest awaiting an opportunity to capture the Portuguese. Then took place there a very sanguinary encounter, because the majority of the Chingalâz fled, and those who remained only waited for the sacking, and the determination of so few caused astonishment to the Malavares. At the first onslaught they killed 50 causing the rest to retire. Many plunged into the water making for the galliots still on sea, others fled to Madûne, and the two galliots which were on land were taken. Galeacêm retired ashamed to see 500 Moors vanquished by 20 Christians, and excused his ill-success for that he saw St. James in the conflict, which was believed by all, for the Moors were valiant and picked corsairs. The King was quite beside himself at such an unheard-of affair and did not cease praising the Portuguese valour, nor would he accept the galliots, as they were due to the victors. Of our men some were wounded.

The Moor returned to Calecut, where in great haste he prepared seven parôs of stout men with many arms and instruments of fire, and on the 3rd of May he returned to

<sup>1</sup> Sic.

Columbo, where there were only eight Portuguese, the rest having come to this coast. He sent word to the King with Mahometan arrogance, that unless he wished to see his country destroyed, he should deliver up the Portuguese, raze the Factory which they had there, and forbid them to enter that Island. The King at once ordered his army to be mustered and sent to inform Nuno Freyre d' Andrade, who visited him and begged him as a favour to be allowed to take part in that enterprise, as it concerned him so much and he had given occasion to that fresh audacity. The King who relied on his courage for the success, easily granted his request; and with Vira Poli Arache and a company of 600 Chingalâz, Freyre presented battle to the enemy who were far more numerous and were already encamped on land. The eight adventurers began the fray, and all charging with valour after some resistance and many deaths, they put them to a disorderly flight, some to the parôs, others to Seytavâca, leaving four ships surrendered. The King marvelled at the speed with which the victory was gained, and heartily congratulated thereon the Portuguese, whom it is not right to leave in oblivion, and besides Freyre there were Thome Gracia a native of Pombeyro, Gregorio de Macedo son of Antaô de Macedo and D. Joanâ de Oliueyra, Pero de Proença of Vila of the same name, Simaô de Lima of Vila Viçoza, Françiscô Pinheyro son of Doctor Joaô Pinheyro celebrated in the time of King D. Manoel, Joaô de Valadares of Ourêm, Miguel Ferreyra of Alcobaço, Pero Esteves of Obidos, all soldiers who in various encounters had met divers enemies in India. Well might Neocles have sighed for them when among so many he desired the four who had distinguished themselves with him in Rome, or Terence, blamed for the rout of Cannae, if against Hannibal he had found in them the three Fabii for whom he sighed. Nuno Freyre retired to Cota at the instance of the Emperor to be cured of a musket shot and two dangerous arrow wounds, and with him went some of his companions, of whom two died of wounds and to whom the natives raised pagodes, a custom in use also in Malavar, for as they are all Pythagoreans and dread the return of their souls by transmigration in future ages, they give a place among their idols as Deities to those who in life were considered brave, not because they venerate them as Saints, but for fear of their daring; and they honour some out of love others out of fear; as also they did to the Marshal D. Fernando Coutinho in the year [1]510 at Calecut where he died, raising to him there a pagode which the Father Friar Françiscô Negraô testifies to having seen in 1636.



and on his inquiring what the Marshal had done more than Affonço de Albuquerque in burning that City that they gave him that honour and not to others who died there, they replied that though hardihood had less esteem than valour among them, yet they considered it the extremity of valour, because one who daied to attack royal palaces was either a god or something of the kind, and for this reason where they were hurt there they worship them.

The King of Cota ordered the Moors of Columbo to quit the country within three days as traitors and for introducing enemies into the Island and for being the occasion for so many uprisings. Madûne wished to prevent this novelty, but being unable to accomplish it, he received them in his Court, and with them the Malavares. And as by their favour and counsel he wished to become Lord of Cota, he consoled them saying: 'That all success in this world is changeable, and that, though the Emperor drove them away and banished them, they would  
 P 166 have | an opportunity for vengeance, and, in order that they might understand that the tie of blood did not prevent him from assisting them, he declared that he had several times thought of making war on him, but that he desisted for want of opportunity; but now that he had given them these affronts, he asked their advice how to carry out his purpose.' The Malavares replied praising his resolve; 'That he should ask help from the Samorim with whose help he would easily be able to carry out his desire in spite of the Portuguese from whom by the way he [the Samorim] would have satisfaction, avenging himself for the great insults and damage which their fleets had done along the coast of Malavar.' Madûne approved this counsel and sent an embassy to the Samorim with goodly presents for him and for the great men of his kingdom, without whom the King | was unable to settle a matter of importance. F 230  
 It was received and listened to with acclamations, more because he had opportunity to satisfy his hatred than because [Madûne] offered some seaports of the Island and to be his tributary. He at once named as Leaders, three principal Moors and well-known pirates, called Pachî or Patî Marcâ and his Brother, Cunhale Marcâ, both natives of Cochim brought up and trained among the Portuguese. The Third was Ali Abrahêm, a man of good resolution and experience. He gave them 8,000 men and instructions to assemble at Panâne,<sup>1</sup> where Pachî Marcâ lived, and be at his orders, not because his merits were greater, but because [the Samorim] had hurt him in the distribution of certain prizes and wished to win him over by this honour.

<sup>1</sup> Ponani, between Cochin and Calicut.

These two did not consider themselves aggrieved, for though they equalled him in fortune and valour, they did not excel him in service. Nor did they remain longer on land than was necessary to get ready. Boneca-Bau knew of these preparations from the very persons who had taken part in them, and he would not have given it credit, had he not found that [Madûne] had sent two principal men of his Court to give him poison. Upon this and other proofs he turned to the Portuguese and sent to ask help from the Governor. Madûne relying on the great succour of the Nayres, already called himself Lord of the whole Island, and when on the return of the Ambassador he received information of the force which was being prepared, he ordered to be published in Cota: 'That whoever wished freely to surrender and to acknowledge him as Emperor of Ceylon should declare it within six days, and if within that term it were not done, he would pay the penalty which was due to one who did not avail himself of kindness.' This audacity being supported by some people who were less favoured by Boneca-Bau, caused a great uproar among the people. The King encouraged all telling them that he had sent to ask assistance from the Portuguese who were such that, if they did not move to help him, when there was an opportunity for destroying such declared enemies, it would only be because they had themselves been destroyed.

The Ambassadors of Cota arrived in Goa, where Lopo Vaz de S. Payo<sup>1</sup> was governing in opposition to Pero Mascarenhas, | but the diversity of opinion was not enough to make them fail in the succour, which was entrusted to Martim Affonço de Melo Juzarte, scion of the Lords of Arrayolas, Alcaide-Mores of Momforte, in eight large sails, a Galley, and two galliots. On the other side there set out only Pachî Marcâ, for the two companions took ill or pretended to be so. Madûne anticipating matters laid siege to Cota with 30,000 combatants though very indifferently, as he was waiting for the Moors who joined him after causing great damage in the seaports of the Island; and Marcâ was of opinion that everything should be carried at the point of the sword. But the valiant Freyre delivered an attack on them with 1000 Chingaláz | with such resolution, as they F 94

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Governor, 1526-1529. He was nominated Governor by Vasco de Gama in 1524, and acted as such till the arrival of Don Henrique de Menezes. On the death of the latter (Feb., 1526) Sampayo was again installed as Governor till the arrival of Pero Mascarenhas who was in Malacca. When Mascarenhas arrived (in 1527) Sampayo declined to hand over the Government. They submitted the matter to arbitration and the verdict was in favour of Sampayo.



had a Captain so renowned, that for a long time the issue remained uncertain. But the Malavares, however, gaining the upper hand, in good order and with firearms would have obtained the victory, had not Freyre shouted to those who were retreating: 'This way! This way, my friends! The enemy is fleeing. Don't spare the spoils.' Such was the great force of these words, that their self-interest excited them to honour, and all gave proof of such valorous deeds, that Pachí Marcá and Madúne retired to their quarters.

At this time a Chatim<sup>1</sup> brought news to Columbo that our Captain had set out from Goa and was sailing along the coast of Malavar in quest of Pati Marcá. At this thunderbolt Madúne raised the siege, and Marcá embarked in 15 parôs with 2500 Moors without any of the profits he hoped for save disappointment at the cost of many lives. Three days afterwards Martim Affonço arrived and he was very sorry to find that the Moor had escaped him and that he could not deceive Madúne altogether. But to show the King the desire he had to serve him, he disembarked with 10 companies of the Captains Antonio Cardozo, Francisco Ferreyra, Duarte Mendes de Vasconcelos, Francisco Velho, Joaô Lobato, Manoel de Veyga, Manoel Vieyra, Joaô Coelho, Vasco Rebelo, and Thomê Rodriguez. The King was quite pleased with the visit, but in spite of all the efforts of Freyre and the Captain-Major he would not make up his mind to settle once and for all with his Brother, who being in great fear sent him Ambassadors to beg pardon for his insolences assuring it with hostages and tribute. And Martim Affonço seeing how useless his further delay was set out thence to the coast of the Fishery and from there to various parts till in the Island of Negamâle in front of the City of Sodoê he was wrecked and taken captive.

Pachí Marcá before returning to Calecut, with the intention of returning to Ceylon, retired into a shallow river which our men could not enter, because as he had spies in Goa, he knew that this expedition had been prepared for another object; and so it was, for the first intention was to go to Sunda to erect the fortalice which Francisco de Sã had not finished, and on the way to succour Columbo, and as this need ceased, <sup>P 167</sup> he thought that the first intention | would necessarily be carried out. He sallied out at his ease, returned to Columbo forcing Nuno Freyre to retire to Cota, which he never left in the years that he lived in that Island, which were many, rendering great services to the King [of Portugal] and still

<sup>1</sup> A merchantman. Cf. p. VI, n. 1.

greater services to God in the conversion of many souls, helped by a Religious of St. Francis worthy of his habit named Friar Paulo de S. Boaventura. And though the Corsair wished to continue the war, Madúne persuaded him to return to his country and increase his force, while he made ready to prosecute it and awaited an opportunity in <sup>Cap.</sup> which the Portuguese could not be of avail, for then he could again have recourse to the Samorim. And giving him money and valuable jewels, which he had obtained in the robbery of Cota on the death of Vigia Bau, he wrote to the Samorim signing himself by way of flattery as his vassal. In the following years [15]28 to [15]36, there were not wanting <sup>P 170</sup> dissatisfactions between the two Brothers though of lesser import, which he of Cota settled prudently, if not with pusillanimity, keeping on good terms with the Portuguese and facilitating the trade in cinnamon and other things.

#### CHAPTER 7.

##### MADÚNE RENEWS THE WAR AGAINST THE KING OF COTA.

In gratitude for the honours of Madúne and out of desire to avenge himself on the Portuguese, Pachí Marcá visited him during most of the following years, inciting him to war against his Brother and assuring him of the help of the Samorim. He succeeded so well by this assiduity that putting aside all considerations of kinship and of the sworn peace [Madúne] again sent Ambassadors to Calecut begging goodly succour from the Samorim, offering [to pay] the expenses of the fleet and to make good any damage that might result. There were prepared 45 rowing ships, with 4,000 fighting men in charge of Hali Abrahêm, and they put into the port of Columbo in the beginning of October in the year [15]36. All joining together they laid siege to Cota which, as we said, is in the form of a peninsula in the middle of a lake, and the passage by land was a narrow isthmus which Nuno Freyre fortified with a bastion and stockades having with him only five Portuguese who helped him in everything, disposing the necessary defence in other passes of lesser depth. These few did great feats in many divers encounters. Being informed of this, Martim Affonço de Souza,<sup>1</sup> Captain of these seas, set out from Cochim with 300 Portuguese distributed in

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with Martin Affonso de Melo mentioned before.

11 ships of which the Captains were Vasco Pirez de S. Payo, D. Diogo de Almeyda, Fernão de Souza de Tauora, Martím Correa, Francisco de Barros of Payua, Jorge Barrozo de Almeyda, Francisco Pereyra, Gaspar de Lemos, Jeronymo de Figueyredo, Francisco de Sá, and Manoel de Souza of Sepulueda, celebrated by many for his misfortunes and recently by Bidermano in his *Heroides*. The enemy had tidings of this splendid succour, and when Martím Affonço reached Colombo with a light heart and blood warmed by the great victory of Repelim,<sup>1</sup> he heard that nine days before his arrival the Malavares had retired and that the Brothers were at peace through the mediation of the Ganezes.

He went to visit the King and encouraged him to fear no foe however powerful | he might be, for so long as there <sup>P 98</sup> were Portuguese in the world, he would prevail against his power. He greatly esteemed this offer, and being in turn offered a good present, the Captain-Major left in pursuit of the pirate on the 4th of April [15]37; and as he was returning to Goa having given up all hope of meeting him, near Mount Deli<sup>2</sup> he sighted a paró which was pursued by two light periches<sup>3</sup> which he was taking in addition and of which the Captains were Francisco de Melo Pereyra, and Joaõ de Souza Rates, and going full sail they captured her, and from these Moors they learnt that the enemy squadron was in Mangalór, and making for it with great joy, far from land so as not to be seen, as far ahead as Colête, he sighted the enemy and forming two divisions he attacked him. They attempted to escape to land but our periches rowing with might frustrated this design. They turned their prows and resolutely waited the charge; and Christians and Moors mixing in one short and bloody battle, they were captured with little loss on our side, and the 1,200 who escaped the sword, running aground on the shore, lost their lives; and thus ended one of the best fleets that ever in those days was launched on sea.

This news frightened Madúne, foreseeing in this success his fall, if the King of Cota should determine to make war on him. The Samorim felt it most keenly, as they all were affected in property and honour. However, he taxed

<sup>1</sup> Eddapalli, an Island city and Kingdom between Calicut and Cochin, captured, plundered and burnt by Martin Affonso de Souza.

<sup>2</sup> Monte Deli, for Monte D'Eli, a mountain on the Malabar Coast which forms a remarkable object from seaward. It was the first Indian land seen by Vasco da Gama.

<sup>3</sup> A small rowing vessel' *Guerreiro, Relac. Ann.* 118.

his lieges asking loans from the richest, and he got together so much, that with men-of-service he fitted out another fleet; and though all guessed his intention, he never declared the truth. But as he gave out that [his objective] was the Red sea, many of the Country were attracted by the lure of gains, which gave much heat to the work. He resorted to this trick in order that the experience of the past misfortunes might not drive away the men-at-arms and that [he might imitate] Scipio, who, seeing his men disheartened by the success and renown of Hannibal, invited them and diverted them with pleasures, but when the enemy was in sight cried out: 'To arms, to arms, Friends, if you wish for victory.'

This intention was confirmed by an embassy of Madúne in which he pointed out that the security of his Kingdom depended on the continuation of this war: 'That it was not the part of a prudent King to desist for fear of adversity, and that however contrary fortune might show herself to be, <sup>P 169</sup> she would become favourable to | those who court her.' He named as leaders of this squadron Pachî Marcâ, Cunhalê Marcâ and Halî Abrahêm. It consisted of 47 ships, besides others which rich men fitted up, with 8,000 warriors, 400 pieces of artillery and other arms necessary, which were also distributed to sailors at the oars,<sup>1</sup> with many fire arms. Halî set out from Pude Pataõ<sup>2</sup> to join Pachî Marcâ at Panâne, | <sup>P 95v</sup> and at that altitude he sighted the ship Galega which was going from Goa to Cochin. The pirate grappled her on both sides, but she fought so gallantly, that they turned and fled. We lost some soldiers, and the Captain Ruy Dias Pereyra, after selling his own for many lives, ended gallantly being killed by a splinter.

Ten other ships set out from Chale with the same intention. They captured a foist which had come from Cannanór, killing all who were alive because of the great resistance which they made excepting a Portuguese Youth named Marcos Rodriguez de Miranda whose fate can be read in Couto.<sup>3</sup> After their customary ceremonies there set out from Panâne 51 sail in the beginning of December, and reaching Coulaõ they

<sup>1</sup> 'Besides the men-at-arms who were 8000, all the rowers had bows and arrows under the benches with which to fight when there was need'—Couto (V. II. 4), passage omitted by Ferguson.

<sup>2</sup> Pudipatan, 'new city', a former sea port of Malabar between Cananore and Calicut, mentioned by Cosmas Indicopleustes as Pudo-patana.

<sup>3</sup> (V. II. 4.) His mother fell at the feet of Martin Affonso de Souza and made him promise that he would bring back her son. During the battle at Vedalai, Marcos escaped to his countrymen.

invested the ship *S. Pedro* famous for its 22 voyages to Portugal, and they acted so bravely, that though they did great damage, there died only Nicolao Juzarte, her Captain, shot by a bullet, who being ill and seated on a chair as long as he was alive encouraged them to valour, and when killed, to revenge. Before this they had taken a *Parangue*<sup>1</sup> which was coming from Ceylon with cinnamon, killing the Captain Antonio Barreto and the other Portuguese who were on board. They carried on no small warfare in Tutucurim wreaking on these Christians the hatred they bore to the Portuguese. Upon news of this squadron, Madûne again broke the peace, and [our] friend the King calling Nuno Freyre represented to him the danger in which he found himself. Freyre encouraged him telling him not to fear, for our God was so favourable to those who favoured us, that though he was of another religion, He would help him: 'That he should inform the Governor Nuno de Cunha<sup>2</sup> and leave the rest to him.' He was relieved by this reply and so confident was he of the Divine favour, that he often said: 'God of Christians, if Thou dost not help me, I am lost.'

There was seen in those days a Comet which had the appearance of a bull facing Seytavaca; and as this beast is brutally respected by all that heathendom, and is everywhere a sign of peace as in the case of the head which was seen in the Capitol of Rome, or in that of Neocles, King of Cyprus, who for this reason gave it as arms to his City, neither did Madûne consider it favourable nor Boneca Bau consider it otherwise. The tidings reached Cochim and Doctor Pero Vaz de Amaral Captain and Vedor da fazenda immediately forwarded it to Martim Affonço de Souza who was in Chale to repair with all haste the evils that were feared. He went at once to Cochim | and with all expedition began to set out on the 2nd of January of [1]538. At the bar Amaral handed him letters from the King and Nuno Freyre in which they represented the actual state [of affairs] and that after the arrival of the enemy fleet it would be impossible for any of our vessels to enter those ports, [and] concluded [by saying] that it was only the hope of reinforcement that animated their lives. Martim Affonço would have liked to fly thence to Columbo, but in the Council it was decided that it was more convenient to | rout <sup>P 170</sup> the enemy on sea, and he left aside the galleys, for they had

<sup>1</sup> A coasting boat used for carrying provisions, probably the Anglo-Indian 'Panchway' 'A very characteristic and interesting vessel, large and broad, shaped like a smifter-dish; a deck, fore and aft and the middle covered with a roof of palm branches.'—Herber I. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Sixth Governor, 1529–1538.

already chosen for that purpose rowing ships, of which the Captains were Manoel de Souza de Sepulveda, Martim Correa da Silva, D. Diogo de Almeyda, Fernão de Souza de Tavora, Vasco Pérez de S. Payo, Jorge Barrozo de Almeyda, Francisco de Sá, Francisco Pereyra, Gaspar de Lemos, João de Mendoga, Jeronimo de Figueyredo, Simão Rangel, Antonio de Lima, Antonio de Souza, Miguel de Ayala, João de Souza Rates, Diogo de Melo, Francisco de Barros, Antonio Mendes de Vasconcelos, Simão Galego, Gomez Carvalho, Ruy de Moraes, Ruy Lobo, Francisco Fernandez the Moricâle, Francisco de Sequeyra the Malauar, [and] Diogo Reynozo, taking in these foists 650 soldiers; and neither in Coulaõ nor in other parts did he get any news of the Pirate till finally he learnt that they were in Beadala, a port near the celebrated pagode of Ramencoir. There Martim Affonço sought him at the time when he had hauled the parõs on land preparing men to pass over to Ceylon, and he was lodging in an extensive palm grove. At the entrance to the bar, because soundings were taken badly and as each one wished to be the first, some foists ran aground and the Moors killed three soldiers and a sailor. Freed from this danger which was not small, he ordered Gaspar de Lemos and Antonio de Souza with seven ships to put themselves on the side of the Village Bedeadala<sup>1</sup> and in the morning on hearing a shot of the berço to disembark there with great noise.

He addressed them all, seeing that some were rather perturbed by the previous incident, reminding them with warlike fury: 'That victory lay in their valour and arms; that the more the adversaries, the greater would be the triumph; that they should not fear the barbarous cruelty perpetrated on so many innocent persons, but considering it with minds justly revengeful and with redoubled force should take satisfaction for what diminished forces had suffered; that they should not pay heed to omens but remember Count Fernão Gonçalvez who, when taking the field against Almâcor, was not for giving up battle, because he saw Pero Gonçalvez a soldier of his company overthrown.' And having given other necessary orders, he drew up his squadron, and at break of day they all awaited the signal. But either out of carelessness or owing to the perturbation of a bombardier, [the signal] was given before the time, and the two Captains attacking separately, they found there the force of the enemy, and though they fought with great spirit,

<sup>1</sup> *São Lugar Bedeadala* a mistake for *Lugar de Beadala*; *Vedaiai*, a port on the Ramnad coast of the Gulf of Mannar.

P 171 they were killed before Martim Affonço could fall upon | the enemy. He went to their aid in great haste, and that battle was well contested and one of the greatest in India. The Moors held their ground with great constancy, relying on their courage and numbers, but in the end they were routed and put to flight, leaving on the spot 600 killed, some by the sea where they found a greater adversary, | because P 170 Francisco de Sequeyra had set fire to the nearest parôs. Those who were on land escaped to the town, where they fell out with the natives in reward for the hospitality which they gave them. Pachî Marcâ and his Brother Halî Abrahêm fled in two light ships, there remaining out of so many thousand men no others to take the news to Calecut. The victory cost us 30 lives. They found much spoil in the 23 ships and the others were burnt; a costly umbrella which the Samorim was sending to Madûne, Martim Affonço presented to the King of Cochim. Three Portuguese put in chains were released, also an unmarried woman of handsome appearance whom Pachî Marcâ tried to turn into a Moor, but seeing how constant she was in her Faith had illtreated. She preached to all the religion she professed, but her natural grace robbed her of the grace of Martyrdom, an example so much the more worthy of praise as it was less to be expected in the state [of life] in which she was. This battle took place on 20 February of the aforesaid era [1538].

The consideration of this loss caused such an impression on the Samorin, that he at once began to rave, and often in his sleep he awoke complaining of the Portuguese; and so great was the fear that, harrassed by his thoughts, he could not think of any other topic, and this lively imagination so hastened his death, that their Chroniclers testify that the Portuguese appearing to him in his dreams killed him, God so disposing in order to punish him for his hatred and to accredit us in India so long as we did not displease Him, that it was enough for us to conquer to make the enemy dream of Portuguese.

The report reached Columbo much faster than Martim Affonço de Souza, and Madûne dreading a similar chastisement forestalled it by begging peace from his Brother, who with his usual generosity gave it, without minding the reasons for that submission. Martim Affonço de Souza found this change of intentions in the King, when he saw him in Cota, and pointed out to him that it was for his sake and with the intention of prosecuting the war that he disembarked with all his men, and that there would be no occasion when the Portuguese would fail in giving him succour. Boneca-Bau

greatly appreciated the fact that we had come to his aid with such concern for his troubles, and he rewarded the Captains with jewels of value. He invited many soldiers to a banquet of messes according to their fashion, served by women prostrating themselves to show great reverence. He offered money for the expenses of the fleet, of which Martim Affonço de Souza accepted by way of loan 45,000 cruzados, which were entered to the account of the Factor. And P 172 though neither these nor | other [sums] which were due to him were paid in consideration of the great expense undergone in his service, and what is more of lives lost which have no equivalent, | when his Treasurers complained, the King himself P 173 alleged these services. As peace was made and there was no room nor disposition in the King to wage bitter war against Madûne, as our people desired, the Captain-major returned to his enterprises, the King to other cares, and Madûne to his treasons. And as Itacon, Secretary of the King, had shown himself inclined to us and grateful, [Madûne] determined to take his life, and a Chingalâ of Seytavâca coming to visit him was so troubled on entering, that he disclosed his intention. Itacon being assured by his confession of the purposes that brought him, with more than heathen valour told him: 'Go back to Seytavâca and tell thy King that wickedness does not overcome innocence, though the latter prevails against the former for its punishment; and though it might well be called ignorance, I wish to deprive it of that name, to give it to his design, since he shows himself ungrateful for what he owes me, being Lord of a City which has gratitude for its arms.' He said this alluding to one of their old legends, and because in the distribution between the three Brothers he was the means of giving Seytavâca to Madûne.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER 8.

### DEATH OF REYGAM BANDAR AND THE MARRIAGE OF BANDÔGE

Frustrated in his hopes and grieved at the expenses which he had incurred in bringing over the Moors, Madûne grew as much in hatred as in despair. But if the lack of reinforcements deprived him of the near hope of a larger Kingdom, his

<sup>1</sup> This passage is very obscure. A Portuguese translated the last phrase 'it was the reason for giving Sitawaka to Madunne.' It is on this passage that the Port. Era based the statement pointed out on p. 204.

ambition stimulated him to fresh pretensions, and he sought by every means to offend Boneca-Bau who was so blind or pusillanimous, that he excused him (according to the oriental phrase) as a child from whose want of years proceeded that of deeds, without allowing the Loyal Lieges to find fault with him, and giving occasion to malcontents desirous of change to endeavour to accredit the claims of Madûne to the Crown. The King lived in fear of some misfortune; and while in Cota all was fear, in Seytavaca all was treachery.

Things being in this state, there died Reygam Bandar, the second of the three Brothers, without leaving an heir to his State; whereupon there were great quarrels, for as it was a dependency of the Empire, and as Madûne laid claim to it, the claims had to be decided by arms which cost many deaths; but the King of Cota, little desirous of shedding blood, *P 173* wrote to Madûne that though those lands were his, he gifted them to him, reminding him that he did so to see whether after so many favours he would change his character *F 976* and leave aside pretensions which could not be realized. But he who desires the whole is never satisfied with a part, and ingratitude was ever the return for superabundant benefits.

This King found himself aging, and [knew] that with so many troubles he could live but a little [longer], and not having more than a daughter named Subudara<sup>1</sup> Bandûge,—others call her Cura Adâz,—he thought of giving her in marriage, so that his grandsons might inherit the Kingdom and that it might not pass on his death into the hands of his perfidious enemy. He chose for son-in-law a descendant of the ancient Kings of Rajapure [named] Jugo Bandar, a handsome and prudent young man, beloved of all for his noble nature; and with their customary ceremonies he took her to wife. She was before this in love with Tribule Pandar, or otherwise Triaua Bandar or Vidia Pandar, a wicked man, though descended from the blood Royal, and she would have had him for husband, if the Father had not prevented it to the displeasure of both; but as love blinded her, she attributed to Jugo the wickedness of Tribule. Such were the extremities of mutual affection that, not satisfied with giving up her liberty to one who was her inferior, she wanted to undo the other who by character and condition was a Lord. Being offended that her father should give her a husband against her wish, Banduge informed Tribule of what was going on, and with endearing words she urged him not to forget to

<sup>1</sup> Samudra Devi.

avenge her. One night, therefore, when the principal men were congratulating [Jugo] on his state, Tribule entered and in the course of conversation seeing a good occasion, stabbed him to death. His death was mourned throughout the Realm, in which Jugo Bandar was beloved and Tribule Pandar hated. And as ill-founded presumption is natural in those who are of less gentle birth, he tried to overcome the difficulties of hatred by kindness and by means of a Ganez called Budeuançe highly esteemed among them for a penitent and respected as a relative of Boneca-Bau.

This [Ganez] went to the Court at a time when persons of great authority were assembled, and as his own authority was the most venerated, he proposed to them such [good] reasons that by their silence they admitted that they were convinced by them. Then discussing the matter in the very presence of the King they raised the question: 'Which was the greater crime; to kill a man who was the murderer of one's desires, or to be killed by the deprivation of one's desires by one who was bound in justice [to give him] that happiness.' The King not realising the drift of the question and taking the words in the meaning which they seemed to have, replied that beyond comparison the second was a greater crime than the first, as it is natural defence to take the life of a person who tries to kill, and it is tyranny to rob merit of its reward. 'You have given matter, Sire,' said Budauançe *F 98* 'to excuse Tribule Pandar and for me to beg you to accept him for son-in-law acceding to your daughter's desire to have *P 174* him for husband. And I think you cannot make a better choice than this in point both of birth and valour, of which he has given proof in many wars; and the times counsel you that a son-in-law is not less necessary for succession, that a general for war. If you think that this choice goes against the law of Buddum, you must understand that we only teach and condemn it a crime to offend unjustly, but it is not so to take satisfaction from an unjust offender. Above all, true marriage, which alone promises success, consists in the choice of the contracting parties, each of whom is content with the one whom he chooses according to his own judgment and affection; and nothing but discord will result from a contrary and forcible marriage.'

So spoke Budauançe, mixing political reasons with his false Theology, and as his authority added zest to his words the listeners considered them an infallible rule for the good government of the commonwealth, and being applauded by all, they dispelled those clouds from the mind and heart of Boneca-Bau dispossessing such good hopes, that the storm was

calmed, and he was altogether persuaded that zeal and not self-interest had dictated them. The others approved it not because they considered it altogether a good thing, but because it was enough to see him inclined to it, forgetting the advice given by Cassiodorus to Theodoricus: 'I do not consider a Prince wise if he discloses his mind, nor prudent if he is understood by all.' Carried away by this applause, he sent for Tribule, and when he arrived [he summoned] Banduge and they were joined in wedlock then and there by Budavanche the minister both of peace and marriage.

But as marriages contracted through unruly affections lead to no good results, and it is good to give an account of the doings of Tribule, both because there is nothing memorable to be related of the years [15]38 to [15]40, as well as to continue the history of a man who was Father of the Christian King D. Joaõ Perea Pandar to whom Portugal has great obligations, I will give here the evil end of this marriage. Tribule had but a short time of happiness with his beloved Banduge, who, being little pleased and satisfied with the one who had cost her so many yearnings, in the absence of her husband began to correspond with one of the Portuguese who were in the Court named Diogo de Araujo, a man more reckless than Christian. This man who received nothing more than some favours, being rebuked by his companions and afraid of greater punishment, fled to Seytavaca where he lived some years, following the banners of that King. This desertion provoked inquiry and its cause was easily found out. And because in the case of Princess it is not the same as with ordinary folk, though the Chingalaz follow a very broad law in this matter, the intrigue of Banduge for Tribule also told against her in this case, for her husband suspected more than what actually took place, as he knew the advantages of the gallantry which the Portuguese possessed and seeing the rays of honour | eclipsed by the clouds of disgrace, for they are so proud of their descent from the Sun, he found himself on the horns of a dilemma, and scarcely knew which side to incline to; his affection giving the lie to suspicion and his love giving rise to fears. Struggling with so diverse tendencies, good and bad, springing from the selfsame will, he let himself be carried away by the heavier one of jealousy, and as he could not take satisfaction for the daring of Araujo, all his hatred turned against the levities of the Princess. Hiding his feelings, he took her one afternoon to the open country and after diverting with her on the borders of the neighbouring lake, and making her feel alike both his love and resentment, with as many tears as were enough to drown greater concerns

he had the nerve to throw her into the water, wherein she lost her life and whereby so much fire was quenched, though he was himself ruined by the results that ensued and by the present grief, and the same breast became capable of so many contradictions as the perturbations of mind are wont to be on such occasions. They say that for many a day he bewailed to the woods her sweetness and to the rocks her hardness, as faithful secretaries of his secrets and that he would have ended his life on the wild hills, had Boneca-Bau not recalled him to Court by entreaties, approving the punishment he had given, not, as it would seem, because he really approved it, but rather because of the desire he always retained of avenging the two deaths of Jugo Bandar and the Princess. But the wary Tribule from a son-in-law became a rebel, and ended as he deserved, as we shall see later.

By this marriage and by this dissatisfaction, Madune took occasion to give trouble again to his Brother, on the instigation also of the relatives of Jugo Bandar, who on seeing Tribule in his place had at once gone over to him. And fathoming the intention of Boneca-Bau which was merely to take away from him the inheritance to the principal Crown, [Mayadunne] took fresh occasion thereby to make war on Cota, burning many Villages and acclaiming himself Emperor, without heeding justice or the voice of the people who considered him not a Liberator of the country but its tyrant. With this intention he would have ventured on bolder enterprises in the year [1]539, had he not been repelled by the Chingalaz, encouraged and directed by the few Portuguese who lived at the Court. Then seeing his intentions in that direction frustrated for the while, to excuse himself of this novelty, he wrote to his Brother that his intention was nothing else than to take satisfaction from Tribule for the death of Jugo Bandar and his niece Banduge: 'That the justice of his cause promised him the victory over those who followed the other standard as well as over the Portuguese who upheld him to preserve their gains; That he should think well over these principles and he would perhaps find out how little his opposition was justified.'

P 176 | So blind is ambition! for though Banduge was dead, she had left a son [who was] the rightful heir to the Crown, as [the King] had so far no legitimate son; and the avengement of the deaths on which he based his justification for the warfare concerned only Boneca-Bau, nor were they sufficient to break a sworn peace, a circumstance which had already caused bloodshed in Rome and had set the temples of Sicily ablaze. But as Madune always kept Punic faith, he sent

fresh Ambassadors to the Samorí with a costly present and a large sum of money. The latter seeing the disposition of the time, for the Viceroy D. Graçia de Noronha<sup>1</sup> was planning with all the forces of India to secure our praças against the neighbouring Kings, always ill-affected, and to invest the Turk who was upon Dio; and that Madúne had greater force in the country of Raygam which had been given to him, again sent Pachí Marcâ and his Brother to prepare for this expedition in Panâne. Fain would they have escaped this after so much experience to their cost, considering that all the haste they could make would not be enough to avoid meeting with the fleets on the voyage or the Portuguese succour in Columbo, but as Royal orders and the concerns of Kings brook no opposition, they set sail with 16 ships, Marcâ saying beforehand to the Samorí that he should not expect good news, because his reason and his heart foreboded disaster. Other Authors attribute this warning to a Bragmane, (perhaps it was of both), and [say] that in fact he won a great reputation among them.

Upon tidings of these preparations Boneca-Bau and Freyre gave information to D. Graçia de Noronha who, in spite of the undertakings referred to above, determined to send reinforcements, and after taking the advice of the Councillors, he summoned Miguel Ferreyra from S. Thome, of whom we have already spoken,<sup>2</sup> a noble man, a veteran soldier, and one who had great acquaintance and experience of Ceylon, for necessity, which sometimes prevails over other considerations, recommended him. From [S. Thome] he came to Goa with some ships desiring to accompany the Viceroy who taking him in his arms told him: 'That the safety of the State depended on those two praças; That Dio, he hoped in God, would not be lost, for he was going to its assistance; That he looked forward to the same of Cota, from the valour, experience, and good fortune of Miguel Ferreyra.' The latter knew how to thank him for this compliment, and his reply was backed by 70 years of age which had not diminished the zeal and courage which always characterized him. | It was, however, not possible to start at once for <sup>P 99</sup> want of ships, nor was the succour of the Samorí so great as to make danger pressing. When the Viceroy had returned to Goa, [Ferreyra] set out at the end of March with 16 foists of which the Captains were Pero Lopez de Souza, Pero Ferreyra, Lourenço Tristaõ, D. Jorge de Menezes, Henrique de Souza, Joaõ de Azambuja, Rodrigo Monteyro, D. Francisco de Lima, Antonio Francisco, Christovaõ Madeyra, Manoel <sup>P 17</sup> da Cunha, Bertolameu | Trigo, Antonio de Leaõ, Men

<sup>1</sup> Third Viceroy, 1538-1540.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* p. 209.

Rodriguez, Joaõ de Lemos [and] Euis Duarte. He followed his course coasting along the land to get tidings of the pirate, and at Châle he came to know that 20 days before he had entered the gulf, and doubling the Cape of Camorí he sailed along the Coast as far as the shoals, and in Manâr he found news that he was in the river of Putalaõ and well-entrenched, and that Pachí Marcâ had set out with some men, and that Madúne had laid siege to his Brother killing many natives in some assaults. He resolved with the [advice of] the Captains to attack Putalaõ pointing out to them that on the success of this enterprise depended the success of the rest.

Two days being spent in obtaining this information and taking this resolution, he arrived at that river at the dawn watch and found the Malauares well fortified. Their resistance enabled him to kill many with ease, and if more were not killed, it was because of the erring fire in the obscurity of the night: and as they were only 2000, the greater part of them paid for the damage which the others were causing in that Kingdom. Those who escaped went to give Pachí Marcâ the news of the death of their companions and that all the ships with arms and baggage had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese. One can scarcely exaggerate the grief of Madúne on seeing the failure of his hopes on the eve of their realization, for he of Cota was in such straits, that abandoning all hope of keeping his lands he had divided them in the following manner. He gave Tribule the inland parts and reserved for himself Cota and its suburbs, and entrusted the ports and the sea coast to the few Portuguese who lived there in company with some Chingaláz. All these were plans of Itacon, his Secretary, who, without depriving the King of the revenues which he always collected, wished by this means to oblige our men the more to come to his help with greater despatch. Tribule seeing the confidence of the Father-in-law, fought with much ardour, like one who defended his own, that he repeatedly put to flight the enemy who had previously been victorious, showing well how a brave and favourite Captain can change fortune. The Portuguese on the other hand repressed the fury and ambition of the Malavares, who despaired altogether when Miguel Ferreyra arrived in Columbo, who after a good salute set fire to the captured ships after taking from them whatever was useful; from which the Malauares inferred what would be the inevitable result of his determination, as Fabius Maximus | once did <sup>P 100</sup> when he saw that Hannibal burnt the stockade of Marcus Minucius. At the sight of this fire, fear was set ablaze and Madúne raised camp and desisted from the siege.



## CHAPTER 9.

FERREYRA MARCHES TO SEYTAVÁCA, AND THE OTHER  
THINGS WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE

On the plain outside the City, the King and Nuno Freyre received the Portuguese with Military salutes and demonstrations of great satisfaction. Almost all the men were well armed, with leather jerkin, breastplate and helmet, a thing which was omitted in aftertimes, to our great detriment, even in the field warfare with Europeans, who on that account used to call it the war of the poor; quite a contrast with the opinion of Augustus, who, seeing a soldier unarmed, thought he would lose the victory if the man were not turned out of the camp, and Nadabacarnes, Captain of Darius, said in a like circumstance that [the soldier] had stripped himself either for death or for flight.

On the following day, Ferreyra at once went to see Boneca-Bau and told him: 'that he had come three times with reinforcements to the Island, and that, judging from the experience and knowledge of the past, unless this foe were destroyed, once for all he would be the perpetual scourge of his Realm and its final destruction, on account of his persistence in war and pretence of peace; That it was time to undeceive himself, lest his leniency and affection, which were undeserved, give room to the importunity of his lieges to range round his younger and bolder Brother; That when he hastened from S. Thome and from Goa, it was with the determination to put him in possession of the whole Kingdom which belonged to him, which he thought an easy matter, once Madúne was captured'; and [asked] him to leave the latter in his hands. It has never been found out whether it was really out of affection, or from a refinement of policy, that he so often hindered so many Portuguese Captains from carrying this out as they wanted to do; and on some frivolous excuse he made this expedition serve not against Madúne but against the Malavares. Having settled this in order to save his Brother, he never desisted from accompanying Miguel Ferreyra in spite of the latter's best efforts to prevent it, for they say that he considered it a crime without pardon to give tacit consent to his death. But considering that this Prince had so often been injured [by Madúne], it can scarcely be believed that he took these precautions at the risk of his own life for anything less than the liberty of that Island, for he saw

that a few Portuguese had resolved to subdue it and that the force we had in India was not so small, that it could not be prudently feared | that after defeating the Turks, Rumes, and other powerful Kings, we intended this conquest also, for indeed neither did Ceylon cease to be an attraction to a gallant nation, nor could the zeal for its conservation so often put forward by it, when the King was a pagan towards whom we had no other duties save those of self-interest, be so sincere as to prevent some bastardy from resulting from the mixture. | Miguel Ferreyra set out with 300 Portuguese in the vanguard (how subtle are the names 'line of battle', which are less in keeping with the actual numbers than with the time honoured terms inherited from our forefathers!) divided into five standards of which D. Jorge de Castro, Miguel de Laçerda, Ruy Peyxoto, and Estavaõ da Gama were the other Captains. In the main body (*batalha*) was Boneca-Bau with 7000 of the most reputed Lascarins of his Realm. Tribule in the rear-guard with his army of 11000 Chingaláz. In this order they marched for two days committing injuries and cruelties, which Miguel Ferreyra did not approve. And not to interpose any delay, [Ferreyra] sent a Modeliar to give Madúne, who had fortified himself in Seytaváca either intending to have recourse to force of arms or to false submissions whereby he so often succeeded, the following message: 'That under his protection were Pachí Marcá and the other Malavares, the worst enemies of the Portuguese: That unless he wished altogether to be considered such also, he should order them to be given up at once, and unless it were done with the utmost promptitude, the least would be that Seytaváca would be burnt down and he would be placed at the rowing bench of his ship and taken to the Viceroy of India to be dealt with as he chose.' At the end of these words, to show that he had the power to carry out his threat, the good old man swore by Nazareth, an oath which he never used except in most weighty matters, as he was very devout to Our Lady of Nazareth being a native of Alcobaça.

The Modeliar delivered the message so effectively, that Madúne was forced to give him good hopes of compliance, asking him to tell the Captain-Major: 'that, as he knew very well, it was not right for him to deliver those who had trusted themselves to him; that such a treachery was a great infamy; but let him wait two days during which he would seek for a means [of doing so] in keeping with his honour.' With this envoy he sent another to Boneca-Bau reminding him that he was his Brother, and that though his deeds belied this obligation, by placing himself at his mercy he made himself



worthy of pardon ; protesting that he would make good the word he had broken by paying the tribute he had promised. They arrived at the time when the army was already menacing the City with musketry and arrows, not so much to attack it as to make them understand what was the force drawn up against it. That day and the following were passed without coming to any [definite] conclusion, for Miguel Ferreyra wanted to settle with Madûne, to which Boneca-Bau would not agree ; but Pachî Marcâ advised Madûne neither to lose confidence in the good nature of the Brother | nor to give up <sup>F 101</sup> hope of victory at the sight of the Portuguese. Meanwhile they fortified themselves, and at the drowsy watch with a goodly force they attacked the rearguard, where Tribule acted with valour and skill, for though many of the best men he had were badly wounded, they put the foe to flight and retired. Pachî Marcâ at the same time with a larger force beat up the King and tried to engage the Portuguese, but being detected by the sentinels he was able to do little.

<sup>P 180</sup> | At daybreak the King summoned to a council his Modeliares, and Araches, Miguel Ferreyra and the Portuguese Captains, to whom he said : ' That if he knew the mind of Madûne aright, he did not think that the hostilities were planned by him : That it was doubtless Pachî Marcâ who in despair tried to see whether by that means he could save his life : That he was confirmed in this belief by an *ola* which Madûne had sent him, in which he swore by the head of his Father, that he neither knew nor consented to this attack ; that he had reprimanded his men who accompanied the Malavares, impaling forthwith those who were most guilty.' Miguel Ferreyra, more choleric than polite, interrupted his discourse with these words : ' There is no doubt, Sire, that brotherly love lays a great obligation ; but not when it prejudices one's reputation and Crown. When I saw you call a council, I thought it was to raze Seytavâca to the ground and join that dismembered state to your own, but not to excuse Madûne, the greatest enemy that Your Highness ever had, and who has persecuted you for so many years. But now that you are doing so, give me leave, Sire, to speak with the frankness which my age and the zeal wherewith I serve you may claim, showing you the conclusions that will follow from your maxims. The Portuguese forces are very much diverted by other affairs, and if, in spite of them, the Viceroy came to your assistance so promptly, and others had done so often before, it was not in order to lose the other undertakings of greater importance by satisfying a caprice. Before this also, at your request, other Portuguese Captains

abstained from destroying Madûne. Today, when the enemy is hemmed in, and in spite of so many affronts made to you and to us, you wish to drop the weapon from your hand. These are so many reasons to show that you seek to excuse him. I am resolved, much against my will, to obey you, as my Viceroy has directed me to do ; but were I to follow my own judgment, I should break through all difficulties to avenge insults so manifest. But as you, Sire, and Madûne seek to attribute to the Malavares this recent audacity, order him under pain of death to deliver up the Moors ; otherwise he who made them flee to his City can likewise enter it to punish them.'

Boneca-Bau listened to it all with a show of good humour, | <sup>F 101c</sup> but seeing Ferreyra angry and thoughtful, with profound art he tried to amuse him, and even to regale him with many stories which he narrated. He informed the Brother of the proposal, which Madûne dreaded above all, like one who understood the deeds of a resolute spirit ; and he replied that on the following day he would act in such a way as not to incur infamy. Fearing, however, that the intercession of the Brother might not be enough, he called Pachî Marcâ and Cunhale, and represented to them the peril in which he was ; ' That he was unable to find any other means with such a great adversary as the Portuguese in sight ; that in order <sup>F 181</sup> to escape | their ire, they should repair to the neighbouring hills where he would secretly provide them with all necessaries till they returned to their country : That he would thus excuse himself before the Portuguese Captain whose resolution could not be overcome by any other means.' And he followed this up with other words, all based on his intention to serve them.

The fear which the Moors had conceived made them think this a good plan and thank Madûne for it, though with uneasiness about the future. Miguel Ferreyra hearing of what was taking place, again complained to Boneca-Bau pointing out the evil choice he had made in pardoning one who took up arms against him : ' That if [Madûne] sent the Malavares away, it was because he thought that it would not offend him, that he was keeping them to renew the war, when he himself should be away, which could easily be seen from the fact that he ordered them to lodge in his territory, though he was able to give them a vessel to return to their country.' He pressed so much and represented the matters with such ardour, that Boneca-Bau changing his mind ordered his Captains to break into the City and not leave a single person alive. Tidings of this resolution did not long delay in reaching

Madúne, who meditating on some remedy for this evil found none more efficacious than to send rich presents to his Brother with many apologies. But as his anger, or the pretence of it, did not give promise of abating so soon, the determination was frustrated by the arrival, before the end of the dawn watch, of more than 200 Pachas with the heads of all the Malavares, and among them those of the Captains Pachí Marcô and Cunhale. And the Portuguese challenging them, thinking it was an attack, seven others were killed before it was found out that they were friends. Some say it was all done on the orders of Madúne, and this was always considered more likely; others say that they were killed by the natives on account of certain insults. However that may be, the Captain-Major, to whom they were offered, was not content even with this success. Thus ended the proud spirits of the most valient Moors of Malavar, who at last received their due. The Pachas were the worst enemies of the Portuguese, but self-interest made them friends. This result was of so great use, that the mere taste of it gave new spirit to Boneca-Bau to appease the ire of the Portuguese, and Miguel Ferreyra seeing the King's mind entirely declared in favour of his Brother, and that he had laboured in vain, thereupon raised the siege, as sorry not to have settled with him for good as the King was glad to have saved him.

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CHAPTER 10.

P 182 THE REST WHICH TOOK PLACE TILL MIGUEL FERREYRA RETURNED TO S. THOME

Madúne being released from this danger, the peace or the pretended friendship lasted up to the year [15]47. In Cota the King gave pay to all the soldiers of the fleet, who by their valour and by that of their Captain inspired the Samorí with such despair, that he never again helped Madúne. And so great was the fear, that it was the principal reason why he begged peace from the Yiceroy in September [1]549 using as intermediary for the purpose the Captain of Châle, Manoel de Brito, who took with him to Goa, China Cutiale, his chief Regedor. And peace being settled, D. Alvaro de Noronha, son of the Yiceroy, went to Calecut to swear to it, but because of his punctiliousness for pre-eminence he did not meet

the Samorí, a Prince not a little powerful in Malavar and styled Emperor over several minor Kings and other independent Lords, though many of limited power, for even in those days a mere fidalgo claimed equality [with a king] in ceremony. And though these nations neither know the name of humility nor understand its conditions, they know well the marks of respect; and they cannot help thinking that it is a sign of insolence for a vassal to contend with a King: and I do not know of any other matter which makes us more hated in these regions by nations as proud as they are ignorant of the customs of other parts of the world. And no one could have failed to realize that one marvellous effect of this victory, and of the other losses which we inflicted on them at sea, was the subjection of a Prince, the most powerful in these seas, and the most respected in Malavar, who along with his Crown inherited the hatred which his predecessor always entertained towards us, and which his grandsons always kept up more or less, not so much because of the men they had lost as for the loss of the two Brothers Pachí Marcâ and Cunhale Marcâ, by whose death he considered himself deprived of his two hands. Such was the renown these pirates had acquired!

Miguel Ferreyra despatched the fleet to Goa, and being well rewarded by King Boneca-Bau, he distributed to his soldiers what he received from the King. Before returning P 102. to S. Thome he wrote to the Viceroy the following letter which, as it has been preserved in the hands of many and because it shows how even zeal and good sense can prophecy, I quote here. 'I did what I could, and since I could not do what I desired, that same desire remains to me as a punishment and a reward, for God is witness to the sorrow with which I go without leaving Ceylon subject to the crown of Cota. But though the will of the Chingaláz is my excuse in this matter, I seek none for the mistakes, except that they be recognized if I have made any. Your Lordship recommended the capture of Madúne and the protection of P 183 Boneca-Bau, and according to the dispositions I found in the latter, I was obliged to disobey one of the two commands. I shall not take the trouble to describe what will be evident, for if it be not evident, it is because truths that are not investigated often become obscure. I rely little on my own [wisdom] though I value highly the place I hold.<sup>1</sup> Your Lordship asks me to inform you of the affairs of this Island. In it I served for some years, and I dwelt there

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<sup>1</sup> The sense of these cryptic sentences is very obscure.

awhile. I know more of it than the Portuguese of these days. In spite of it I understand nothing because of the inconstancy of the natives. Today they affirm and tomorrow they deny, not to say unsay. They want to preserve themselves in order not to be lost, and that we should ruin ourselves, so that they might be the gainers. The Emperor is an old man; and though up to a certain age they are good councillors, he is past his time. His hands tremble, he lacks judgment, and talks idly like a boy. Methinks I say what I understand, and Your Lordship understands what I say. The island is delightful, and he alone is sad who has little in it. I should be happy, if the King my Lord had it, instead of so many dove-cots without doves along the coast, which, however much they are multiplied, have to be given up sooner or later. I do not rely on the good fortune which has hitherto attended our doings, for fear lest the end be not in keeping with the beginnings. I wish to God I were mistaken, for it matters little if my credit is lost, provided that others gain. But I see so little heed paid to this matter, that I have reason to complain considering that it is today thirty five years since D. Lourenço de Almeyda came to Ceylon and that Viceroy and Governors turned away from the cares of this Island and occupied themselves with matters of lesser moment. D. Francisco de Almeyda came to India, and put all his heart against the Rumes, when he could have chastised them and conquered this. Afonço de Albuquerque succeeded him; he spent all his time in the Red sea. Lopo Soares de Albergaria erected some mud walls [taypas], Diogo Lopes de Sequeira improved them, D. Duarte de Menezes dismantled them, and D. Vasco de Gama razed them. Everything went from bad to worse. How much better if the Portuguese had this place for themselves, now that they make so much capital of it. On account of the cinnamon came the Romans and other nations to Ceylon. I fear, Sir, that its scent will bring after us those who will | enjoy the taste; <sup>F 103</sup> and it will serve us right for our neglect. I hope Your Lordship will see what is best to be done, remembering that the only thing which moves me to complain of these things is the experience which I gained in the years I have served; during which I have seen all that took place in India, being one of the first Portuguese to come over. And if these hairs, grown gray in the service of the King, give me any consideration, let your Lordship take these things as coming from one old man to another. Those who bring the state to ruin and destruction, Sir, are the Viceroy and Governors; and this not so much because of what they rob, but because of what

they mismanage; for as they presume that war is a Court, they do not seek for it experienced persons but courtiers, whereby | enemies surrender by words, while bullets alone can subdue them. How many things can I not say on this point without fear of punishment, for by the goodness of God, my sword was never covered with rust, nor did I ever retire from a battle which did not carry everything before it. These are the grievances of an old man, and of one who knows 'the tongues of India, who being good for nothing is an obstacle to everything'.

Here ended the letter, which, because of the esteem in which it was held by all, deserved a place here, and the sincerity with which he speaks ever deserves praise, all the more after the fulfilment of what his good sense foretold; and if the sense of a letter is indicative of good judgment, this one clearly shows how necessary it always has been to good captains, and that there never were great Captains without great intelligence equally able to foresee and to obviate difficulties and misfortunes. Miguel Ferreyra served in India and in honourable posts, which on account of his honesty he never utilized to improve his own fortune, and what he lived on was a modest one. They say that he never rose because he did not flatter, thus losing by his independence what others gained by adulation. He set out from Columbo with some vessels, and as it was the eve of winter, in a short time the first outburst of the South-west [Monsoon] set in with such force, that they were all lost, some driven out of their course to Pegú, others to Tenassary, Miguel Ferreyra alone getting to port at S. Thome after enduring great hardships. There he lived up to the year [1]548 when he died unmarried at the age of 82. He was tall of stature, lean of face, with large eyes, a short beard, a pointed nose, a large head, thin limbs and withal hardy and well proportioned.

The last reinforcement which D. Garcia de Noronha sent to Boneca-Bau during his administration (which lasted only one year and seven months as he died, like so many others, in Goa) consisted of a galleon of munitions and materials of war which Nuno Freyre de Andrade had earnestly requested. Its Captain was Inofre de Abreu who afterwards fell gloriously with D. Christovão da Gama in Ethiopia.

| Already in the year [15]40 that King resolved to send <sup>F 103</sup> Ambassadors to King Joaõ III. to confirm the crown to his grandson, Darna Pala Astana, who was a little child when

Bandûge died, and had been entrusted to Tamita Ramale<sup>1</sup> a prudent Chingalâ not less affected to the Portuguese than to our Holy Faith, who brought him up with solicitous care, and it is said, also instructed him in the principles of the Holy Catholic Faith. At that time the State of India was governed by D. Estavaõ da Gama<sup>2</sup>; and in his time there set out from Goa, Brachamene and Proytila Rala, lieges of that King, on board the vessel of Francisco de Souza Tavares.<sup>3</sup> They carried goodly presents, and in a rich coffer an image of that Prince in solid gold, with the crown studded with costly gems in his hand wherewith to be crowned | in effigy. They arrived safely in the Kingdom, and King D. Joaõ being informed of it and desiring that they should have not a little to relate in their country, though the grandeur of what they saw in that populous city was enough [for the purpose], ordered all the gentlemen who were in the Court to go to meet them in the Quay of Ferreyra do Paço, where they disembarked in the midst of the Condes de Vimiozo and Castanheyra. They stepped into a lordly coach, and with them the Marquis de Vila Real and the Marquis de Ferreyra. They came to the Palace dressed, not in their fashion, but in crimson *Cabayas* and white turbans. The King received them under a canopy with great pomp and majesty. And though everything was a matter of marvel to them, the greatest they had there was to see and to know Antonio da Silveyra face to face, who, in their opinion and in that of the East, was most highly venerated for the siege of Dio, which he defended, and for the prowess he had wrought in those seas. They thought that all were Princes. After they had had speech with the King and had delivered the presents, they handed him an *ola*, which was translated and read in the ceremony of the swearing of the Prince, in the presence of all the Lords of the Kingdom, and it could not have been without a smile, even on so solemn an occasion, that they listened to the elegance of Asiatic rhetoric. Thus saith the *ola*.

'Luminary of the World, planet without eclipse, whale of the sea, Lion of the earth, thunderbolt of war, King of Kings, the compassionate, wise, righteous, holy, admirable and victorious Boneca-Bau, your vassal, Emperor of Taprobana, an ant before your feet for greater loyalty, acknowledging

<sup>1</sup> Tammita Rala *alias* Tammita Suriya Bandara, *alias* Sembahap Perumal (Taomatay Samparapimal, according to a Royal letter of 13 March 1543. *O Tesou.*, 66.)

<sup>2</sup> Second son of Don Vasco da Gama. Eighth Governor, 1640-1542.

<sup>3</sup> Francisco de Souza Tavares was Captain-Major of the fleet of 1540. His ship S. Phelippe returned to Lisbon 18 August 1541. *Fal.* 159.

your honours founded in the purity of your heart, unmindful of his scanty deserts, begs you to confirm Darma Pala Astâna in his Empire, so that when he himself is no more, his spirit may survive in him, and with your support, triumph over those who seek | his overthrow. In return for this favour <sup>P 104</sup> which you accord to his merits, he promises you the same tribute with all punctuality, and the same Places, which he has given you, on the special condition that you defend them in all chances of fortune, of which You are Lord, as You are to him'.

King D. Joaõ was greatly delighted with this embassy, and that it might not lack due pomp, he crowned the Prince in the manner of the Kingdom in the *Sala publica* with great solemnity, ordering this coronation to be feasted throughout the Realm and summoning to Lisbon for the purpose the greater Lords and gentlemen who were in different parts of the Kingdom, a matter for fresh admiration to the Chingalâz and not a little even to the natives themselves, who gave thanks to God by these grandiose demonstrations, seeing that a King of so remote a region submitted himself to the Crown of Portugal. This embassy was no less a good fortune to the Religious of St. Francis to whom Boneca-Bau wrote, on the advice of Friar Henrique of the same Order, asking them to be pleased to cultivate that land hitherto <sup>P 166</sup> untillèd for lack of Ministers | of the Gospel; [and] he ordered his Ambassadors to ask King Joaõ for them, besides some other matters to the credit of the Portuguese. And either because it was understood that these were devices for his preservation, because he saw in the Portuguese a general desire to see them converted, or because the pagan King was really of that desire, the King granted everything he asked for, the Ambassadors negotiating with great facility on account of the good dispositions of the King. At last when the monsoon arrived in the year [15]41, they embarked in the ship Sant-Iago in which came the Governor Martim Afonço de Souza<sup>1</sup>; and with him<sup>2</sup> six Religious of St. Francis,

<sup>1</sup> Ninth Governor, 1542-1545.

<sup>2</sup> This is a mistake. Martin Afonso de Souza set sail on 7 April 1541, four months before the arrival of the Sinhalese Ambassadors. With Souza in the Santiago came St. Francis Xavier and his two companions Francois Mansilhas and Paul de Camerino. They wintered in Mozambique (Sept. 1541 to February 1542) and arrived in Goa on 6 May 1542. According to Correa, the Sinhalese Ambassadors returned in the fleet which set sail on 25 March and arrived on 3 September 1543. The documents relating to the Embassy bear date March 1543. *O Tesou.* 66-67. According to Couto (VI. IV. 7), the Franciscans came with the Sinhalese Ambassadors.

whose Superior was Friar Joaõ de Vila Conde, an Apostolic man about whom we shall give the little that has come to our knowledge. In this ship there crossed to India the glorious Apostle of India and Japan, St. Francis Xavier. After wintering in Mozambique, they put into the port of Goa on the sixth of the following May.

As the time before the winter was very short, the Governor with all speed made two galliots ready wherein the Ambassadors might return to Ceylon. Through them he informed his good friend Boneca-Bau of his arrival, narrating at length the great satisfaction they had given in the Court of Portugal; 'that he did not fail in his duty in gratitude for the good will with which he was received by him when he was Captain-Major of the sea of India; and that in return for past services, he who had grasped his spear on his behalf had it still whetted to come to his assistance, if any occasion should arise.' With such compliments, of which he was a past master, he despatched D. Duarte Menezes, son of the Conde de Feyra, and Francisco Carneyra, who conducted | the ambassadors; F 104 and in a few days when they reached Columbo after so long a voyage, they were looked upon in the Court as if they had returned from the grave. There also passed over to Ceylon at that time the Religious of St. Francis above named; and Boneca-Bau was so pleased with their proceedings, that he forthwith entrusted the education of his grandson to the Father Friar Joaõ de Vila Conde, like another Antoninus Pius who invited the Philosopher Apollonius from Chalcis, a City of Greece, and recommended to him the upbringing of his grandson Marcus Antonius; and we shall see later on the results obtained by so good an instruction.

At this time St. Francis Xavier was going about the Coast of the Fishery, and as the Father Friar Vila de Conde came to know his spirit during the voyage, they say, he wrote to him from Ceylon about the condition of that heathendom, of which the Saint could not but have learnt from the Ambassadors with whom he came, and from the many things that were known in India and Europe about this nation. And because the Pagode of Triquilimale was at this time the Rome of the gentiles of the Orient, and more frequented by pilgrims than that of Ramanacoir near the shoals of Chilaõ, and that of Xilavaraõ, eight leagues from Nagapataõ, and that of Canjavarãõ, two days journey from S. Thome, and Tripiti and Tremel in Bisnagã and Jagarnati in Orixã, and Vixante P 187 in Bengal, which are the most frequented in these | days by the Gentiles; and there were there many Ganezes of the

Sect of Buddm, which is the one most followed in Ceylon, who as Administrators of the Maturanse of Arracaõ, to whom those of Ceylon were subordinate, received the produce of some fields, in which, as we have already said, they sowed 3000 amunams of *nele*, in two crops, each of which made 4000 moyos of rice, besides other vegetable crops; into this pagan Rome came St. Xavier, and immediately managed to approach the Turunanse, and though the devil interposed some obstacles, he soon had an interview with this Minister, a man of 40 years of age, a penitent of good parts and capable of good doctrine. And out of regard for the reputation which accompanied the Saint and for his natural good grace enhanced by the supernatural, he inquired from him, after the first greetings, the cause which brought him to that country. The Saint having informed him of the motives which brought him to the East and led him to Ceylon, at once began to preach the Gospel illuminating with its light the darkness of paganism. He won the mind of the Turunanse to such an extent to the truths which he propounded with the redoubled ardour that accompanied him, that this man, half won over, called him aside and begged and declared to him that he wished to hear him more particularly and to discuss some doubts with him, but as it was late, he would speak more at ease on the morrow. The Saint spent the night in prayer recommending to our Lord the conversion of these unbelievers. F 105 In the morning they both assembled in a retired spot, and the gentile declared to him the principles and means of his religion; but as he was uncertain of the end, he begged him to enlighten him entirely. The Saint dispelled these mists with such brevity and clearness, that as he was predestined, he at once perceived the truth of all that was said, and the falsity of what he had hitherto professed. Having come to the knowledge of the one true God and of Jesus Christ his Son and of the other mysteries of Our Holy Faith, and that the means for obtaining salvation were good works performed for a better end than he had hitherto in view, and that the instruments for acquiring the treasures of grace were the Sacraments, of which Baptism first opened the gate of Heaven, by agreement between them the Saint administered it to him three days later. This conversion was the beginning that led many other Ganezes to receive the Faith secretly because of the persecutions they feared. The Saint dispelled these fears, and supplied them with Divine arms which God had reserved for such circumstances, and leaving them well instructed, and recommending to them the conversion of the others, he returned to the Fishery.

## CHAPTER 11.

## P 188 OTHER SUCCESSES IN THE CONVERSION OF THE CHINGALAZ

Father Friar Joaõ de Vila Conde was likewise labouring to convert King Boneca-Bau to the faith of Christ by removing the political difficulties which are wont to retard Princes from such changes, and which were the stronger in his case, because he was naturally pusillanimous and foresaw the opposition which he might meet with from his lieges. He showed him how easily Ceylon could be converted, if its King became a convert, and that so long as he was under the protection of the Portuguese, who so often defended him from his foes, he had no reason to fear his lieges, and that with so many advantages in his favour, he had not only a greater obligation to become a Christian himself, but even to procure the conversion of his lieges, for what Herodians said of Marcus Aurelius may well be said of him with greater truth, [namely] that he had to remain good in order that his people might not be bad; and that above all, the interests of one's salvation were far more important than all human considerations.

These and similar exhortations he kept on making on various occasions, till one day an influential Ganez | publicly F 105 withstood the Apostolic Preacher saying in the very presence of the King: 'With much reason did many nations like the Spartans, Athenians, Egyptians, Abyssinians and the Chinese forbid foreigners to enter their country, even abstaining for that reason from founding cities on the sea coast, because as they only try to violate native rites by foreign customs, good sense prompted them to oppose dangerous novelties; and there can be no greater [novelty] than those which cause the diversity of sects, because of the great popular uproars which result therefrom, and because of the great dangers which ensue from the disunion of minds in a Realm, which must acknowledge the same head and be governed on the same principles and by the same laws. And it may perhaps be that the variety of the nations that have come to Ceylon has partially perverted the renowned sect of Buddum, for at its commencement it was, according to our documents, greatly different. And though all here present know this truth, it will be necessary to make it known to this Portuguese Padre, so that he may realize that the Chingalaz also are men of reason and culture.

Our Books show that there is a Cause, Superior, ruler of the rest. On him depend the Angels and souls, and he is the mover of the others, a spirit incorporate, infinite and omnipotent; and for this reason he is generally called *Xarves Zibarã*. His attendants, though Holy, are neither eternal nor equal to him in power, the first being most pure, the second less so, and the last the jailors of hell. There is none to equal the first; | with the others live men; and with the perverse the fallen. As this misery is not the greatest, there are other [miseries] for rebellious sinners, such as the bodies of impure animals. So that we know that there is glory for the good and suffering for the wicked; and that therefore we are born with a destiny either for Heaven, which we call *Xervago*,<sup>1</sup> or for Hell, called by us *Naranca*,<sup>2</sup> in the company of Diagal and Saytã, the principal Demons. Nor are we unaware that there is another place where light faults are expiated during a limited time. We acknowledge that man proceeds either from Divine elements or from that same matter of which the world is composed. We have moreover ten precepts, of which we observe four with great rigor, namely not to kill, steal, drink wine, or take another's wife; and if owing to our human frailty we violate them, we make satisfaction to God by pilgrimages, alms, fastings and sacrifices, whereby we placate the wrath of the Supreme Regents, who, including the Superior before whom others bow down, | F 106 are five, and though in our Book *Tivarum* they are given various names, I will give the usual ones, so that this statement may not be confusing. The first called *Xadaxivao* dwells in the first Heaven; the second *Ludra* (*sic*) by name, in the region of fire: the third known as *Maessurã* in the air: the fourth called *Bisnu* in water: the fifth and last on earth under the name of *Brahemã*: with this distinction that *Bisnu* and *Rudra* are the chief ones by whom the world is preserved, the first creating and the second augmenting what *Brahema* consummates. And their effects, though in appearance different one from the other, we hold to be uniform, and therefore we give them one single name, viz.: *Maha Murte*, which means the Supreme Three, born of the first cause, to whom are subordinated the seven Heavens, each distant from the other by 600 leagues. In the first are the fixed stars and the planets; in the second the gods; in the third the penitents; in the fourth the Angels; in the fifth the Chaste; in the sixth the Regents; in the seventh the Virgins.

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *swarga*, paradise of Indra on the top of Mount Meru and the residence of deified mortals.—Clough.

<sup>2</sup> Sin. *naraka*, hell and other states of suffering.

From this gradation, fixed by wise men, you can judge, (if you understand our science) whether there can be any mistakes, where matters are so well arranged. It is true, that when things were in this state, there came to Ceylon the Buddum, a man so just, that being received as a pledge from Heaven, he removed difficulties by declaring that the salvation of man consisted in chastity and fasting, the essential points of our religion, which are observed with great strictness, as also the transmigration of souls.'

Friar Joaõ did not wish to interrupt the discourse of this Ganez till he reached the end. Then beginning his Reply, he put to silence the foolish applause of his followers, saying: 'I was very glad to hear you, both because of the human learning which you seem to have, and because of the faint lights which you shed amidst darkness on divine things, of which your ancestors obtained some knowledge either from the Hebrews | who formerly lived here, or from those who followed them. This opinion is confirmed by what St. Paul said: 'that the gentiles knowing God did not give him thanks, but fell into abominations and sins.' There is sufficient proof that throughout the Orient there was some knowledge of the Most Holy Trinity, as may be seen from the Symbols and figures of various pagodes, though disguised under strange names and expounded with many errors in the *vedos* of this heathendom. A memorial of it is likewise preserved in that thread which the different castes wear like a bandoleer-belt, consisting of three threads in one loop. | The example of the Egyptians, who worshipped the elements on account of their grandeur, is not against this, because in the beginning they had knowledge of the truth, which they maliciously perverted, honouring also the Sun under the name of Osiris, and the Moon under that of Isis; an error which Roman polity preserved, giving to the Air the name of Jupiter, to the fire Vulcan, to water Neptune, and to the earth Ceres. Hence it was that Lactantius said that it was forbidden to read the Old Testament, both because of the punishment inflicted on those who abused its figures as well as for fear lest so holy a reading be profaned by lascivious writers. So it happened to the Pagans, who corrupted the principles of reason and the revelation of the Holy Scriptures to such an extent, that the original truth can scarcely be discovered in their Books. St. Jerome writing to Magnus took it upon himself to prove this point saying that the wisdom of the ancient Philosophers was prefigured in the Slave woman of whom it is said in Deuteronomy, that she could be married to her Lord after being washed and dressed. Thus it can happen to you also, for

If the indecencies and superfluities which the Devil introduced into your Books, inserting more falsehood than truth, be removed, it will be easy to discover Faith in the true God. For this reason our Doctors permit the reading of Pagan books in order to expurgate them from error, and because from the incoherence between falsehood and truth it will be easy to confirm the latter, as I undertake to do with your Books, pointing out to you the conflicts which there are in them against the evidence of truth, as St. Paul did in Athens quoting the poet Aratus and Meander to the Corinthians, and Epimenides to his disciple Titus, and so did Tertullian and some of our grave writers; not in order to make a show of words, but to do honour to your principles [which are] misunderstood and vitiated by the foul inclinations of nature and by the wiles of ambitious men who tried to gain glory by extremes of ignorance and foisted great indecencies as mysteries, and of such a kind, that you yourselves are ashamed to repeat them, and you will consider it a great insult to say of you or of your wives or sons and daughters the infamies and obscenities which are taught about your gods and goddesses, when there is nothing so contrary to the infinite Holiness of God | than guilt and sin. And to deny this is to deny all intelligence and to make brutes of men in order to excuse the brutalities which they worship. Read one of the books you have, which you have maliciously hidden, composed by Valver, a native of Melipûr and a contemporary of St. Thomas. There you will find the union of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son, the Redemption of man, the cause of his fall, the remedy for his faults and miseries, and finally the preservation of his state. You are not ignorant of what I say, for I have often declared it to you, and you are quite aware of the truth. But since you obstinately persist in believing error, | and refuse to embrace the Faith of Christ, because you do not want to give up the idolatries of your sires, and even mislead your King not to give ear to my words, that you may know with what confidence in the truth of my Faith I proclaim its truths to you, since my words do not seem to be enough, I undertake to prove it by deeds. Order a great fire to be made, and if you are certain of what you say, let us both step into the fire. If the fire respects you, you will have the victory, and I shall be vanquished if it consumes me at all; for as the diversity of your doctrine and mine is so great, that which God approves by this means must be held to be the true one.'

Thus spoke this valiant soul by special inspiration of Heaven: but he did not meet with equal courage in the Ganez,



who rather scoffed at his words. Though some people desired to receive Baptism, as the King remained unmoved, they continued in their obstinacy; and only some of the common people who were less influenced by political considerations became converted; and many even of the principal persons, who were illumined by God when they were unprejudiced, afterwards closed their eyes through wordly considerations.

The Holy Xavier had by this time already baptised seven other villages on the Coast of the Fishery from Brigaõ to Permanel, besides confirming in the Faith some whom he found baptised, but either ill-instructed or negligent. And though there were some Clerics, he had others ordained who showed some capacity, and among others one to whom he gave his own name, thinking that thus he placed him under greater obligation, as in the case of Alexander Severus, who, when promoted to the Empire, gave up the name Antonius for fear lest he should not be able to accomplish what the Emperors of that name had achieved. The name of Francis Xavier, however, sat well on this disciple on account of his virtues and the fervour with which he preached and converted his countrymen. Meanwhile rumour brought tidings to Manâr of the Law which the Saint was preaching, and of the prodigies he wrought all along that Coast. The chief men of Manâr, moved by the Divine Spirit, determined to send [messengers] to signify to him the dispositions that were therein and the importance of his visiting it, and the account which he would have to give to God, if he failed to visit it. In a short time [the messengers] met the Saint and offered him the fruit of the echo of his preaching | and miracles. <sup>P 192</sup> Fain would he have been present at two places simultaneously, as happened to him on another occasion, but as God disposed otherwise, he sent for<sup>1</sup> the Cleric Francis Xavier and spoke thus to him: 'Well you know how willingly I would go to haul in these nets, but as these neophytes are still so tender in Faith, I do not dare to exchange an actuality for a hope. On this account I entrust to you the enterprise of Manâr, wherein I trust in the Lord you will reap such great fruits, that I shall have to be emulous of your deeds. But bear in mind that God alone is the Author of such works, and that | <sup>F 107\*</sup> it is not right to attribute the success to ourselves, for no good can come from such a limited capacity as ours. Go

<sup>1</sup> St. Francis first ordered Father Mansilhas to go to Mannar (August 1543, Col. I. 225). On 21st August Mansilhas was determined to go, but owing to an outbreak of hostilities he was unable to go. It was then that the cleric Francis Xavier was sent (circa Sep.—Oct. 1543).

my son, and may God help you.' He set out at once with the envoys, who, though they regretted not to take the Saint with them, were greatly relieved to learn from him that they would have him later on in that Island.

Francis Xavier reached Manâr, where he was well received, and after catechising the people, he baptised up to 600 persons, thoroughly well grounded in the Faith as their constancy showed. The [*Je*]<sup>1</sup>dacas or priests of that heathendom received tidings of this and tumultuously marched to Nelûr<sup>2</sup> to represent to the King in darkest colours the outrage of a minister of another Religion going about his territories, perverting the people and setting them against him. [They said] that unless he took prompt action, he would soon find himself without a Kingdom, without lieges and without pagodes, that a great many of the existing pagodes were already razed and an unknown God was worshipped in their place. And they represented these dangers and what would result therefrom with such exaggerations, that the King forthwith determined to avenge it. He mustered 5000 men-at-arms partly from the coast of the mainland and partly from Jafanapataõ, and set out for Manâr, where he met with no other resistance than that of tears which some shed out of consolation and joy at seeing the constancy with which others died,<sup>3</sup> the smallest children crying out, when their Mothers tried to hide them, for seeing their companions beheaded, they offered their throats to the executioners with the wonderful power of Faith. The tyrant King himself<sup>4</sup> was their Captain and spared neither sex nor age, whereby he earned such hatred, over and above his other tyrannies, that his own minions oftentimes tried to kill him by poison, for as these tyrannies were manifest offences against nature, they were abhorred even by those who were not affected thereby; nor are there any chains which bind lieges more firmly than those of humanity, as the Ottoman Amurates counselled his son Mahamet, for courtesy and mildness win what pride and rigor lose. The tyrant thought that he <sup>P 193</sup> could kill the Christians and the Cleric Francis Xavier | with impunity, without considering that their blood would cry out to the Portuguese for vengeance, and that sooner

<sup>1</sup> The Ms. is blank here, the omitted letters being Je. Cf. p. 67, n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Nellor.

<sup>3</sup> This massacre of the Mannar Christians is narrated by St. Francis in his letters of Jan. 1544. It took place in Dec. 1544.

<sup>4</sup> Sankily (Chekarasa Sekaran). 1519-1561. *Kings of Jaffna*—Fr. Gnana Prakasar, pp. 6-9.



or later he would have to pay for the cruelty wherewith he cut off those tender plants and hard-won fruits, and desolated the island to people Heaven to the holy envy of the Europeans and the great grief of King D. Joaõ, who, as he desired that new Christians should be treated in all matters with great love and regard, felt this tyranny as a personal affront.

While Martim Affonço de Souza delayed to demand an account from this King for so many murders, his own lieges tried to take | his life by other means, and crown instead F 108 his elder brother, Vagrû Tucury Pandarão, to whom the Realm belonged by right, though it had been tyrannically usurped from him. But the secret was not so well kept as to prevent . . . Xagâ Rayâ from receiving tidings of it. He at once seized some Christians that were there, and tried to do the same with his Brother, who thereupon, to escape his hatred and power, passed over to S. Thome with his followers,<sup>2</sup> and thence by land to Goa with great difficulty to seek the protection of the Portuguese. The Governor gave him good hospitality and gave him hopes of being placed in possession of his Throne. He withdrew to the old St. Paul's, was there instructed by our<sup>3</sup> Religious, and baptised along with his companions, and persevered in the Faith till he died.

At this same time it happened that there was trading in Ceylon a Portuguese named Luis Coelho,<sup>4</sup> and the eldest son of the King of Candea, Vidia Bandar, becoming friends with him, was instructed by him in the Faith of Christ and received it in his heart. And the Father coming to know of this, ordered him to be killed, his blood serving him for Baptism. Luis Coelho with great secrecy gave him burial, and our Lord was pleased that there should appear immediately over the grave a cross of the same size, so perfectly formed by the earth itself, as if it had been wrought by a most skilful artist. To their great wonder this was seen by the people, and it caused great grief both to the moors and to the other

<sup>1</sup> Blank in Ms.

<sup>2</sup> These refugees in Goa are referred to in the *Selectae Indicarum Epistolae*, p. 9. 13-14.—*Epistolae Mixtae*, I. 231

<sup>3</sup> Member of the Society of Jesus.

<sup>4</sup> This is a confusion. The Portuguese in question is Andre de Souza whose letters to the King of Portugal on the subject are printed in *St. Fr. Xavier* I. 284. St. Francis related the incident in his letter of 27 Jan. 1545.—(Coleridge, *Letters* 282-283) Regarding the identity of the Prince see *Ceylon Antiq.* I. 219, IV. 60-61, 115-119.

obstinate people, who in great haste covered it with earth. But God repeating the prodigy, it was again formed, and they resorted to the same expedient twice again, and it showed itself as often, and again it shone in the sky like fire.' Which being seen by some, they received Baptism, and others said publicly: 'There is no doubt that the religion in which the Prince died is the true one, and false the one we follow.' The tyrant King, boiling with rage and fury, ordered them to be put to the sword, adding these new rubies to those of the mines of Ceylon. And the power of grace, light and desire of the Faith, made such headway that one persuaded the other.

P 194 becoming preachers before they were catechumens. | The foremost in zeal was a Brother of the King of Candea, at whose persuasion his nephew, a Brother of the Martyr, and another son of a Sister, who was the principal instrument of the conversion of these princes, | became | Christians. But seeing the danger to their lives she entrusted them to Luis Coelho to be taken to Goa, where they were welcomed with great pleasure by the Governor, Martim Affonço de Souza; and retiring to the College of St. Paul with other noblemen of the same kingdom who had followed them, they were baptised after being well instructed.<sup>1</sup>

Father Negraõ tells of another similar case<sup>2</sup>; for there was converted | at this time by the same Luis Coelho the F 108v son of the Vaniã of Triquilimalê; and it coming to the knowledge of the Father, he ordered him to be killed, his blood likewise serving him for Baptism, which the Holy youth received with the same joy wherewith he yearned for that of water. The Portuguese similarly gave him burial with the same secrecy, and God who wished to glorify his name among those unbelievers and to take these first-fruits of that heathendom, likewise disposed that another like cross should appear in relief over the grave. They covered it with earth, but God transferred it to the sky where it appeared dazzling with so many rays, that the blind who opposed it being illumined thereby worshipped it, the Vaniã being the first to confess on his knees that it was the sign of Redemption, expatiating in its praises and in the confession of the name of Christ, whereupon the pagans rebelled, and he was there killed along with other Christians by the followers and ministers of the pagodes. This Vaniã was the Lord of the lands in the interior of the Country, for, as we said, the Maritime

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ceylon Antiq.* I. 222.

<sup>2</sup> This is another version of the same story. The Vanniah referred to is Don Alphonso who was a refugee in Goa.—*Ib.*

lands were subject to the Turunanse. Xagâ Rayâ rejoiced at these deaths, for he greatly resented that not a few of his Kingdom, abandoning pagan rites, embraced the Evangelical Law; and determining to extirpate the Christians in his territory, he again ordered a great number to be put to death, but this severity only served to root it deeper in the hearts of those who had received it. All these martyrdoms and other conversions, of which we have no record, had their beginning in the fame which published the miracles of St. Francis Xavier on the Coast of the Fishery; and he seeing the risk which the Neophytes ran, and the hindrance which fear put in the way of those pagans receiving the Faith, resolved to go to Goa to solicit from the Governor the due satisfaction for these tyrannies and to remove the obstacle caused by so many persecutions.

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## CHAPTER 12.

### P 196 WHAT SAINT XAVIER DID IN GOA, AND THE GOVERNOR IN JAFANAPATAO

The Saint made his way by land barefooted, as was his wont, and arriving in Cochin on 19. of September [15]42,<sup>1</sup> he went to meet his great friend the Vicar General, Miguel Vâz, and telling him the purpose of his journey, he related with great joy how well disposed the people of the fishery were to fall into the nets of the Gospel and what he had done and how sorry he was not to have with him the subjects of the University of Paris where he had studied. The Vicar General, having fully realized the importance of this matter, P 108 replied after a long conference: 'That the State of India was distracted with other enterprises, especially with the war waged by Idalâ<sup>2</sup> against the Brother favoured by the Portuguese, and that meanwhile the punishment could only take the form of threats; That they should inform the King, D. Joaô, and when he replied, the insolence could be punished; In the meantime he should visit the Governor,

<sup>1</sup> This date is wrong. This visit to Cochin took place in December 1544.

<sup>2</sup> 'Adil Shah,' the title by which the Portuguese distinguished the Kings of the Mohammedan dynasty of Bijapur. The occupant of the throne at this time was Acele Khan, and 'the brother favoured by the Portuguese,' Meale Khan.

and should he be found ready, for he doubted not about his willingness, he should ask him for succour and persuade him to be himself the Captain of so just a war.' The Saint approved the rest, but added that a matter of so great importance should be entrusted only to one who thoroughly realized its importance, and that therefore it behoved him to go to Portugal to acquaint the King fully of everything, also [to persuade] the Superiors of the Society [of Jesus] to come to their assistance by sending Missionaries to dispossess the Devil of the sovereignty he claimed over this heathendom. The zealous Vicar General determined to undertake this voyage, and the two drawing up a memorial together on the points of greater importance, Father Miguel Vâz on the first opportunity set sail for the Kingdom, and the Saint set out for Goa and thence to Cambaya, where the Governor was. But as he found that he was very much occupied and would not be able to settle this matter without introducing other considerations, he took frequent counsel with God on the matter before communicating it to men, and having made up his mind spoke thus to the Governor:

'What is our duty in India, Sir, but to preach the Faith? And wherefore did we seek it save for that? Where, or for what better purpose, can a fleet venture than for the defence of Christianity, for the spread of which are got up all the fleets of His Highness? The more so that in the present case the risk does not consist in breaking with the tyrant of Jafanapatao, because his force is very poor and he is already a declared enemy; and an open enemy is ever a lesser danger. A greater danger it is that others will take occasion by our forbearance to go to excesses in a matter which has in its favour the zeal for the Faith, the service of the King, the obligation of honour and the reputation of the State. What can we expect from God | in other enterprises if we abandon Him in his? No one knows better than Your Lordship what the King our Lord would do, if he had been here; and on this score also I demand it from you, for I know that you, Sir, have the Christians of Ceylon and Manâr under your protection. Who in the Orient will put his trust in the friendship and name and good faith of the Portuguese, if he sees that we fail in our duty even to those who have not only not failed us in human [faith], but have also received the Divine [faith] through our instrumentality. Henceforth it will be necessary to preach Martyrdom along with Baptism, | if we do not defend those P 109o who are baptized, and we shall have to look for those who have such courage as to offer themselves to the Sacrament as well

as to the Sacrifice. Who does not know how useful the natives of India will be to the Portuguese State in peace and war, if they contract true friendship with them ; and such will never be the case so long as the Law and Religion are not the same. We all know that one of the reasons which the tyrant of Ja'anapatao alleged for killing the Christians so cruelly was that once they became such, he did not consider them as his lieges, but [as lieges] of the King of Portugal. If they were so, the others are so also to provoke him to do the same. Is it right that they should be so and not be protected ?'

At this point tears interrupted his words, for he knew that there were not wanting those who said guided by other maxims : ' Let the Martyrs be satisfied with the glory of Martyrdom which they obtained.' And as he nevertheless yearned for this good fortune, these two considerations opened those two springs, the course of which would have moved stones, if hearts were such. Martim Affonso de Souza was a man of singular prudence who loved and respected the Saint, in whom he recognized a new Apostle. He would fain have given up everything to carry out his desires, but he feared that, if he were diverted by this enterprise, it would give an opportunity to the Moors of the neighbourhood to attempt a revolt, though they were pretending to observe the peace ; and thinking that he could settle everything without fresh expense to the State he said : ' If it had been possible for me, Father, to go as a soldier in this enterprise, it would have cost me less, for the life of a fighting man is to find a place and occasion where he may end it with honour. But the post I hold and its duties impede every free action, depriving him who holds it even of the liberty conceded to slaves. To prove this truth would be to diminish its credit and to make doubtful what is evident. However I feel it my duty to give a reason for excusing myself. You can well understand the inconstancy of these people and the dislike with which they bear the foreign yoke. On that account I had to visit Diu and the other praças of the North, so that they might neither be emboldened by our confidence nor take occasion by our neglect to fall into the dangerous suspicion that there was no one to defend them. This may well justify some delay in this expedition, but I do not wish | to interpose even such delay, for I think everything can be set aright in another way. I will write to the Captains of Negapatao and the Fishery to inflict this punishment with all the fleet they can get together, for I know they can do it | ; and if by any chance they do not succeed, I am here' P 11

At this point he was so boiling with zeal and wrath against that Tyrant, that the Saint wisely calmed him saying : ' That he preferred to baptize him rather than to destroy him.' Such is holiness when offended ! Such are its effects when vindictive !

Having settled the matter in this way, he returned to Cochim where he still found Father Miguel Vaz, and through him he informed the King of everything.<sup>1</sup> The voyage was a prosperous one,<sup>2</sup> for as at that time ships were laden less with ill-gotten goods than with fair booty, everything turned out prosperously, as was now the case with the Captain Henrique de Macedo, who took him, while on the other hand there were pitiful shipwrecks and losses of ill-fated ships either because of the people on board or because of ill-gotten riches. From thence [the Saint] passed to Columbo,<sup>3</sup> bound for Negapatao with the intention of getting the fleet together. There he halted a few days and thinking over the vacillation in erecting and demolishing that praça, he said to those who were present : ' You see, Sirs, this ruin : but a time will come when it will be converted into one of the finest Cities in India.' But on quitting that port wherein he had received no injury, to the fresh surprise and confusion of those who accompanied him, he took off his shoes and left them on the shore saying : ' That not even the dust of so wicked a land would he take with him.' And as he could not have said this in a material sense, it gave matter for long discussions as to whether he spoke of the Moors who were declared enemies, or of the perfidy of the natives, or of the proceedings of the Portuguese, or of all these, which seems most likely. In Negapatao an attempt was made from November [15]42 to April [15]43 to collect the fleet, but as it was altogether dispersed and the authority of the Governor was wanting, though all were zealous for vengeance, the delay could not be less. There set out from the Coast of the Fishery three ships under the command of Gomes da Sylva, Ambrosio de Meyreles, and Joao Rodriguez, which joined six others of which the Captains were Christovao de Araujo, Manoel Rebelo, Pedro de Couilhã, Christovao de Lima, Joao de Azevedo and Diniz Caldeyra. In them were 500 men, mostly Portuguese, a force at the time quite sufficient, measured by its valour, against that Enemy. Nor were others wanting, if there had

<sup>1</sup> Letter to King John III., 20 Jan. 1545. Col. I. 265.

<sup>2</sup> Miguel Vaz went to Lisbon by the vessel of Jan. 1545.

<sup>3</sup> This visit to Colombo is narrated by the earlier biographers of St. Francis, but seems unfounded. He was in Cochim on 27th Jan. 1545 : on 7th April in Negapatem. Cf. Brou S. Fr. Xavier I. 319.

been slips, for every one volunteered to take satisfaction for so great a tyranny, and to give pleasure to the Saint, who even on this occasion added men by miracles, restoring health to Aleyxo Antunes, a native of Crato, lame in one leg, by making the sign of the Cross on him, and then begging him most earnestly to keep silence; and many others he freed from dangerous fevers and incurable ills, so that | <sup>P 110.</sup> they might embark, Heaven also showing how pleased it was with this expedition. But | in the end it came to nought, and everything was frustrated by the ill-luck of a rich ship of Pegu which ran aground in Jafanapatao. Her spoils greatly enriched the Tyrant, and the desire and greed to recover the gold and stuffs became a hostage of peace; as if they had no arms in their hands for the one and the other purpose.<sup>1</sup>

The Saint seeing his labours frustrated, informed the Governor, who forthwith determined to inflict the punishment with his own hands. I cannot believe that his departure in the beginning of August was not due to some mistrust, though the reason he gave was that he might have time to get some vessels ready in Cochim, which he could have done by a message; and to take the Tyrant unawares was not a sufficient [reason] for such risk. This fleet consisted of 12 galleys, 3 caravels, 8 galliots and 13 foists. The Captains of the galleys were Bernadim de Sousa, Fernao de Souza de Tavora, Fernao da Sylva, D. Joao Pereyra, Martim Correa da Sylva, Pero Lopes de Sousa, Luis Cayado, Alonzo Henriques, Luis Falcao, (of the three others I found no mention): of the Caravels, Afonso Furtado, D. Joao Mascarenhas, Vasco da Cunha; of the galliots, Diogo de Mendoca, D. Francisco de Noronha, Fernao Gomez de Souza, Joao de Mendoca, D. Joao Henriquez [and] D. Martinho de Souza; of the foists, Antonio de Sa, Belchior de Sousa, Diogo de Ayala, Rodrigo de Mouilha, Francisco Fernandes, Simao Galego, Pedro Afonso, Joao de Mesquita, Joao de S. Payo, Francisco de Figueyredo, Ignacio de Rocha, Manoel de Lima [and] Leonardo de Oliveyra. This fleet was got ready with great zeal, and only with the intention of chastising the King of Jafanapatao,<sup>2</sup> and it is falsely said that<sup>3</sup> [it was got ready] to rob the pagoda of Tremel, and that on the order of the King, for it is an action as foreign to a royal mind as to the noble

<sup>1</sup> St. Francis wrote from San Thome (8 May 1545) of the failure of his efforts. Col. I. 298.

<sup>2</sup> This expedition seems to have set out in August, 1543, before the Manar Massacre. The Author has erred by misdating the Massacre. Cf. Couto (v. IX. 7).

<sup>3</sup> Couto l. c.

breast of Martim Afonso de Souza. After they set out from the bar of Goa, the weather being still boisterous, it blew with such fury, that those who could best escape it made for Anjediva, there being wrecked on the Coast the galley of Luis Falcao who had got ready with more pomp and greater care. The Governor who saw the ship in this river of Goa decked with silk and banners and pendants flying said about her: 'That she was quite enough to reduce the Samory, how much more Xaga Raya'; and afterwards when he saw her fate, he said: 'That her spring had turned to winter.' And of her Captain it was remarked that, though he was a gentleman of parts, he was always unfortunate; and finally being engaged to a daughter of Governor Garcia de Sa who was wooed by some gentlemen of India at that time, on the eve of his wedding he was killed by Manoel de Souza de Sepulveda, one of the rivals, who afterwards marrying her came by his death in Cafraia on the Coast of Natal more disastrously, not to say with greater punishment.

| The misfortune of this fleet did not end here, for when <sup>P 111</sup> it had passed the Cape of Comory, the *vara* of Coromandel blew with such fury on account of the new Moon, that they <sup>P 109</sup> were all in danger | of sinking. Some ships and galleys became waterlogged; of which [troubles] the Governor had his share, [but] he escaped through the exertion of the soldiers and sailors, and fortunately came to anchor in the Isle of Cows,<sup>1</sup> to which they gave this name, because no other inhabitants were found therein. Here the Governor put into port with the vessels he testifies below, while others went astray, and some were sunk. Xaga Raya, trembling with fear, directed his spies, if they were Portuguese, to find out whether the Governor was there, for according to rumour he had set out from Goa, and though he concealed the purpose of the voyage, it was known for certain he had passed the Cape. They [the spies] went with refreshments and provisions, and though our people understood the object of the tyrant and gave notice of it to the Governor, he took little pains to hide himself; and the King determined to make use of the same arms wherewith his first ancestor had vanquished the King of Cota,<sup>2</sup> and with some small vessels he went to meet the Governor, who, seeing his sincerity and genuine fear, received him; and coming into his presence he said:

'You know already, Sir, that the principal reason which brings me here is the desire to see you because of the fame current among us of your benignity, wherein I trust to obtain

<sup>1</sup> Tam. Neduntivu, The Dutch called it Delft.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra* p. 49.

pardon for the crime I committed, for which you as a Prince who command Kingdoms and rule vassals can judge whether I have some excuse, seeing that those people had rebelled and foresaken, the law which I professed. What I follow may be good or may be bad, but it is the one which my Fathers taught me; and to esteem another as good would be to contradict their doctrine and to hold it as false. The more so when without my Permission they attempted to dispossess me of the Kingdom which I inherited; which Buddüm would deprive me of, if I consented to their crimes. So much as regards Religion, the soul of Kingdoms and their preservation. In what concerns the friendship towards the Portuguese there will be no fault to find with me, unless they wish to uphold as their cause the defence of Boneca-Bau, with whom I am at war. And though its beginning be unjust, it must be settled by arms; and it is not a strange thing for one who is dissatisfied with the terms of vassalage to attempt to escape, for one highhandedness is excused by another, though what is alleged against me is not such, and it is natural for everyone to attempt to throw off the yoke which oppresses him. And as for what directly concerns you, Sir, you are aware that it is the custom throughout India that the goods of those who are shipwrecked belong to the Lord of the country. All these things I place before you, not through a third person, but in my own, offering myself to the chastisement which you may ordain, which will ever be mild, considering that he who confides in the truth and piety of the Portuguese, does so because he knows their worth.

Thus in substance spoke Xagâ Rayâ to the Governor, and as the affair was of great weight, even in the matter of conscience, because the preaching of the Faith in Jafanapataô had not preceded the death of the Martyrs of Manâr, and one must always reasonably hesitate before waging war on pagan Kings without their having given occasion for it, which does not hold with the same force in the warfare with the Moors; and as Martim Afonço de Sousa found himself surrounded by soldiers rather than by men of letters, he called his Captains to a Council; and after recounting the adverse reasons he added: 'That God did not desire more from a sinner than that he should submit and seek pardon: That this King was ready to restore all that had been wrecked on his coast, and those whom he held prisoner from the time they were wrecked there; and would not refuse vassalage to the King of Portugal.'—He could have added also that he had lost many of the ships and men he had

brought to contend in his own house with a King who lacked neither means nor determination as the sequel showed—'And that therefore he thought it best to make peace and friendship with him on condition that he gave 5,000 xeravins and two elephants a year as tribute, paying two years in advance.' The Captains approved this proposal, and having spent five days in these adjustments and in preparing the public documents, the Governor returned to Columbo, where he visited the King and disclosed to him what he had settled with the King of Jafanapataô. Thence he went to Cochim, where he found four ships of the Kingdom and relief from the trials of this expedition which was less troublesome for the tempests he encountered than for the licence with which it was spoken about, for they attributed to him all the blame for the loss which took place, by which they meant not any regret for leaving the King unpunished, to which the other Captains agreed, but that he did not sack the pagoda of Tremel, without reflecting on the indecency of such an action, especially when carried out by a Governor of India, and that it was situated in the lands of the King of Bisnagâ, who was formerly Emperor of these neighbouring Kingdoms, which revolted against him and the Lord of the one and the other coasts, to whom we are so much under obligation, that the memory was still fresh of the gift which his grandfather made of the peninsulas of Salcete and Bardéz and the country of Concaô, from the Ghats of Banda up to Mirzeo to the state during the government of Diogo Lopes de Sequeyra. Nor is it creditable, and it is no longer believed, that King D. João III. would order his Viceroys and Governors to do a thing so disreputable merely for the gains of this robbery, while he was at peace with the King of the country, who not only desired but bought liberally the friendship of the Portuguese.

All the foregoing is clearly shown in a certificate about this expedition, issued by the Secretary, Antonio Cardozo, to Simaô Vieyra, a soldier of Fernão de Sylva Alcaide-mor of Alpalhao, which is as follows: 'I, Martim Afonço de Souza, Governor and Captain-Major of India, certify that I embarked on the 12 of August, and sallied out of the bar of Goa with a fleet of 12 galleys, 8 galliots, 3 caravels, and 13 foists, against the King of Jafanapataô, on account of the great hatred wherewith he proceeded against the Christians, especially against those of Manâr, whom without any other reason but this, he put to the sword; and because from these evils others might arise, after taking counsel, I undertook this expedition, in which wind to contrary | winds I

lost some vessels and reached the Isle of Cows with six galleys, five galliots and a caravel; where, when I was thinking of attacking the Tyrant, he came to see me begging mercy, assuring tribute with sufficient hostages, and other satisfactions, &c.' From this great grief, which the licence of India gave him, they constantly affirmed, arose those words which he said to Diogo de Sylveira, who was going to the Kingdom, while hearing Mass at the elevation of the Most Holy Sacrament: 'Tell the King, Sir, to send me a successor by these ships, for I do not dare to govern India because of the fickleness which I find in men as regards truth and honour. Otherwise, I swear by this consecrated Host and by the true body of Christ which is therein, that the [letters of] succession will have to be opened, and this State handed over to the person to whom His Highness entrusts it therein; and not to let a vassal like me be exposed to have his head cut off.' Such were the trials which drove a gentleman of so many parts and deserts to these outbursts.

### CHAPTER 13.

#### THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY CONTINUED, THE REBELLION OF TRIBULE AND OTHER EVENTS

Tribule Pandar continued the war against the King of Candea for refusing tribute to him of Cota in an attempt to become altogether independent of that semblance of an Empire, but it gave rise to [the King's] own ruin, for offering battle in a plain, he was there killed and his head carried on a spear, the Kingdom being given to a son of his, a youth of tender years, but of great prudence, whom Tribule soon crushed, invading his territories as usual under pretence of peace and robbing whatever he could find. These complaints reached Cota, whence the King sent Itacon, about whom we have already spoken, with order to take command of the field and send Tribule back. [But] the latter, giving out <sup>F 112</sup> that the order he brought was false, instead of obeying, killed his successor, who, it is said, died a Christian, God thus repaying him for the kindness with which he ever treated the Portuguese and promoted Christianity.

Upon tidings of this death, Boneca-Bau adjudged Tribule a rebel, one more astute, daring and valiant foe to deal with, and he prepared for fresh war, making Bombu Rala, who possessed many qualities, his Captain. The latter set out

from Cota in pursuit of Tribule, who had warning of everything, and relying on his wiles and the good nature of his <sup>P 202</sup> Father-in-law, ordered the army to obey the new Captain, and going to speak to the King, he succeeded so well in speaking for his exculpation, that he not only pardoned him, but reinstated him in his post, ordering Bombu Rala to return to Court. But the latter, who knew the wiles of Tribule, seized him till he ascertained the truth, and when he knew of it, he handed over his baton.

At this time there took place in Uva a great rising on account of Batavala, wooed by two suitors, who challenged each other on the understanding that the winner of the duel should have her for wife; but, as each one tried to excel in the duel, both died, one immediately and the other in four days, thus making a duel of settlement a mortal combat. They were of good quality, and gave cause to much grief in that Principality. It was there the custom for the Brothers to inherit the wives along with the goods. There were brothers on both sides, and dissensions increasing, they determined to settle the matter by arms, which occasioned so much mischief, that passing from private individuals, they even came to kill the Prince for attempting to pass sentence, and with him [were killed] some Portuguese who defended him. On being informed of this event, Boneca-Bau sent to Uva the aforesaid Bombu Rala with 30 Portuguese, whose Captain was Lourenço de Mesquita, along with other men-at-arms. But Rala, who was aggrieved, because the command was taken from him, joined the stronger party, and usurping the Principality, killed the lascars that refused to follow him. He sent the Portuguese away, because they refused to accompany him, and with the others he defended himself in those rugged mountains all through the lifetime of Boneca-Bau, having married Batavala to settle the strife of which she was the cause. This rebel waged bitter war till he was killed by poison, for save by this means it was difficult to vanquish him on account of the situation as well as because he was a valiant man and possessed riches, wherewith he succeeded in winning lieges and friends, carrying on his government with sagacity.

In Batecalou there was born at this time a monster of such an ugly figure, that the Chingaláz being stirred thereby declared that it could not be anything else but Death who <sup>F 113</sup> warned the Emperor that the last hour of his life was come. This omen caused great pain to the credulous who were not those who loved Boneca-Bau least; the others amplified it with tales and fables out of hatred of the sorry old man, whose age led him to believe that it might well be a true

portent. The monster was born to a Macuã woman and had two rows of teeth, one single eye, a mouth hideously wide, the ears of a cat, with eight fingers and toes on each hand and foot. Nuno Freyre de Andrade sent its portrait to Goa and Martim Afonso de Souza to King D. Joaõ, who sent it to Coimbra to Doctor Pero Nunez, where they held that the monster could not but have been begotten by an irrational animal, and the King referred the inquiry to |  
 P 203 Joaõ de Castro, and finally they ascertained that the Macuã was known by a bull and that it was begotten by it. Such is beastly wickedness!

In this same year of [15]43 the fame of the prodigies of St. Francis Xavier and of the other Preachers of the Gospel reaching Dinavãca, the Yogis mooted the question: 'Whether one can be saved without being a Pythagorian or believing in the transmigration of souls.' One of the most renowned of them answered that penitence was enough for salvation; upon which there were great controversies. Some said that [penitence] was of no avail without a belief in the Law; Others retorted that penitence was itself law, as being the outcome of their precepts, and that it was this that Buddum taught and not the transmigration of souls, which they held to be a foolish opinion. In proof of this he narrated that, when a certain Magician died, he said at the point of death: 'that the souls, when they leave the bodies, have a fixed place either of punishment for sins or of reward for merits,' and the Yogi repeating this, the others judged him for a heretic, and seizing him carried him from Ceylon to be arraigned before the Maturãse of Arracaõ. In Triquilimalê the prisoner related what had happened to some secret Christians who lived there, not with the intention of receiving the Faith, but to prepare himself for the defence. However being instructed [in the Faith] by Joaõ da Sylva, a Portuguese, he was baptized by the cleric Francisco Antunes, one of those whom Saint Xavier had had ordained. Thence he went to Arracaõ where being brought before the Maturãse and accused, he was asked: 'Who had taught him such a folly; or who had given him permission to pervert the law of Buddum with strange doctrines and examples, when he himself in spite of all his authority and learning did not dare to overstep the terms of what he professed.' The Yogi replied saying: 'At the time when I mooted in Dinavãca the question where-with I am accused, I was not yet a Christian, though my good fortune guided me thereto; however, now that I am one and live in certain possession of all truth, I must needs confess it; and by considering my opinion an error, you only

condemn | yourself, giving credit to ignorant things. Your question I will answer by another. If an earthly King punishes with banishment and rewards with [honourable] Places those who have deserved well or ill, how is it possible that the King of Heaven punishes with perpetual peregrination one who has earned his love by merit? Does it not seem to you an ill-founded error to try to conceal truth under folly? Have you perchance an ancient Book which teaches you this? I know for sure that you have maliciously buried what they teach you to the contrary. Buddum, whom you venerate so much and whose doctrine you follow, it is certain, never taught such a thing, and he is not a true disciple who professes such an error. Of Christ, the Light of the World, we know that he promised glory to the good and hell to the wicked, and this latter will be your lot, unless you acknowledge  
 P 204 Him as the Redeemer of | the Universe, and Son of the Eternal Father; and since you do not deny the immortality of the soul, you must needs admit that it has a good or bad lot.' The Maturãse did not give him room to continue, but ordered him to be stoned, and he received the Crown of Martyrdom on the 5. December of the year [15]43.

In the year [15]44 there came to Columbo the Father Friar Valerio de Miranda, a Dominican, in one of the two foists which Martim Afonso sent to this Island under the charge of Gil Vasquez de Abreu and Antonio de Azevedo; and by the end of the same year there came to that port the Father Friar Marcos de St. Guilhelme, a Hermit of St. Augustine, a Neapolitan by birth, who was afterwards followed by others. But as the Religious of St. Francis were the first to open the gates of Ceylon to the Gospel, Our Lords, the Kings of Portugal, considering the great zeal wherewith they laboured therê, ordained that they alone should build and administer Churches in Ceylon; which was afterwards confirmed by the Cardinal King<sup>1</sup>; and during those early years they erected 54 Rectorates in which were more than 70,000 Christians; and though many of them in the course of the risings which took place followed the call of the country, and in the persecution of Tribule, of which we shall speak later, at least outwardly abandoned the Faith, many were those who persevered in it and died for it.

In this same year Friar Pascoal Commissary and his companion Friar Gonçalo entered the Kingdom of Candés, where with the permission of the King they preached the Law of

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Henry, last of the house of Aviz, crowned on the death of King Sebastian. 1578-1580.



Christ converting some to the Faith; and already in [15]47 they built a Church of Our Lady of the Conception, which stood for some time in Palnugarê,<sup>1</sup> the Metropolis of that Kingdom, (though the Portuguese knew it by no other name than that of Candea) and in course of time the King Javira Astâna himself was baptized.

[Christianity] was making such progress, that as we have experienced in many other parts, the Devil at once withstood it with many obstacles, choosing | out of the Ganezes a Bragmane <sup>P 114</sup> sent hither for the purpose from Arracaõ by the Maturause; who after embracing the law of Buddum and forsaking Peramissorâ, being helped by the Devil and by his natural acuteness, seemed less a man than a demon in deed and word, confirming what he said by false miracles. Cota was the first place in which he preached, going to the Court of Ceylon to gain greater credit and to oppose the Evangelical Ministers face to face. There was then [in the Court] the Apostolic man, Friar Joaõ de Vila de Conde, occupied, as we said, in the upbringing of the Prince and two of his half-Brothers, instructing them with special care, and parrying by his diligence the many things wherewith the Devil tried to credit his deceptions by means of that Minister of his. Before he gained further power, [the Friar] came to see Boneca-Bau, who, though he wished to hide the novelty, was not able to dissemble, as it was already so public, that the Ganêzes and <sup>P 205</sup> the followers of their Sect had become so | proud, owing to the tacit favour of the Emperor, that they publicly affronted the Christians; and their audacity even reached such a point, that they jeered at the Preachers of the Gospel with divers calumnies, throwing stones at those who were wont to preach in the streets and public places.

Friar Joaõ therefore entered the Palace, and after a few polite preambles said to the King under the influence of the Spirit. 'I assure you, Sire, that your behaviour grieves me very much. For as the purpose which brought me and the other Religious of my order from Portugal was to convert you and your lieges, and that at your request and petition, in spite of the full knowledge of the Mysteries of our Holy Faith, you publicly show how little is the pleasure you take in the law of Christ in which alone is the truth which the others lack, by giving credit to the fictions of the Demon. I am not

<sup>1</sup> This name probably represents 'Ingale-gal-nure' (Senkadagala Nuwara) of the Ajuda Ms. which says ff. 38-39 'The name of this Metropolis, they say, is Ingale-gal-nure, which means 'City built of stone by the Chingales.' Cf. Knox 'Hingodagul-nure, as much as to say the City of the Chingulay people, p 5.

surprised that the common people, deceived by him and guided by this new minister, are going the way of Hell, nor that the Ganezes, who are interested, make it an occasion for gain. What astonishes me most is that you who are a Lord, and have a title so honourable, are not ashamed to be a slave of the Devil, though you have better judgment and a greater obligation to detect his malice. When I set out for India, I remember, the Most Serene King of Portugal said to me: 'Friar Joaõ, I envy you your lot and should gladly exchange mine for yours, for if the Crown which I wear is an honour, and in proof of the esteem I have for it I bear it on my head, at your feet you will see many. When you see the King of Ceylon, remember to tell him that, if he wishes to be a Lord, he must not turn to Pagodes, but follow Christ; and peradventure this message of mine delivered by you will have greater weight than any letters of mine.' When I arrived here, Sire, I at once repeated those words to you. Now I do it again, not in order to glorify myself thereby, as well I might, for he is a King as mighty as he is a Christian. The reason why I repeat them again is to remind Your Highness that what brought me from so distant | a country is to <sup>P 114e</sup> see you and to make you partake of the great treasure of the Faith, to which you showed yourself inclined by entrusting to me your natural children who after their baptism went to Goa, and, what I esteem still more, the Prince Dharma Pala Astâna, heir to this Empire. This confidence of yours gave rise to hopes of your conversion, which I do not desire you to do forcibly, but of your own will, for if God had wished to use violence, the opposition of the whole world would matter little, but as his law is to augment merits, He would have it of our free will, which alone He esteems; and He governs created things according to the condition of their nature and not by his absolute power, thus leaving the choice to the free will of your Highness, the reward being his love, and his displeasure the punishment. And as I do not doubt that you have clearly understood my mind, that it arises only from my desire for your salvation, in order to confirm <sup>P 206</sup> you in these | truths, it is necessary to send for the Bragmane with whom you are so much pleased, to my great grief at seeing the poor effect of my words, and the great opposition you make to Divine grace. Let this Minister of yours come, let us see his marvels, and I will soon show their falsity.'

The King, confident in his errors, listened to this proposal attentively and sent for the Bragmane to confute Friar Joaõ. [The Bragmane] who was fully informed of all that the Father had said to the King, was not unaware of the reason why



he was called and of the great struggle that was to take place. Carried away, however, by this vain applause, he came to the Palace, accompanied by many people who idolised him and thought that it would be impossible for Friar Joaõ to speak in his presence, much less to confute him. He entered the Hall where the King, the Father, and the grandees were awaiting him, anxious to acclaim the victory of their party. But Friar Joaõ, finding it written on his countenance that he was possessed of the devil, informed him who he was and that he took pride only in being a Minister of Christ and of the Gospel, to follow which the more perfectly, he wore that habit and professed the rule of St. Francis. Seeing however that people hardened in their errors give little heed to doctrine and that the occasion called for a greater demonstration, [and] rightly confiding in the Divine power, and as the event showed, inspired by God himself, he had recourse to the same expedient which he had used against the Ganez, saying that a fire should be lit, and that both should step into it, and if the fire should seize his habit, but fail to burn the body of the Bragmane, the victory would be his. He was listened to with wonder, and the Bragmane consented by his silence, and was urged to it by his partisans who gave him the palm of victory in advance, supposing that Friar Joaõ made this proposal under the belief that he would not accept it, and that he thought to come out of the contest as he did in the case of the Ganez, who was overcome by his fear of fire. <sup>P 115</sup> The Holy man, perceiving these reflections and realizing how much the honour of God was at stake, was the first to jump into the midst of the flames, when the fire was lit. The Bragmane, speechless at this resolution, would fain have held back from his notorious cowardice, but the Demon who wished to pay him for his services, though at the cost of his own credit, made him walk to the fire, in which he was burnt, while Friar Joaõ came out without any damage to body or habit.

They were thunderstruck and venerated the Father as something more than human, though the Ganezes, to deprive the Faith of Christ of this renown, published that this Celestial virtue was only Magical art, and accused the Father of the murder of the Bragmane. The King, however, was so much astonished, that casting himself at his feet, in spite of the remonstrances of the Servant of God, kissed them, begging his pardon for the scanty respect with which he had treated him. The Apostolic man thus addressed him : ' Emperor, <sup>P 207</sup> what you saw was due to God, the Author of all things, and to him alone are due the thanks for these marvels, for, as

said the Apostle St. Paul, true miracles are a sure confirmation of the true Faith and are for similar occasions. Those who believe have no need of these marvels, they are for you, who doubt, and not for me, who confess that these are but small effects of the Divine power. And since you consider them great, acknowledge their Author, for if the fury of this element is subject to me, who am but a vile creature, you, who are a King, will work prodigies, if you obey his precepts. Now what you have seen is enough to make you fulfil what you have promised. It is time to break through all difficulties and to win over to your side the mighty arm of God, and he who wrought miracles to convert you, will work them with still greater pleasure to defend you. The conversion of Your Highness is the principal object which brought me to Ceylon, and not your Cinnamon and precious stones ; and one thing I will never cease to repeat, as I have said on other occasions : Remember, Sire, that unless you receive the Law of Christ, you will die an unhappy death.' And so it happened.

#### CHAPTER 14.

##### THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, WHICH WAS ALSO THE CAUSE OF FRESH WARFARE.

The King gave some hopes of becoming converted, but in the end political reasons got the better of him, and he continued in the worship of his Pagodes, and Friar Joaõ in the conversion of souls, in which he had no lack of opposition both from the Ganezes and from the King, for the Father did not desist from his admonitions, as he paid little heed to his advice, and even gave occasion to their paying him less respect, <sup>P 116e</sup> although he had entrusted to him a nephew who was converted to the Law of Christ, went to Portugal and returning married, and died in Goa, where he is buried in the church of St. Francis.

These various events were taking place in that Island at the time when Father Miguel Vaz returned from Portugal, after being well received by the King who despatched him with letters to the Governor D. Joaõ de Castro<sup>1</sup> who took possession of this government in the September of [15]45, and [Father Miguel Vaz], arriving in the following September with some Fathers of the Society of Jesus, gave the Governor an account of what he had done, handing to him the letters of the King, which was read in Council, and one paragraph

<sup>1</sup> Tenth Governor 1545-1547, fourth Viceroy 1547-1548.

of it was as follows : 'The affair of the King of Jafanapataō you must have heard of already, and the cruelties which he had inflicted on the Martyrs whom he ordered to be killed for becoming Christians; and as Martim Afonso de Souza ordered him to be punished as he deserved, I hope he has already received it according to the importance of the matter; but if by any chance it has not been done, which I hope is not the case, I recommend you and order you to chastise him so rigorously, that the Christians may know how much I resent what the said King has done, and how sorry I am that they received injury for becoming Christians. On the 8 of March, [1]546.' All were of opinion that it was not expedient to wage fresh war on him after the peace which Martim Afonso de Souza had made with him, and because the forces of the State were engaged in raising the siege of Diu. On this account the punishment was deferred to another time, as we shall see later.

Madûne, profiting by these distractions and anxious to extinguish in Ceylon the name of Christ and the power of the Portuguese, (who, though they were so few, were so respected by the Chingalâz, that this also was an occasion for some of them to receive our Holy Faith. So various are the ways by which God calls us! So many the roads to Heaven! Our very inclinations served to open a door to the remedy), formed a general alliance for this purpose with the Kings of Seytavâca, Candea and Jafanapataō, [this last] having so soon forgotten the mercy he begged, and all taking up arms against Boneca-Bau and assembling in Seytavâca, determined not to spare any living thing. But as wicked intentions are wont to be the ruin of their Authors, there arose so many dissensions in the three camps, that their union became disunion, and two retired, the one to Candea and the other to Jafanapataō, the iniquity of the cause frustrating the object in view; and in this League was also verified the saying of Scipio in the Senate: 'That the success of a conquest depends more on the grounds on which it is based than on the might with which it is undertaken,' for seeing the King of Cota surrounded by a few Portuguese, Madûne and Xaga Rajâ planned this war on the plea of defending the Law of Buddum, and he of Candea especially to avenge the death which Tribule inflicted on his Father and Brothers.

Madûne did not pay tribute to Cota, as he had at his side the kinsmen and friends of Itacon, who, seeing how little satisfaction Boneca-Bau exacted for his death and disgusted with the injustices of Tribule and the dissimulation of the

Emperor, had gone, some to Candea, and others to Seytavâca, awaiting an opportunity to avenge themselves or die in the attempt. Their loss was felt both because they were the chief persons of that City and because of the war which they constantly threatened against Cota. Tribule, the cause of this discord, sallied from Uva merely with the desire of showing how little they could do against him, and laying siege to Seytavâca in the name of Boneca-Bau, he sent to demand tribute from Madûne, who had failed to pay it for so many years, and at the same time to demand the territories which had belonged to Reygam Bandar and which he had unjustly usurped, and to which his son Darma Pala Astâna was heir, without speaking however of the principal object which had brought him there, which was to lay hold of his enemies. Madûne was astounded by this novelty and resolution, and fearing some misfortune, he sent word to Tribule: 'That as regards the tribute he had been freed from payment by an *ota* which Boneca-Bau had given him at the time he gifted that Kingdom to him: That as for the territories of Reygam Bandar, if they were not as much his, as has been proved, they had at least been given to him by the Emperor himself: That he did not know of any other cause to justify this war, and if he were disposed to think that he alleged these reasons through fear, let him consider the uncertainty of success, and if he thought that victory was certain, he might try to obtain it,' [for] he was prepared for anything, both because he understood the Emperor wished for peace, as well as because he was prepared for war'.

Tribule would not hearken to further reasons, as he considered the aforesaid to be superfluous, but with the help of some Portuguese led by Luis Pardo, a soldier of well-known valour, he attacked, entered, and burnt Seytavâca without much resistance. Madûne withdrew, and knowing the reckless spirit of his foe, he laid two ambushes, and as soon as night set in, he attacked the City. Tribule was not as vigilant as he should have been, thinking that his name alone was sufficient to drive fear into Madûne. The result however showed him his mistake, for Madûne, falling upon his men, caused such destruction, that they took to disorderly flight. There fell also some Portuguese who resisted with valour, and Tribule, not knowing the paths, took shelter in the woods with a few followers, who faithlessly attempted to kill him, because of the generous promises of Madûne; and they would doubtless have carried it out, had there not arrived at the time appointed for its execution some men of Seytavâca, upon which they fled, fearing to be captured. Though this freed

Tribule from death, he did not escape being taken prisoner and led before Madûne, who asked him : ' What impudence is this to hope to disposses a King so easily of his territories, knowing full well the claims he has to them ? ' Tribule replied : ' That he who had no freedom to live lacked freedom to speak ; That if time brought about a change of fortune, he would understand the difference between being free and being a prisoner. ' On this reply he ordered him to retire into a house which being of stone had escaped the fire. The City was afterwards rebuilt with better edifices.

After this victory in which fell the greatest forces of Boneca-Bau, the latter sent an ambassador to the Brother saying that he had no part in that war, and that it was not waged by his orders, though he could have done so in view of his little Faith, but that, unmindful of it as well as of other offences, he begged him, in satisfaction for so many offences, to be pleased to send Tribule to him to answer before him for the many injustices he had inflicted on all. For as Boneca Bau | knew that Madûne was plotting fresh insurrections, he wished to see whether by this means he could make him keep the peace which he had promised, when Miguel Ferreyra, at his request, desisted from destroying him. But Madûne puffed up by the victory replied : ' That the least ransom he expected for Tribule was to be put in possession of the Empire which belonged to him ; and that so long as this was not done, he must not expect the release of Tribule ; that he would make it his business to exact satisfaction for the insults and recent losses. ' The Ambassadors returned to Cota at the time when mourning was going on, for there was no one who had not lost a kinsman or friend in that rout. To add to this the King of Candea was advancing with a goodly army, destroying the territories of that Crown of which the lieges were complaining, putting the blame on Boneca-Bau for his mildness towards his son-in-law, because preservation of that one life was the cause of so many deaths.

Boneca-Bau, seeing himself in this plight, did not dare to make war without sending information to Goa, his only refuge. But as he was about to send messengers, he learnt that Tribule had escaped from the prison of Seytavâca and that, though he was in Cota, he did not dare to speak to him through diffidence and fear. The King, who was naturally averse to bloodshed, though he wanted to avenge himself on him, could not make up his mind out of regard for his grandson, his only heir, who pleaded for his Father. He sent for | Tribule, who, on entering the Palace, threw himself F 117 at the feet of his Father-in-law with such a show of repentance

and grief, that he gained his favour over and above the pardon. He first pointed out to him the loss and the danger to which he had exposed that Realm by exposing to the sacrifice of death with so little consideration 20,000 of its bravest lieges on whose valour all its hopes were founded. And then enlisting men again, he sent him to oppose Javira Astâna, King of Candea, who was coming down with a large force to join Madûne ; and afterwards to lay siege to him, as it seemed to him better to have to do with divided forces, than to let the two unite.

Tribule made ready with all speed and with more circumspection, having learnt a lesson from his failures and the misfortunes of others. He set out in January [15]46 at the time when Madûne had returned to Seytavâca, for he was absent at the time Tribule made his escape ; and after his escape he feared that fortune might change, for as he wished to join hands with him of Candea, he feared to find himself a prisoner of Tribule, as the latter had been of his. As soon as the Candiot heard that Tribule was in pursuit of him, he returned to his Court, where Tribule laid siege to him, and sent word to him to pay tribute to the Empire and give satisfaction for the losses he had inflicted. To which he returned answer : ' Tell Your Captain that I am a King and have Modeliares for war ; that Madûne has already begun to chastise such insolences, and I will complete taking vengeance therefor. ' Tribule kept up his slow warfare, advancing and uniting to his army the lieges of Candea P 211 [who came over] for fear of receiving worse injuries and | because of the gifts he made. And finding himself with a good army, he fell upon Candea, where he put to the sword even the King who was hated by his own people for a tyrant, for he had dispossessed his elder Brother, and had usurped even his name, for his own was Cural Hina. Tribule gave the government to the one to whom it belonged by right, securing the acknowledgment of tribute with a good garrison, which was the less necessary, because of the fidelity which he always kept and which gave rise to the war which Madûne made on him.

Though this victory made Tribule more acceptable to the Vassals of Cota, it stirred afresh the hatred of Madûne and Xaga Rajâ, who by this time unfurled their banners against him, for Xaga Rajâ on the entreaty of Madûne had recourse to the Nayque of Tanjaor whose tributary he was, and obtained a good reinforcement of Badagas, an ever dreaded and mountainous tribe of the mainland, and some foreign Moors, [attracted] more by the treasures which rumour proclaimed, than from any desire to help those rebels.

## CHAPTER 15.

BONECA-BAU ASKS FOR REINFORCEMENTS, AND THE  
SUCCESSSES OF ANTONIO MONIZ BARRETO.

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Seeing this peril, Boneca-Bau determined to avail himself once more of the Portuguese. And as at this time St. Francis Xavier happened to come to that port on his way from the South, intending to reap some fruit of his holy zeal on the way, the King looked upon this visit as a great good fortune to him, thinking that by this means he would be able to get a better despatch. He sent word to him that he had important business to transact, pleading the infirmities of old age in excuse for not coming personally. The Saint likewise welcomed this opportunity to treat of the matters of the Faith, the goal to which all his actions were directed. And after some discourse leading to this end, Boneca-Bau thus addressed him :

‘ I understand, Father, that your religion is the only true one, and that all others have so much error as is clear to anyone who knows himself and knows them. I know full well that by continuing in the path which I follow, I can end only in Hell. It is true that my Father and my Ancestors died pagans, which might mislead me to think that the religion they followed was good, but I see that the religion of Buddum contains errors as intolerable as they are incompatible with reason ; and though they also seek to justify it with miracles, they are such, that they provoke laughter rather than belief and devotion. For to say that Buddum seeing a dog with the mange | had compassion on it, and in order to cure it, cut off its head and fixed another, keeping the other one as an alms and a recompense for so good a deed, seems to me altogether ridiculous, for if Buddum chose to bestow his miracles on brutes, it would have been better to cure it by a word and not to torment it, and what is more, it would have been more prudent to choose a different object for his pity, since there are so many rational creatures to whom it would have been more meritorious to show pity. From this you can judge the rest, and it is incredible that he worked these miracles through self-interest, nor was the head of a dog of any use to him. Besides this delusion there are others about which one does not know whether to laugh or weep ; to weep for the souls which are thus led to error, heedless of the suffering that awaits them ; to laugh

at the slender grounds on which they believe these follies. I am sure it will cause you merriment as well as grief, if I relate to you the cases I have seen and heard, some throwing themselves from high precipices, others burying themselves alive, without knowing that death inflicted by one's own hand is the beginning of greater misery. I have come to understand that the penitence of the Christians is the true | one, and that it is the true remedy for sins. But though I know the truth of the Law of Christ, on account of the place which I hold, I am unable to receive Baptism at once, for the least suspicion that they should have of me in this regard would be enough to ruin the whole of my Realm. I do not say this because I fail to see that this particular loss is my gain, but because of what would happen to my liegés, if I let another govern them, and to the very hopes of Christianity, if they fall into other hands. On these principles I take my stand, and on that account I beg you to patronize my cause before the Governor of India, that he may come to my assistance more readily, and give me 100 soldiers to protect my person, lest my adversaries prevail against me as well as against the prospects of the total conversion of my lieges.’

Though the Saint understood and knew well the principal object which the King had in view, he told him very kindly : ‘ That he was going to Goa whence he hoped to return with reinforcements ; that he must not desist in the good will which he showed to divine things, because on his perseverance in them depended the realization of the one and the other hope.’ And taking leave of the King and of Friar Joaô de Vila de Conde, with whom he rejoiced over the fruits he had reaped, he reached Cochim where he read the letters which the the Vicar-General had brought from the Kingdom ; and thence he embarked for Goa. Meanwhile Madúne and Xaga Rajá, setting out from Seytaváca, caused great damage in the lands of Cota, and in the counties of Ligal, Apitigaô, and Eyna Corla, those lieges submitting to force rather than of their free will, while Boneca-Bau was unable to heed their cries, as Tribule did not dare to take the field. They determined to carry Cota by surprise, but were beaten back with no small loss by the few Portuguese who lived there and animated the natives. | But Luis Pardo, that brave soldier who was in Seytaváca with Tribule, as he happened to know the paths through the jungles and was able to return with some companions, was not satisfied with this. With 21 other Portuguese who had remained behind in Columbo from former reinforcements at the request of Nuno Freyre de Andrade, who, because he was greatly acceptable to the

King and on account of his valour and merits, was still Alcaide mor, [Pardo] gathered his companions and addressed them briefly: 'Sirs, You know very well the state in which fate has placed us, and the poor spirit of the people who accompany us. The safety of our lives depends on the strength of our arms. I think it best to make a venture, lest it be said of us that stricken with fear our hands fell faint; and though it may seem foolhardy to attack so great a multitude, I am emboldened in that we have God for us.' Of all these brave soldiers I found mention only of the afore-<sup>F 118o</sup> said Luis Pardo, Gabriel Monteyro, Gomes Freyre de Andrade, nephew of the Alcaide-mor, D. Antão de Noronha, Andre de Vasconcelos, Andre Pinheyro, Diniz Barbosa, Joaõ Conceyro and Duarte de Leão. These with the others, after Confession, without giving notice of what they intended, at day-break on the 10. of July [15]47, fell upon the first and second lines, put them all to the sword without any mischance, and invested the tent of the King of Jafanapataõ, where they found the enemy already forewarned, and though four were killed, such was the havoc they caused and the confusion into which they threw the whole camp, that they were able to return unscathed to the surprise of all.

Those of Cota continued the assaults, Tribule animating them with this example; and though the two enemies thought it easy to reduce the City, they lost hope altogether, when they saw that they gained nothing by it save repeated losses, and putting off for a better occasion what the present denied them, each one returned to his Kingdom with less men and credit than he brought. St. Xavier meanwhile filled the office of a Mediator with God, and [the office] of a friend with the Governor, going to see him in the North whither the war with Rumezan<sup>1</sup> had taken him. Though under the circumstances soldiers could ill be spared, he sent as reinforcement Antonio Moniz Barreto with little more than 100 men in four foists of which the other Captains were Antonio da Sylva, Joaõ de Mendocça, [and] D. Jorge de Castro. With them returned Proytilla Rala, who had gone as Ambassador and whom the Saint had baptised in Goa, for as the Father Frair Francisco de Negraõ, his special client, says here: 'His conversation was so persuasive, that in a short time it sufficed to change his pagan inclination, and this was nothing strange, for such were the usual fruits of that great gardener, at the sight of whose miracles it was no exaggeration to say that, had this Apostle lived ten years longer in India, the whole of it would

Rume Khan.

<sup>P 214</sup> have rendered tribute to God, for the force | of his spirit was irresistable.' The Saint accompanied this expedition, and being undeceived in the matter of the conversion of Boneca-Bau, and finding that the Father Friar Joaõ and the other Religious were of the same opinion, he left Ceylon after making many converts, and taking leave of all, he went to Malaca. Everyone felt his absence, and Boneca-Bau not the least, from whom this time he did not take leave, as he had on another occasion given him some rosaries saying: 'Remember that God will ask you for an account of your thoughts if you do not confirm them by deeds.'

Antono Moniz Barreto, on reaching that port, went to Cota with his few soldiers in battle array, which pleased the King, who honoured and rewarded all. And as the army was already mustered to chastise the arrogance of Madûne and the rebellion of the Candiot, he despatched a mighty army in the beginning of August of 1548. | Omens were not wanting <sup>F 119</sup> which foretold disaster to Barreto, who not being able to get together more than 150 Portuguese, made this expedition with little heart, though one of his objects was to arrange matters to place on the throne of Candea the Prince Don Affonço, who was baptised in Goa. Other memoirs would have it<sup>1</sup> that he found great contradiction between the information given by the Religious of St. Francis and that of the Factor, which he was unable to clear up, as many were of opinion that the King of Cota was in league with the others to extirpate the Portuguese as being the chief cause of the war with his Brother. But other documents do not mention this, and it is incredible that to extirpate so few, he would have recourse to these plots, when he could have done so quite easily a short time before when they were much less. I hold it certain that he never entertained such a thought, since he understood that his safety depended on our friendship. Couto also describes this expedition in quite a different way, without realizing the difficulty which Barreto would have in landing at Batecalou and going thence to Candea with 120 soldiers, and of returning to Triquilimalê, when he knew of the treason plotted against him, constantly pursued by 80,000 enemies, and of turning again thence to Seytavâca, all through hostile lands, besides the other things which he relates in Decade 6, Book IV., Chapter 8, which show quite clearly that he did not follow such paths. It is so important for a historian to know the lie of the land of which he speaks, that this one in attempting to speak in all truthfulness was led to narrate

<sup>1</sup> There is a good deal of confusion about the expedition of Barreto. Cf. Couto (J. XX., pp. 127 & sq), Correa (C. L. R. III. 252 & sq.).

such an impossibility. It may perhaps be that this confusion arose because Barreto did not first land in Columbo, but in the port of Calature, as others say and is likely. But let us leave aside these questions which then arose purely out of malevolent craftiness, and which may well have been confirmed by the disorders which happened afterwards.

Madûne, being informed of the force in pursuit of him, retired to Darniagâla, leaving Seytavâca deserted. The army marched on, doing great damage, which Madûne escaped by P 215 hiding | in the highlands. While these things were taking place, to confirm the disquietude and vicissitudes of Ceylon, Boneca-Bau came to know that at Candea there had risen against Javira Astâna his third Brother, and that he had entered the Capital, beheaded the garrison and routed the legitimate King. The army then set out in fresh order for Palnegurê, the Metropolis of that Kingdom, and succeeded in taking up a position in the village of Milabonda in the midst of huge cliffs and high hills, after making cruel war on the villages, palm groves, and cattle; and the people, seeing much to their grief everything burnt to ashes, | were F 1190 reduced to a miserable state. And as they are among the most valiant in Ceylon, they chose rather to lose their lives than suffer such injury. They prepared an ambush in a suitable spot, while a smaller number of them attacked the army, which, despising this force, was the first to charge; and they would all have been despoiled, had not those of the ambush fallen upon the lascorins with such fury, that after a most bloody encounter they turned to flee, in spite of the valour of the Modeliares, nearly all of whom fell on that occasion, and only our men remained on the field, where they wrought mighty feats, though badly wounded. Barreto closed in, and making his rear the van and shooting right and left on those who attacked them from the woods, fought his way till he succeeded in retiring with great order into friendly territory, where he had reinforcements from the King of Cota, leaving behind 60 Portuguese killed. The rest were so badly wounded, that they fought in spirit rather than in body, and in trying to wipe their wounds and their sweat with the leaves of a tree called *Maviâ*, they suffered for 24 hours more pain than is caused by Scorpions, and so great was the inflammation and tumours, that they were an object of astonishment and pity to those who beheld them.

This retreat was very creditable to Antonio Moniz Barreto and to those who returned with him alive, struggling with hunger as well as other difficulties, for according to Jorge Castriolo, Prince of Albania, prudence in retreat is a more

notable feat in war than valour in charging, for the latter depends on the first impulse of a violent nature, while the former needs reflection and discreet valour.

Tribule was not present at this defeat, having returned to Seytavâca through ill health, as he said, or on the persuasion of his soothsayers, or taught by experience and the facility of resistance in those rugged mountains. The Portuguese Captain and his men went to Columbo without entering Cota, and to assuage the grief by a victory of another kind, he sent word to Boneca-Bau: 'That Father Xavier, remembering the promise he had given of becoming a Christian, had on his departure appointed him as his substitute for that work, and that therefore he must see whether he was disposed to fulfil it.' This message was delivered to him, when he was P 216 on his way to Triquilamalê on a pilgrimage to that famous Pagode, and though the hurry of the journey might | have suggested a different reply, he asked him in answer to wait till, to please the people, he had sacrificed to Buddum 300 Chingalâz, taken in the war of Seytavâca, to see whether by these deaths he could placate the wrath wherewith the gods chastised him in Candea. Barreto was dissatisfied | F 120 with this answer, considering that one who sacrificed souls so cruelly to the Demon had no intention of saving his own; and after letting fall certain words, he made up his mind to return to Goa without speaking to him.

But as this Pagan was in such need of Portuguese favour, he returned from his pilgrimage much faster than he went, but not fast enough, for before his arrival there came to Columbo a Modeliar sent by Madûne, with a promise of tribute, if Barreto was willing to accept his friendship. He replied that he bore no other order from the Governor than to suspend hostilities against those who sought peace with him, but no authority to confirm it. This embassy raised the jealousy of Boneca-Bau, and on his return to Cota he came to Columbo, pretending that he came thither for no other purpose than to thank the Portuguese for the many things they had done for him, though it was sure that fear alone was the cause of these civilities. Barreto did not hesitate to return the courtesy shown to him. He went to visit him, and at once, as proof of the rest, he broached the subject of his salvation which St. Xavier had recommended to him, desiring most earnestly to give this satisfaction to the Saint whom he loved greatly, and to render to God a service which could greatly redound to his glory, and tried to persuade Boneca-Bau to be baptized. But as he had little of a Preacher about him, and he was naturally a severe man, he did not

set about it in a mild way, but took the pains of Hell for his only theme, on which he waxed so eloquent, that the King asked him whether he had experienced them. Whereupon Antonio Moniz forgetting the office he was filling, and less courteously than courageously, retorted: 'That though he had not tasted them, he dared to make them known to him'; and rising up in great wrath, he dashed his bonnet on the ground and turning his back retired. Whereupon the King was so hurt, that he declared that the Hell of the Christians must be rigorous indeed, if the souls that go there receive the sufferings which Antonio Moniz Barreto had caused him. For there is nothing to which these nations are so sensitive, especially Kings, as to contempt; a matter in which Europeans make great mistakes. However he tried his best to regain his goodwill, sending to beg his pardon several times, with some presents which the latter did not accept, a matter of no less insult, and finally he embarked without taking leave of him. Some lay the blame for this rupture on the King himself for not making himself cheap to one who had not the same dignity. Others blamed Barreto for going to excesses and for seeking to compel a Prince in such indecorous terms and with indiscreet zeal to do what he did not like, since conversions must be free and voluntary.

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## CHAPTER 16.

THE SUCCESSES OF JOAO DE CASTRO AND THE INTRIGUES  
OF MADÛNE

Boneca-Bau was greatly annoyed and aggrieved by the behaviour of Antonio Moniz Barreto, dreading that this rupture would do him great harm with the Governor of India as well as with the rebellious Kings, but Tribule, disguising the hatred which he felt towards us because of the need of our arms, consoled him assuring him of his own valour. But though Boneca-Bau was pleased with him, he took other precautions; and as it was the time of the Southern Monsoon, he ordered the Regedores of the ports of Columbo and Gâle to raise as many men-at-arms as they could at 20 patacoês of gold (a patacaõ is worth one cruzado), whereby in a short time he mustered an army of 40,000 men including therein

three Companies of Portuguese and Topazes,<sup>1</sup> of which the Captains were Luis Machado, Thome de Abrantes, and Ambrosio da Silveyra, though others grossly exaggerate the number, which is not likely without reinforcements from the State. He entrusted this small regiment to his friend D. Jorge de Castro of the Castros of Monsanto, and the army to Vigiacion Modliar to chastise the rebels of Candea, who were insolent after their recent victory. They set out in March [1]548, and entering that Kingdom by the frontiers of Velosbague,<sup>2</sup> burning and destroying whatever they found without quarter, fortified themselves in the eminence of the Pagode Gaddaladym<sup>3</sup> within sight of the great multitude of the enemies, who, while getting together, were watching from the hills the damage inflicted unopposed, without making up their mind for a long time to attack them. Finally on the night of the 25. March, having assembled an innumerable multitude armed principally against the Portuguese, shouting and calling upon the Chingaláz to join them in the enterprise, they attacked on all sides with great fury and clamour; which was enough [to leave us] with only 500 kinsmen and friends of Vigiacion, who out of regard for him preferred to die an honourable death rather than live with infamy. This great revolt doubled the courage of the enemies, and our men with good reason gave themselves up for lost under the clouds of arrows, which Leonidas on this occasion would not have considered a good shade, where everything had a semblance of death and only the extremes of valour performed for honour and life prevailed against it. In this Thome de Abrantes and Luis Machado signalized themselves, not like those who wish to sell their lives dear, but like those who in despair fight with death itself, without accepting the terms which the King of Candea offered them if they were willing to surrender. Castro performed extremes of valour, and had fortune not

<sup>1</sup> 'Topaz', a term used in the 17th and 18th centuries for dark-skinned or half caste claimants of Portuguese descent and Christian profession.—'Hob.-Job.' In Ceylon it has become *tuppahi* 'interpreter,' 'burgher', in contempt. It also survives as *Dubash*, originally, 'interpreter', but now used to designate the broker attached to a mercantile house for transacting business with local traders. The word seems to be derived from *topi*, a hat, Topaz 'hat-man', but pundits would have it that it is a corruption of *do-bhashiya*; two-tongued', an etymology suggested by Fra Paolino de S. Bartholomew, *Cf. Ceylon Antiq.* II. 62, 124, 191, 282.

<sup>2</sup> Dolosbage. On the western slope of the hills, the valley of the Malaweliganga, above Gampola and Nawalapitiya.' *Law. I.* 178.

<sup>3</sup> Gadaladeniya, a very interesting and picturesque building on a small hill within sight of the Colombo road about 7 miles from Kandy. *Law. I.* 234.



been wont to favour the better side, | he would have had the same fate as Barreto. But as the enemies were numerous and fought from such high places, that they could scarcely be injured, after a prolonged battle D. Jorge fell, | killed by a dart in the throat. Seeing him fall, the enemies shouted victory and offered fresh terms to the men, who were thoroughly exhausted. Seeing, therefore, that they had no chance, they accepted the quarter proffered; the first success which the Candiots regarded as a victory. So great is the change that comes over an army on the death of the Captain, as was already shown in the case of Judas Machabaeus; and they made so much of this victory over so few, that in the pagode of Galadym they inscribed the following inscription on a stone.

When the most fortunate King of the world was reigning in the heart of Candea in a most auspicious year, the Portuguese were killed, and those who escaped death were captured on this spot, from which they had been driven out a short time before. Their souls molested our bodies, and for that reason statues were set up, so that their hearts of iron might enter these stones. So long as the Heavens last, there will be confusion in the Empire of Cota; for what promised to be day turned out to be night; and there passed over to our side the chief part of the natives by means of whom [the Empire] aimed at robbing us of the honour inherited from the Pagodes. Thanks be to the god Malmanda to whose help we owe this victory; and that our gratitude might endure to the confusion of the vanquished, the victors ordered the event to be inscribed on this padraõ<sup>1</sup>.

This defeat, recounted throughout the Island, was greatly celebrated by the enemy, and not the least by Madúne, who, because of the hatred he entertained towards his Brother, considered another's loss to be his gain. Upon this, which affected all, war was suspended, and though the damage was least felt by the victors, their loss was not so small, as to be repaired in a few days, for according to the saying of Meander, when a battle is well fought, victory is only an advantage, for the loss on both sides is wont to be equal.

Though the foregoing is the only version I consider to be true, the diverse opinions concerning the fidelity of the King of Cota made it so confusing, that Couto and all those who follow him regarding the doings of Antonio Moniz Barreto, are at variance with the Father Friar Francisco Negraõ and Bento da Silva, and these two are at variance

<sup>1</sup> For the Gadhadeniya inscription see Muller 72. Law I. 236. There is not a word of all this in the inscription.

among themselves as regards the matter of Barreto, as well as that of Castro or Baroche; but as I do not wish to be a debtor to truth in any particular, having related what Father Negraõ said, because it is more consistent with the times, with the Governors of the State and with the occupations by which they were distracted, I will give here what is related by Bento da Silva, to whom more credit must be given in the affairs of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo, of which | he was an eyewitness, than in these more ancient events of which he had only information, while Father Negraõ speaks from documents and accounts of his Religious who were in Ceylon all the time of its conquest and were present at the principal engagements.

Silva, therefore, says: 'Though Martim Afonso de Sousa greatly desired to chastise the King of Candea for the deaths of many Christians, he was unable to do so, being occupied by other wars, and the | time of his government passed without anything beyond the Factor's complaints of the change he observed in the King of Cota. However when the celebrated D. Joaõ de Castro succeeded him in the year [15]45, he received letters from the Religious of St. Francis regarding the many vexations which the newly converted Christians received from the King of Candea, and in order to prevent these evils, he determined to place the Prince D. Afonso on that Throne. Accordingly, being in Diu, he despatched to Ceylon Antonio Moniz Barreto with 600 picked Portuguese (neither Couto nor Negraõ gives this number, nor is it credible that on that occasion they could have been spared from Diu) with orders to chastise all those who might be found guilty, (and he supposes that four Kings were guilty.) He set out in March [15]47 and coming into port at Caleturê made his way to Columbo. Here he found himself in great perplexity, for the information he found was so contradictory, that he could not make out anything; for the Factor persisted on the treachery of the King, the Friars on his sincerity, and going to see Boneca-Bau, he found that he was quite different from what the Factor had written. To see whether anything of what he alleged could be ascertained, he went to have speech with Madúne, who cunningly sowed some tares of little importance about the King of Cota and the King of Candea; but not even then was he able to come to any certain decision, because they were all in conspiracy for our ruin, Madúne, because he feared only the Portuguese in his attempt to become King of Cota and of the whole Island, Boneca-Bau, because he was persuaded that he would be able to live in peace with his Brother and that the



Portuguese were the cause of the hatred, [and] he of Candea, the culprit, on the instigation of the others, because it was only in those hills and cliffs and woods far from Columbo and in the many passes that impede an advance and are easy of defence, that the Portuguese could be defeated.

On this supposition they persuaded Barreto that the King of Candea ought to be chastised for a rebel against him of Portugal to whom all were bound, the two Kings supplying all the means that might be necessary. On their persuasion and feigned promises, this Captain made ready to chastise the King of Candea with a thousand Lascarins of the Kings of Cota and of Seytavâca, whom they, [the Kings] instructed in the proposed trick and gave over to him, having first sent word to the Candiot that they were their men, in order that he might spare them, and that if the Portuguese were destroyed, | they would be able to live in peace like the kinsmen they were. Barreto, relying on the force he led and on the promised reinforcement, (and this, in my opinion, is the greatest improbability, that a man so capable should not have seen through the treachery after so many suspicions, when he saw the scanty force they gave him), entered by the frontier of Ganitûre. Here they intended to fall upon him, but the King, awaiting a better opportunity, gave him free entry, feigning a great desire for his friendship and bringing forward many excuses for the past. Barreto dissimulated, awaiting an opportunity to see what the friends and allies of the Infante D. Afonso would do. They, | however, and the others, fearing the intentions of the Portuguese, remained ever out of the way, and the thousand Lascarins ran away altogether, and after them the camp followers who had been engaged to carry the equipment and field-artillery. When the treachery was discovered, he made a virtue of necessity and made a request of the King saying: 'That he had come to his Kingdom to reconcile him with those of Cota and Seytavâca, which he [the King] avoided, though he had received no injury from the Portuguese; and that, in order that the whole world might know that, if it came to a rupture, he had no share in it, and offence was taken without any cause, thereby confirming the complaint that he [the King] had worked against the Christians and the law of Christ, he entrusted him with those berços and muskets on supports in the name of the King of Portugal for which he would be always accountable. Having done this, he collected what could not be carried and the surplus ammunition and cautiously set fire to them. The King took peaceful delivery of the arms and artillery presumably to give an account of them.

Five days being thus passed in Candea, he began his march; and immediately the King with all the people of his Kingdom fell upon him with such fury and security, that had Barreto not been so clever and wary, he would easily have perished. In this retreat they wrought great feats, advancing through many obstructed passes; and though the King and his men fought with overwhelming advantage and had continual reinforcements, while the Portuguese were worn out, yet they routed him twice, but did not follow up the victory, as they foresaw what still remained to overcome, and that they might yet have to face the other confederate Kings. With such fears they went retreating to Columbo, leaving 72 Portuguese dead and a large number wounded. It was not known for certain how many of the enemy had fallen in those woods, but it was ascertained that the number was large, and that the loss of Modeliares and Araches was great, for on occasions of this kind and when ranks are in disorder, the bravest are the first to fall. In Columbo, which they reached in good order, the two Kings | of Cota and Seytavâca sent to visit Antonio Moniz Barreto, execrating the treachery of the Candiot. He received the visit without disclosing his mind, so as not to give rise to another altercation. He sent information to D. João de Castro, hoping for reinforcements to avenge such treachery and perfidy. Other wars, however, prevented him from taking this satisfaction at once; and having received permission, he left some men with the Factor in a fortification which he built on the point of St. Lawrence. On reaching Goa, he found that D. João de Castro had died on the 5 of June [15]48 and had been succeeded by Garcia de Sâ.<sup>1</sup>

The complaints of Antonio Moniz Barreto made such an impression on the latter, that he prepared a fleet of 20 foists and 500 soldiers under the command of D. Jorge de Castro; and setting out in May, when the winter was already over, after many troubles he arrived without mishap, and lodging in the house of St. Francis was visited by the Kings of | Cota and Seytavâca. He decided to chastise him of Candea, being carried away by what these two Kings warily feigned (and [Bento da Silva] would have it that he undertook under the same dispositions and with a lesser force what a larger force had failed to effect, again allowing himself to be deceived by those who were already well known). He set out in the beginning of June with the men he brought and those who were there and some natives given by the

<sup>1</sup> Eleventh Governor, 1548-1549.

two Kings. He entered the Kingdom of Candea through the Seven-Corlas without any opposition till at a narrow pass through which they were advancing in loose ranks, the baggage was suddenly attacked and some killed and others put to confusion. Extricating themselves as best they could, they engaged in a wild skirmish which resulted in the capture of the banner of Christ, which cost deaths to both sides. They lost their ammunition and, seeing how little they could do in Candea, when not a single Lascorin was to be seen in their company, they turned back to Columbo. The enemy ordered the passes to be blocked; and to force themselves through them or to open new ways cost blood. Here it was that the Chingaláz first invented the cruel mutilation of cutting off the nose. In this retreat our people displayed the most steadfast and loyal constancy that could be imagined in so few against so many, performing such unheard-of gallantries, that it won the admiration of the boldest enemies. Here fell in the flower of his age D. Diogo de Lima, (under another of the same name, and brother of the Conde de Sarzedas) Captain of one of the regiments, who, after a march of two days, being unable to be expeditious in his movements, for he was stout and had walked much, remained leaning on his sword. Seeing this, his servant, who loved him much and had been brought up by him, full of pain and grief said to him: 'Sir, since God permits that you should give up <sup>F 123</sup> your life here to such false enemies, be of good cheer, the Lord for whose honour we are fighting will reward you in Heaven, and fame will publish your name throughout the world; and I who have served you as a servant during life will accompany you in death like a friend.' And giving him a close embrace, they faced the enemies who were foremost in charging them. They defended themselves for a long time, being persuaded that the longer they fought, the greater would the honour be, till finally being tired of killing, they were themselves killed. The battle raged and already 457 Portuguese were killed, and of the rest nearly all wounded.

They set against them an elephant, armed with a sword in its trunk and spikes on the tusks, which was mad with fury; and as the fire darts of which the animal has some fear, ran short, it continued to charge. In this extremity Father Friar Joaõ Calvo, relying on divine aid, held a crucifix before it saying: 'Animal, in the name of the Lord who created thee I forbid thee to advance.' Forthwith the beast turped on its own people, inflicting such fierce and cruel slaughter, that this loss equalled the great loss they received from our swords, and it was such that they did not pursue the

<sup>P 222</sup> Portuguese any more, although | the latter were now in great want of ammunition and other necessaries, and there was none who still esteemed life. Bento de Silva testifies that he verified this miracle, and Father Negraõ mentions it as spoken of in his time, but does not say when it took place. The Captain returned to Columbo by the usual route with the rest and with this Religious; a few went to Seytavâca and some to Nigumbo.

Boneca-Bau, keeping up the deceit, feigned great sorrow, though in reality he was very glad; but God disposed that he never more lived at peace either with this Brother or with him of Candea and the other Princes who had rebelled against him. Then began the clamours against the Portuguese Captain, and the usual prophecies after the event and the rehearsal of the oracles of the ancients and grief over the rout of the army, of fame annihilated, and of consequences which they foresaw.

## CHAPTER 17.

THE INTRIGUES OF MADUNE AND THE EMBASSIES OF  
BONECA-BAU

Though, as I have already pointed out, I am quite certain that this manuscript has mixed up these two events with those that preceded, I have ever noticed in our reverses a rashness both in design and execution, and that after the event they impute the blame to the Captains and the disaster to misfortune, | as if the Portuguese were immortal and <sup>F 123b</sup> there could be no courage in the brave nations of India to face Europeans, in an army against a regiment, and that, one which on account of the nature of the country was ever in disorder, without considering how much an attack on people taken unawares differs from a pitched battle. Let us be wise, avoid rashness, and we shall not have so many occasions for grief. And the worst of it is that, having become accustomed to this sort of contempt for Asiatic nations, with the same and even against odds we give battle to Europeans. There is no need to look for other causes for the disasters we have related, than that we expect impossibilities from men's arms

or miracles from God. The courage and valour of the Persian, the might and the multitude of the Arabs, the Mogol power, the Razbuta horse and foot dreaded in all ages, the Malavar and Chingalâ pertinacity, the ire of the Achens, the fury of the Malays, and the immense number of other nations, were to the Portuguese of India ever an occasion for vaunting presumption and matter for mockery; and we complain against fortune, when it is against pride that we should do so. We lay the blame on our sins, and I do not deny that they are many and that they offend God, and that He punishes more severely those who sin knowingly; but [the sins] of the Pagans, the Moors and the Heretics are still greater, that one must needs admit that the chastisement did not begin with the losses, but | with the plans and counsels. We could have been masters of India, if we had been masters of ourselves. To what purpose do we defy the whole East, the whole of India and the whole of Africa, if we cannot give them life? If we had come with the Faith, and with commerce free to all, instead of the hatred of India, we could have achieved the Conquest of what is desirable, and what is inherited and what is gifted; but where the principles are wrong, the conclusions must necessary be so also. After having battled with all, in spite of all that Portugal has given of her own, we could not succeed in obtaining what is desirable; and by trying to embrace everything, we actually have little more than nothing. They might say that I too prophesy after the event, but if the past does not show it, they may condemn my argument.

Madûne disguised the hatred he entertained towards the Portuguese, and seeing that if the State were to be drawn into it, he could do nothing by arms, he profited by these two disasters and by the fact that the Chingalâz had always absented themselves from the battle, and the King [had escaped] the chastisement, to keep up the distrust which he had instilled into Barreto; and as Jorge de Aguiar was now the new Factor, he wrote to him to be on the lookout, for Boneca-Bau intended to drive him out of the island; that the wars of Candea were intended rather to exterminate the Portuguese than | to conquer the natives, as might easily be seen from what happened in the two encounters, wherein the lieges of Cota passed over to the enemy, and of those who remained with Vigiaco only a few died, and that Tribule remained at home, because he knew all this; That Boneca-Bau was all deceit, as time would show, and that Antonio Moniz Barreto, finding this out, went away without taking leave of him; That considering all these injuries, he should not wait

for disillusion till it cost him his life, because persons of credit had told him that Boneca-Bau and Tribule were conspiring with the Moors and the latter with the Badagâz, to give them the factory of Columbo in return for their help, being disappointed with the Portuguese, because they were tired of so many succours, and because they were unable to place in Ceylon a force sufficient for so great a conquest. To these repeated messages were added presents leading the Factor to believe things that did not exist, proving impostures with falsehood. Tribule helped thereto not a little, for he took occasion of the cowardice of his own people to despise the valour of our men, letting fall words of such import, that what Madûne alleged could have been proved thereby. The King did not know of this, nor were the Portuguese molested by his orders; he rather desired to favour them in acknowledgment of the many things they had done on his behalf.

Madûne, seeing the position so favourable, determined to send an embassy to the Governor Garcia de Sâ, who was governing on the death of D. Joaõ de Castro, to persuade him of the same thing with which he had deceived the Factor. P 224 In the company of the Ambassadors he sent | also a Portuguese, Paulo Chainho by name, a man more presumptuous than wise, (for it is usual for those who have less understanding to make up for it by impudence) who for some time past had accompanied Madûne in his wars against Cota, and had many a time pressed his spear on Portuguese breasts, of whom it was presumed that he had abandoned the Faith, for it was the opinion already of Plutarch: 'That he who turns against his fatherland does likewise against Heaven.' This man made everything seem easy to Madûne, even the Empire in the end, without reflecting on his own safety which concerned him more. They reached Goa in January of [1]549, and when he came to see the Governor who was well informed about him, without letting him speak, the Governor asked him with all severity: 'What do you want? Whence do you come? What brings you here?' The poor Portuguese was so stunned and taken aback, that, attempting to deliver the message of Madûne, the words froze in his throat, and he was only able to utter 'Ma, Ma' twice without being able to say 'Madûne.' The Governor without further ado or other deliberation, as Captain-General of India, ordered him to be hanged within 24 hours.

| The Ambassadors were so awestruck by this death, P 124 e that they disappeared that night. The Governor was very sorry and ordered them to be searched for with great diligence,

and at the end of five days they were found in the house of Antonio Moniz Barreto, who even in this tried to show the ill-will he felt towards Boneca-Bau. And though they thought their life would be short, when they were led with great courtesy before Garcia de Sâ, he cheered them saying: 'That they must not be surprised at what he did, because it was the custom of the Portuguese to hold for a traitor one who fought on the side of the enemy against friends and countrymen, and moreover that that man had committed so many crimes that the least of them gafficed for his death: Let them set forth what their King had ordered, and if it were meet to grant it, he would not fail.' On this assurance they handed him an *ola* which they interpreted, as they knew our language, and it said thus:

'Madûne Bandar, whose Kingdom consumed your forces, being reduced to great misery; from you, the protector of the weak, light of the sorrowful, strength of the timid, avenger of treachery, and refuge of the oppressed, Begs succour against the wicked, that he may not fall completely into their hands, bringing to your notice that the fidelity wherewith he desires to serve you is enough to deserve it. The which he has often done, giving notice of the treacheries of Boneca-Bau to the Portuguese, by whom you must have been informed, and at the same time he promises you tribute, if you give him help against the Empire, for considering the offences committed, he has given sufficient cause for a rupture. And if money can be a sufficient return for the trouble it will give you, he will make you master of his plenty, so that you may spend it liberally and receive satisfaction thereby for the insolences which Tribule has committed against your people, and avenge the injuries inflicted on the Factors of Colombo.'

P 225 | And he continued to labour this point, for his intention was no other than to destroy Boneca-Bau. This information with that of the Factor, which agreed with that of Antonio Moniz Barreto and of others ill-affected to the King of Cota, so incensed the Governor, that he determined to go to Ceylon to take satisfaction; but this expedition was impeded by domestic troubles and other occupations of government. He held out hopes to Madûne, and with them the ambassadors returned and narrated with admiration what they had seen in Goa, where there was not a little for admiration in those good times, especially the death of Chainho.

Madûne's object in this embassy was two-fold; the principal object was to make Boneca-Bau odious to the Portuguese and to prevent the reinforcement we might give him; the

other to get it for himself, as if he had done us no injury, besides other consequences which circumstances might suggest. For should succour fail Boneca-Bau, | he knew F 125 the want there would be of men, because of the many who had turned against Cota in Candea, a thing which he had inconsistently attributed to him for a crime. He accused him moreover of not punishing them, when they were rebels. And as he had the other Kings against him, and the Portuguese had failed him, Boneca-Bau gave himself up for lost this time and tried to placate them by representing to them the obligation of fidelity which they owed their rightful Lord. For this purpose he chose three Modeliares, persons of credit, and sent them as Ambassadors to each of them: Vanu Rajâ Bau to Jafanapataô, Camareada to Candea, Rata Bau to Seytavâca. They were all of the Blood Royal, in order that by their authority they might conclude a matter of such importance. In Jafanapatam alone did the King find any compassion in his troubles, where the Ambassador was courteously received; and they would have submitted there and then, had they not feared to lose the friendship of the Nayque of Tanjaor, to whom that Kinglet was tributary, and on whose favour he depended. And though they did not at once promise tribute to him of Cota, they gave hopes of paying it, and laid down their arms, swearing not to take them up, and responded in terms of friendship.

The two Kings of Candea and Seytavâca, as they were proud and each one aspired to be the Lord of the whole island, made little account of the embassy; and he of Candea replied. 'That if within a month he did not deliver up the Emperor Javira Astâna, (who was residing in Cota in the hope of being reinstated on that throne), on its expiry he would feel in his territories the evils which the natives of Candea experienced in the late war, in the course of which his men began to pay what they will have to satisfy in full.' With this proud reply the Ambassador returned realizing, as is ever the case, how difficult it is to reduce the mighty.

P 226 | In Seytavâca Madûne, true to his genius, referred the decision to the people, and the people, instigated by him, demanded restitution for the great injuries which Tribule had done them, without discounting what they had done to Cota for so long a time. Seeing this, the Ambassador begged that he might be heard in the public square, and when they had assembled there on the appointed day, the prudent and resolute old man spoke thus: 'Time was when arms were the spokesman of the Empire of Cota, but today, when

to everyone's grief they are suspended and words are resorted to instead, I will make use of them, bringing two things to the notice of you, rebellious people. The first is that the vicissitude of great things is the sure limit of small; the second that there is no evil so powerful, as to prevail over good, though in the opinion of the ignorant it has a colour [of right]. Time will prove the first trampling on your pride to a disastrous end; the second [will be proved] by fortune herself, who is now dissembling in your favour, in order to ruin you with greater force, since contrary to every law of reason you have ceased to obey the lawful Lord of this Island, giving the | tribute of your allegiance to one who is less a King <sup>P 125v</sup> than a tyrant, though you are not ignorant that the stars, now propitious to this piece, by a conjunction of time will very soon return to the place on which they ever shone; and then perchance you will repent of your wrongdoing, for you are the murderers of the very persons who can defend you and the ruin of the land which could have supported you. Weigh well in your judgment what I say, and give heed, I pray you, to what I say, for he alone is a true friend who warns you of the danger which he foresees. Let not your present good fortune, the forerunner of misfortune to come, blind you. Remember the triumphs achieved by my Ancestors; see the misery to which my fate has reduced me, for these are the arms which so often destroyed armies. Today, not as a victor, but as an advocate, I beg you to desist from war, for though by continuance it breeds bold subjects, it makes them infamous, when the enterprise is unjust. Let yourselves be moved to prudence by this example, or rather this spectacle that the Lord who ought to command, has to beg. Pity that poor old man whom death has spared for so bitter a stroke. And you Madûne, whose age counts many a disillusion, remember that what you seek is a crime without pardon after so much ingratitude. Remember that fortune is never the same, that if she shows you a smiling face today, tomorrow she will turn her back upon you; and if the reasons I have shown seem inclined to that side, let the little regard you have paid to them be your chastisement, and the zeal with which I proclaim them, a reward to me.

Rate Bau's tears expressed what he said, and as the Chingalâ people are extremely gentle by nature, (which is the reason why they are so variable) there was not heard in all that assembly anything but sighs and sobs, and they would all have been won over, had the ambition of Madûne not been so obstinate. He replied: 'That war must be the means of peace'; and with this reply the ambassador returned.

## CHAPTER 18.

## P 227 THE OTHER THINGS THAT TOOK PLACE IN CEYLON AND WHAT D. AFONÇO DE NORONHA DID

Boneca-Bau, seeing these intrigues, gave information to Francisco de Miranda, the Alcayde-mor, of everything, and the latter [communicated it] to Jorge Cabral<sup>1</sup> who governed the State of India in succession to Garcia de Sá, but as everyone was against him, [Boneca-Bau] received no satisfactory reply, though the reason for this coldness was not disclosed to him. The unhappy Prince, being discouraged by this attitude and grieved that the truth should be so long hidden (under a cloud of gold, as some said), tried to dissemble, either because it was more becoming his self-respect to do so, | or because Madûne, by intriguing so much, <sup>P 126</sup> would the more easily betray himself. But this hope failed him, for the first to declare himself was the Brother who had received so many favours from him, doing great damage in the neighbouring counties of Beligal, Apitigaõ and Hina, without sparing sex or age, and it would have been easy for him to take Cota, if the Portuguese had declared against it [Cota]. But Francisco de Miranda sent him word: 'That unless he wished to lose his friendship altogether, he must retire to his lands and cease the tyrannies he was inflicting, and give satisfaction to the Emperor for the injuries he had done to his lieges.' This message was little to his liking, but as he saw the need of dissimulating, he gave as excuse that he thought the Portuguese had declared against Boneca-Bau, and withdrew.

On the other side, the King of Candea was not idle, and with some regiments of the army he went about the lands of Cota, burning the harvest and razing the palmgroves and villages. Boneca-Bau saw himself harrassed by complaints and deprived of forces, and though he felt the loss of his lieges and of his own reputation, what tormented him most was the thought that the Portuguese were going to succour Madûne and put him in possession of his lands. In the midst of these reflections, increased by age, he lamented the helplessness of his Grandson, often saying to him: 'Son. This is not your Empire. God will give you another, an it please him.' These words were accompanied by many tears, which caused grief to those who consoled him in his sorrow, and if they

<sup>1</sup> Twelfth Governor, July 1549 - Nov. 1550.

tried to assuage it with hopes of better success, he continued shaking his head: 'I did all I was able to please the Portuguese, and they, all they could to grieve me.' And turning again to Darma Pala Astâna, he repeated. 'Son, this is not your Empire. Well did an Astrologer tell me at your birth that it would end with you. Unlucky was the hour in which you were born, and you were unfortunate to be born in it. A great power is fate, and luck can do much. When I imagined that my hopes would be fulfilled in you, I was told the terms of your ill luck. In the flower of my age I was venerated; in my old age I am humbled. Ah Madûne! Ah Portuguese! The fault is mine.'

P 228 | With such disconsolate reflections Boneca-Bau tormented not only himself, but even those who listened to him, for such lamentation was unsuited to that State. The Stoics looked for two qualities in Kings, neither to laugh nor to weep; for laughter causes merriment, and it does not become a King to give way to it before his lieges; nor would they | have him sad, for if he be so by accident, they imagine great evils, and if it proceed from his character, the Kingdom will abound with miseries rather than with favours. And as Boneca-Bau was a man by nature extremely cheerful, which made him lose dignity, it likewise happened (as is generally observed in others) that he was at times so sorrowful, that he locked himself in, so as not to be seen, two extremes which go well together in the same person. P 126v

Before we disclose greater disorders, it is good to refute in some manner these charges. As for those he made against Madûne they are wholly deserved, for it cannot but be great ingratitude to return so great evil to one who quartered his Kingdom, in order to give him the same title and power, and who had so often defended him, when the Portuguese Captains wanted to destroy him altogether. He repaid this kindness by ever making cruel war on him with arms and by treachery, uniting with his enemies against him and trying by every means to obtain possession of the sovereignty of his Kingdom. But the world has ever been rich in examples of this kind, as was recently seen in Europe in Charles, to whom Sigismund, when he was elected King of Poland, gave up the Kingdom of Sweden, and in return for so great a favour, he with a heretical spirit, faithless to God and to his Brother, made terrible war on him, lending Captains and soldiers to Gustavus Adolphus to attempt the conquest of the Empire. But in Madûne Hell entered for greater purposes, for seeing the door open for the conversion of those heathens by means of the Apostolic sons of the

Seraphic St. Francis, it took this Pagan as an instrument, along with Tribule, to impede the progress of our Holy Faith in Ceylon, just as it found similar means in other Kingdoms. As soon as the Holy Bishop of Nicea (afterwards Patriarch D. Andre de Oviedo) entered the Kingdom of Tigrê, the Devil closed the door to other Missionaries, the Turk taking the Island of Massuâ, the only port of the Abyssinian Empire, thereby impeding the reduction of Ethiopia. Likewise as soon as the Faith of Christ took possession of Japan, the common enemy contrived to conclude the subjugation of those vast Kingdoms under one single head, so that its conversion might depend on one tyrant, who, carried away by political reasons, began to persecute it with fire and sword, and helped by the politics of the Hollar der and the treacheries of Francis Caron, there resident, he succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from the whole of Japan, and with them the public cult of the Faith, though he [Caron] paid for these treasons | at the bar of Lisbon, after he had become a traitor to God and to his nation and had introduced the French in India. It was the same in China, for as soon as the Faith of Christ began to increase in that populated, opulent, and vast monarchy, the Tartars found an entrance into that Empire | through another Julian, and expelled therefrom the Faith and its Preachers. But God so disposed, that the hopes of its conversion are becoming greater under the government of the Tartars than under the Chinese government. For though it is the largest sovereignty in the known world, for it extends 600 leagues in diameter outside the walls of China the Grand Duke of Moscow has there for ages a praça, and now that he is converted to the Roman Faith, (as they wrote to us) the Evangelical preachers can by this means easily attempt the conversion of Tartary. P 229 P 127

The complaints which Boneca-Bau made against the Portuguese are based on the credence they gave to the falsehoods of Madûne, [and] if they refer also to the caution, they are so far altogether unjustified; for to have to defend him so often and at such great peril to our arms and to expose the Portuguese to the dangers of the highlands of Candea, knowing the inconstancy of his lieges and the abhorrence they had to the overlordship they feared from a foreign nation, was a sufficient reason for us to be most wary, for in that matter the Portuguese nation even excelled in foolhardiness. If the complaints bear on the obligations of the treaty, they are ungrounded, for we only obliged ourselves to defend him from those who made war on him on our account, and no nation will ever do more than the Portuguese did in fulfilment

of this duty, giving in to his pusillanimity or policy in sparing his Brother ; and the blame must be laid on him, if he is now in the peril which he has brought upon himself, and realizes that only the favour of the Portuguese can preserve his Crown, and that his obstinacy in not receiving the Faith of Christ has been punished in this way.

I shall not be able to justify in the same manner the behaviour of the Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha,<sup>1</sup> as unworthy of his person as it was least to be expected from a Brother of the Marquiz de Vila Real. He set out from Portugal and by a mistake of navigation put into the bar of Columbo towards the end of August 1550, and came from the Kingdom with a prejudiced mind owing to false reports against Boneca-Bau who was at that time at war with Madûne, who, though he withdrew on the demand of Francisco de Miranda, yet seeing that he was secretly favoured by the Portuguese, (bribed, they say, with much money) resumed the war, even daring to lay siege to Cota. Whence Tribule sallied with 2000 men, either because he was affronted, or because giving himself for lost altogether, he wished to sell himself dear, and gained an important victory over him, capturing his Standard, and with it 30 pennants, which he added as a device to his arms, which were a Lion on a field of gold, in memory probably of the one of whom his Ancestors boast. Boneca-Bau heard of the arrival of the Viceroy, and intending to put an end to the rupture and the distrust of his person, sent two Modeliars to wait on him and offer him the refreshments of the country and whatever else was needed to refit the ship that had fared badly. The Viceroy welcomed the refreshment, though he would have preferred if the King himself had come with it. Which gave him opportunity to hold forth saying : ' That he represented the person of the King, his Lord, of whom Boneca-Bau was a vassal, even if he did not pay the respect due to his quality, and that it behoved him to render allegiance forthwith.' It is a great mistake, here observes Father Negraô, for representatives to think they are those whom they represent ; and from this arose the hatred which we have obtained and the troubles into which we often got ourselves entangled ; because the Viceroys and Governors of the State, and sometimes even ordinary Captains, came to think that the Princes of the East were not Princes, though many of them in power and grandeur were greater than those of Europe. From this erroneous view sprang the little esteem with which they

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Viceroy, 1550-1554.

treated them, and the very great evils which resulted therefrom, without bearing in mind that, though colour is a disposition of the body, it does not by itself alone increase esteem, as it does not diminish the authority of those who are born white. And though they do not observe Christian politeness, they are not altogether without it, nor is it right that those who profess [Christianity] should make it a motive for pride.

To add to the dissatisfaction, Madûne, who was on the alert, came to meet the Viceroy, accompanied, they say, with more wealth than men. Whether with this or only by his personality, after various complaints against the Brother, he made the latter so disliked, that he won the good graces of D. Afonso, and one of the greatest imposters that Ceylon ever produced was taken for a man of truth, [Noronha] being misled either by his scanty knowledge of Asiatic peoples, especially of the Chingalâ people, whose sagacity is capable of perverting the wisest minds, or by the force of Madûne's jealousy, which was able to justify him and cunningly misrepresent another's merits as demerits ; for it can not be believed that a mind, so well born, could be perverted by gold, before he become possessed of that passion in all its strength, as we shall presently see. Madûne having gained his end retired, and Boneca-Bau did not tarry in visiting the Viceroy and forestalling fresh confusions, excusing himself as best he could for the faults laid to his charge, if he would consent to his retaining the Kingdom he had, and in which the Viceroys and Governors of India had placed him, though his face and actions at once betrayed his perturbation of mind. But even this submission did not in the end succeed in causing the Viceroy to desist from his former mistake, and in making him realize that the position of Boneca-Bau deserved all respect, even if he had some demerits, for to fail in courtesy is to make war on honour, and among politic nations it was never observed between Crown and Crown, and still less between a baton and a Crown. I would fain have passed over this, were it not for the duty of telling the truth in matters laudable as well as culpable, for to do otherwise is to deceive, not to write history, and this encounter moreover was in all respects ill-conducted, and it laid the foundation for greater misfortunes, the Viceroy being ever inclined to the party unworthy of his favour, and obliged to tolerate what did not become him. For Boneca-Bau, seeing that he was quite bent on believing him to be treacherous and false in his dealing, defended himself in immoderate terms and turning his back returned to Cota, followed by his people, to whom he said : ' Do you see that I have good reason to be unhappy



amidst insults and calumnies? That it is not without good reason that I complain? Indeed I do not know to what I am to attribute these outrages, except that fortune seeks to punish me for the good I did to these people against your wishes. I have heard that they are valiant in arms, but less capable of retaining friendship. I am determined to defend my Realm, and to order the Viceroy not to remain in my territories any longer, both to show him that I do not fear him, as well as to give better foundation to the complaint which I intend to make to the King of Portugal about his pride and credulity, out of regard for whom I will not order the Factory to be razed and all therein be put to the sword.'

Burning with anger, the King let fall these words and others which his passion dictated, for there is no one who in his own house does not think himself the better, and no King who can patiently bear to see himself defied in his own realm, and put up with calumnies from one who depends on him and from whom he receives ingratitude for benefits, which in the opinion of Seneca is the gibbet of patience, and is ever regarded as the worst manifestation of human malice, the reverse of thankfulness and the destroyer of gratitude. The Viceroy here forgot the Emperors Octavian and Severus who, when they had not the wherewith to reward those who had laid them under obligation, fell at their feet meeting their claim with promises, and it cannot but be a great regret, that such praiseworthy deeds as the Portuguese did in Ceylon for the preservation of this Crown were all wasted by a misguided Viceroy and buried and forgotten in such a noble mind.

The King forthwith ordered two Modeliares to call upon D. Afonso de Noronha to quit his territories, and though the Viceroy desired to avenge himself, as the greater part of his men were ill, and they were not so numerous as to make him quite sure of getting the better, much against his will, he complied with the order of the King, keeping this insult in his mind to avenge it on a better occasion. | This P 232 is the pass to | which one comes, when he does not foresee all the consequences and refers to his natural inclinations what only art can conserve, regulating by his presumption what can be well done only by might. He set out in the beginning of October for Goa to the great regret of Madúne, who was the cause of his departure, though he rejoiced at the rupture with the Emperor. He withdrew for the while the army he had in the territories of Cota, less free than before the rout inflicted by Tribule, for he remained only in the hope of reinforcements from the Viceroy, which coming to

the knowledge of Boneca-Bau was one of the reasons for hastening his departure. The Moors and the Chingaláz, understanding the feelings of the King, and thinking it would please him, and that his anger would be appeased by Portuguese blood, joined together and on the night of the seventh October, after the Viceroy had given sail, two Modeliares, accompanied by their men, assembled in Columbo and attacked the gate of the Factor Ambrosio de Melo (whom the Viceroy had left, taking away from that office Francisco de Miranda) who was forewarned by that time and had fortified himself as well as he was able, believing that the rising would subside after the first outburst. But seeing that they were surrounding him on all sides, he fired a small six-pounder piece which he placed in front of the gate, charged with small shot, killing thereby the foremost adventurers and obliging the rest to act with more circumspection. The report of this shot gave the alarm, and by order of the King there set out at once Tribule with 2000 men, and though the besieged thought it was a fresh succour [for the enemy], it was for them. The leaders were taken, and the King ordered them to be beheaded, sending for the Factor to whom he said: 'That hearing of the affront which they had committed, he ordered the ringleaders to be chastised, because he was no enemy of the King of Portugal, to whom he acknowledged great obligations, though he was an enemy of the Viceroy of India, not because of the office he held, but because of the insults he had committed, for which he was not minded to take satisfaction.'

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## CHAPTER 19.

### BONECA-BAU REINSTATES JAVIRA ASTANA ON HIS THRONE OF CANDEA, AND THE OTHER THINGS THAT HAPPENED UP TO HIS DEATH

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The Portuguese being freed from the peril in which they found themselves, tried to protect themselves from the turbulent inconstancy of the Chingaláz. And though Tribule yearned to drink their blood, he dissembled out of complaisance to the King and also because he had need of them. And as the King of Candea, elated by these recent victories, had become tyrannical, killing his own lieges without justice,



almost all the chief men advised Boneca-Bau to undertake a fresh expedition and restore to that Kingdom Javira Astâna, | whom they would instantly obey. On seeing this good position of affairs, Tribule made up his mind and with 8000 men and about 25 Portuguese whose Captain was the valiant Luis Pardo, he marched to Candea with such speed, that when he reached Balanê, the King had not yet received tidings of his departure, while the lieges were aware of it and northwith joined Tribule. And when he reached Palnagurê, the army exceeded 25,000 men, wherewith everything seemed assured, but the King sallied out to meet him with a lesser number, and during the two hours of battle there were many deaths both on the one side and the other, and the issue would have been doubtful, had not four Modeliares with the greater part of the people passed over to the new King and put the rest to flight. The tyrant fell into their hands and paid for his pride in Cota, being killed as a traitor and rebel. Among other deeds of prowess performed on this occasion, and not a few by the Portuguese, Luis Pardo, seeing an elephant and thinking from the castle it was bearing that the King was therein, charged it with all resolution, but at such risk to his own life, that had he not been succoured by Francisco de Freytas, he would have perished. These two killed the beast and many Lascorins who accompanied it, to the astonishment of the Chingalâz. Javira Astâna took possession of the Kingdom [and] pardoned all offenders, whereby he became very popular, [for he was] besides mild in character.

On this victory, won at a time of great stress, Tribule returned to Cota, where Boneca-Bau left him and set out, on account of frequent indisposition, for Calâne, a Place which had the best air and waters of the whole of Ceylon, as we have already said, where the Kings of Cota had their shrines of devotion and palaces for their amusement, whither Boneca-Bau went, entrusting to Tribule the government of the Kingdom; and worn out by years, he determined as a relief for his worries to lead in that retreat the remainder of his life, which, as the physicians predicted, would even naturally be short, but according to his Astrologers, it was similar to the change which sick people seek, either out of the love they bear for life or because quitting every place in search of a better, they prepare for the Grave. Not five months had passed since the departure of the Viceroy when he made this change, and there he improved in a short time belying and mocking the predictions. But as the Devil, the father of lies, is wont to accredit sad predictions or because his false promises of receiving the Faith were worthy

of this chastisement, or because the Portuguese deserved it, for it affected them, after the siesta of the 29 day of December of [1]550,<sup>1</sup> while he was at one of the windows of his palace, a musket shot passed through his head, and he fell senseless; and though remedies were applied, he survived only three hours and ended his days and began the downfall of his Kingdom, having reigned 29 [years], and being 83 years of age. They say that before dying, he turned to salute Buddum and said: 'I know well. After all. After all.' | These were his last words, and thereby he showed in some manner that he knew the cause of his death, It was concluded that | the Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha had ordered it to be done in resentment for what was done to him, without considering the cause he gave. For this purpose he had left behind in Columbo a Mulato slave of his, named Antonio de Barcelos, who at that time was seen in Calâne, and disappeared after the shot, and mixing himself with the other Portuguese without any perturbation pretended to be shocked like the others at this perfidy, for as these people do not change colour, it is not easy to make out their mind from their looks.

Although there was also great suspicion that the death was accidental, and due to another insult to the King, for they said that the Queen having illicit dealings with a great person of her nation, and her kinsmen taking offence at this insult, bribed this Mulato to kill the paramour who at that hour was wont to place himself at that window, and turns being changed, the lot fell on the King, [yet] Diogo de Couto<sup>2</sup> relates that this Mulato at the hour of death in the presence of a Chingalâ, who related it to him and who also said it to the King, his grandson, confessed that he killed the King by mistake firing at a dove, and that nothing else should be suspected, for that alone was the truth. But it is hard to believe that a human eye can mistake a man for a dove, even though he should see only the head, and I found a copy of a letter which removes all these doubts, for the Viceroy D. Afonso de Noronha says this to the Factor of Columbo appointed by him: 'Seeing the great carelessness that there is both in the death of Boneca-Bau Bandar as well as in the imprisonment of Tribule, I cannot help thinking

<sup>1</sup> This date does not seem to be correct. Noronha left Portugal in March 1550, arrived in Ceylon about October (Couto. VI. 9. 1. & Correa IV., 725) and reached Cochim in November. 'Not five months' after his departure would bring us to March-April 1551. Ferguson conjectured June or July, 1551 (J. xx p. 147. n. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Dec. VI., Bk. IX. ch. XVI.

that either self-interest has corrupted you,<sup>1</sup> or that lack of heart has made you do a thing so contrary to what was expected from your honour, courage, and independence; and the more so when I hear that leaving Columbo you have gone over to Cota taking service under that King. All that displeases me on account of the choice I made, for the world might say, that I deceived myself or allowed myself to be deceived, so that neither in one way nor in another can [you] be a man free from infamy. Wherefore I warn you that if you desire my friendship, and that the King my Lord should not know your negligence and slackness, you should carry out what I have recommended so much, for you know how much it is to the service of God and the King our Lord. Wherefore do what is your duty and your obligation, and I shall be relieved of the disappointment in which I am, informing the King of your good services, &c.' The blindness of passion could not go further than to persuade this Gentleman that he would be doing a service to God and to the King by the murder of Boneca-Bau, who was the single King of pagan India in whom the Portuguese always found good correspondence. Such was the respect he had for them, that he considered in them a divinity; such the love that he never

P 235 hesitated to share with them his revenue; and though | F 130  
the interest of his own safety may have entered into consideration in this, where do you find a King's favour into which no such principle enters? Even if he had been a great enemy, it is not by any manner of means proper to kill him treacherously, and still less when the peace had not been broken, and he had protested that he was a friend of the King of Portugal, though not of his Viceroy of India.

But to understand more clearly how iniquitously passion here sought the approval of God, it is enough to see further on the effects of the persecution of the Faith, fully foreseen in this crime; and in order that so great a treachery may not be imputed to the Royal person, I will quote here a passage from a letter which the King D. Joaõ III.<sup>2</sup> wrote to the Viceroy on hearing only the news of the first disorders, for when he came to know of the second and of the death of the King, we know from the entreaties which, on his orders, the Infante

<sup>1</sup> This and the following pronouns are in the third person and might possibly refer to a person other than the addressee of the letter, but as it is the custom in Portuguese to address a person according to his state or title, the words are here taken as referring to the Factor to whom the letter is addressed.

<sup>2</sup> D. Joao III. 1521-1557.

D. Luis made to D. Pedro Mascarenhas<sup>1</sup> to come out to India at the age of 70 years, so that by his prudence he might remedy these evils, which, from the effects of which our Historians speak, were more suited to the years of D. Afonso de Noronha, for the Infante went so far as to say: 'D. Pedro, either you or I.' And if the Viceroy had reached Portugal alive,<sup>2</sup> he would not have escaped most serious trouble, and it may well be that the foreknowledge of it killed him on the voyage, as happened to the Governor Nuno da Cunha [who] owing to a charge against him had to answer for the death of the King of Cambaya, Sultan Badûr.

The letter of the King to D. Afonso de Noronha said thus: 'I have often recommended you the respect that should be shown to friendly Kings and tributaries. I have received complaints of the contrary in a letter of the Emperor of Cota, as well as in others written from India with proofs in support, to which I do not know what to say in reply. I recommend you earnestly and order you to act in this matter in a way as not to give me cause for displeasure, and by doing otherwise you will serve me ill, for I do not wish that they should complain of me without cause. And as regards Ceylon in particular, try to retain the friendship of the natives, in order that the Faith may be spread, as well as on account of the cinnamon from which my custom-house receives great profits, the least result of this friendship, for the principal one which the Lord King D. Manoel, my Father, whom God rest, had, was the exaltation of Christianity, and provided it is spread, I shall be satisfied even if in consequence of it, which alone I seek, other things be lost; for by this means the Religious will have easy access. Look how you deal in this, and in other matters; and I warn you that if you expedite these, your affairs will receive the same expedition from me; and if you do the contrary, I shall be obliged to deal severely with you. At Almerym, 20 March [1] 552.'

It is scarcely possible to describe the grief which the Chingalâz showed, | when they heard that their King was killed, F 130 o  
which caused sorrow even to those who listened to them;

<sup>1</sup> Sixth Viceroy. Left Portugal April 1554 and died in Goa, June 1555 after a government of nine months. His rule was marked by disinterested probity and it was expected that 'had he lived to carry on the government for the usual term of office, he would have done much towards the encouragement of truth, justice and honesty in all branches of the administration.'—Dan.

<sup>2</sup> Noronha 'perished on his way back to the Kingdom' says the author on p. 305 *infra*, though Couto says (VII. l. 68. be reached Portugal alive.

<sup>P 236</sup> for they called him the Father of the Country and its defender. The soldiers threw down their arms at his feet to show that they were of no avail in his death. The Courtiers and Citizens over and above their customary mourning added another, and mourned for the government that was over. The women cutting their hair also protested their widowhood. Sadness reigned everywhere, and everything was in confusion, because they thought that their Empire had ended with Boneca-Bau, and because this King was beloved of all, for as he was affable, he was esteemed by those who knew how to value this quality, and few feared his rigour. He was liberal to excess, more a friend of peace than of war, for he was by nature gentle. Of his own interest he was negligent, but not so of public affairs to which he gave quick despatch. He was of good stature, eyes somewhat small, in colour fair, more inclined to white than black, gay in conversation, acute and piquant in speech, but truthful in his dealings. From Calâne he was taken to Cota, and thence to Triquilimalê, where he had prepared his resting place, all making reverence to him in their fashion, for they say he died a great pagan.

Incredible was the hatred which the Chingalâz conceived against the Portuguese for the murder of their King; and though they attempted to give it a different appearance, this remained indelible in that nation, and was as exaggerated in their histories as the fables of their Pagodes. And if the Portuguese, during this perturbation, had not betaken themselves from Columbo, they would all without doubt have been done for. When tears were over, rage began, and the hatred showed itself by wreaking vengeance on the stones of the Factory which they razed without leaving a vestige of it. Nor did the indignation stop here, for even Madûne, the cause of all these misfortunes, sent away from Seytavâca those who lived there under his protection, alleging that those who killed the Emperor after receiving so many favours from him would more easily take away his life, stopping short with this moderation because of what he expected from the Portuguese. The Moors of the opposite coast, being informed of the matter, cut off the heads of some who had fled to them. This is what comes of a passion ill-regulated; from the error of one results the loss of so many and common discredit; for the Portuguese did not remember what Cyrus said to his successor at the end of his life; 'That it is not the golden Sceptre that preserves a Kingdom, but moderation and prudence'; and from the want of this, said the Armenian Tigranes, originate all others, because he who prudently foresees the end thinks of the common good and not of private

passion. All these misfortunes resulted from the manner in which D. Afonso de Noronha wished to be treated, and himself treated the King of Cota. Such conduct was the less courtly coming from one who was moreover a gentleman of the Court and of the superior nobility of Portugal,<sup>1</sup> for experience and reason have shown that the greatest fidalgos, as they are most certain of their position, are also most courteous, bestowing in their behaviour towards others the courtesy that abounds in them, while on the other hand those who are ill at ease on any side, by their presumption and arrogance try to make up for what is wanting to them.

Nor could I have found whence this contempt for Asiatic Kings originated in the Portuguese nation, had I not been persuaded that the origin of this scorn are the dealings which we first had with the barbarous Negroes of Africa, discovered and conquered by us, and the information we had soon after we went to India of barbarous America. For seeing some affinity in colour, they did not pay heed to what they were, but to what they seemed somehow to be. And as on the other hand valour and superiority of arms made us dreaded, contempt grew into pride, though they are things as foolish as courtesy and valour [are the reverse]. We do not find an example of this in our dealings in Europe, where every independent Prince is addressed as Highness, and venerated with respect, be the years of his dominion many or few; and though enmity sharpened weapons, the difference of feelings was never expressed by the tongue. And if we consider the greatness and wealth and power of the Asiatic Princes: The Persian Monarchy was in all ages vast and mighty, and that nation was in all respects like a European one; most vast and rich was the Mogol [monarchy], when we came to India, and today its territories vie with those of Turkey, and it is said they muster 900,000 horse besides elephants and lascarins: The Kings of Dekan and Balagate place on the field, each more than 100,000 men, and Idalxa led against Goa 150,000: The Samory began to be an Emperor of Malavar before our redemption, and his own State is not so small as to be despised: Bisnaga was a large and most opulent Monarchy, as we said. Greater and more opulent was that of Pegû: That of China is by itself equal to the whole of Europe [but] more populous and more rich, and today in continuous territory it is the largest Lordship in the world

<sup>1</sup> Dom Affonso de Noronha was the son of Dom Fernando de Menezes, second Marquez de Villa-Real who married Dona Guiomar Freire, Countess of Villa de Alcouthim, and thus combined two titles of nobility.—Couto VII. I: VI.

with 600 leagues outside the walls: In this way there were and are Princes of lesser states bordering on these seas, who dwell in the large islands of the Sea of the South and in the Archipelago of St. Lazarus and who by their tyrannies acquire great wealth; and in maritime Arabia there are besides two other Kings with the title of Iman after they abandoned the government of Cabildas, as happened in Mauritania after the entry of the Xarifes. And what reason is there to despise these potentates? And to deny these Monarchs the title of Majesty, or these Kings that of Highness?

All these nations as far as Bengal have European features, thence Southwards they are diversified more or less as | regards the eyes and noses. The Arabs, Persians, Mongols, Bengâlas and other nations of the South, though they tend [to that colour], can by no means be called blacks. The Chinese, the further North they go, are the more white, the Malavares among others are darker in colour, | but they are by no means neither in features nor in colour, comparable to the Kaffirs. And speaking of Ceylon in particular: That island of which the King of Cota styled himself Emperor is little inferior in size to the Kingdom of Portugal; its riches have been explained; the antiquity of its Kings under the same title, dominion and blood, is unequalled in Europe. The people are noble, cultured, and by no means barbarous; well-featured and olive complexioned, which is the common colour of India as far as the Ganges; they are light and wiry, in keeping with their diet, spare, and of little sustenance; and it is a wonderful thing that we seek to improve the works of God, and fancy that only Northern people are to be esteemed, because they are white.

For this reason, these nations esteem nothing so much as to be treated by us with honour according to their castes, of which they are most observant, and also in not mixing with others; and they resent nothing so much as contempt. This caused the loss of Mascate a few years ago; this made us hated by these people, after we had dealings with them, because, if we had given them good treatment and had not prevented them from trading, we should have been adored by them. They acknowledge Portuguese valour; they wonder at the extent of our trade, they trusted us altogether, so long as misery did not make our fidelity suspect, and evil proceedings of some had not made the others disliked. For they are most particular in their business and dealings, and there are among them men of great credit and of great means, and as the ambition of Princes has no bounds, but rather their greatness is reckoned by it, all those who command and trade are very

rich, the others very poor; and these two extremes are seen in all these Monarchies and Kingdoms. This subject requires longer treatment; here I touch upon it merely to show the petty things for which great things are lost, and the unreasonableness of those who think that these Princes are not worthy of all honour and courtesy. And the Portuguese have the more reason for it, for though many European nations have come over to India, as [the Indians] see them fill low and disreputable offices, which they do not see in the Portuguese, they esteem none better, though they fear them. The first time the French set foot in India, when one of them was greatly exaggerating the greatness of the Most Christian King, worthy of all respect, a Canarese who heard him, pointed out the distance of three lances and asked him: Is he as great as that? For each one of them in his house is persuaded that he is the child of the Sun which warms him. And though they know it, on no account will they admit the superiority of a foreign people. And though the style once | admitted at Court becomes law, and a rule in the Secretariats, even in the letters of our Lords, the Kings of Portugal, to these Princes are seen such faults, perhaps not much noticed by them, because they are ignorant of the force of our Language or because there is no one to point it out to them; which sometimes required | these letters to be improved in India, which however never sufficed to make the Secretariats of the Kingdom change their style, for in them 'You' is most common, a 'Highness' very rare and 'Majesty' unheard of; and by these and the like terms we gained no other profit than the reputation of being proud and destitute of politeness.

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## CHAPTER 20.

### DARMA PALA ASTANA SUCCEEDS TO THE THRONE OF COTA, AND THE VICEROY VISITS CEYLON.

By the death of Boneca-Bau Bandar, there succeeded to that Kingdom his grandson Darma Pala Astana, already crowned in Portugal as Emperor of Ceylon. But so long as he was not old enough to govern, there was elected for the government Tribule Pandar his Father, whose first care was to station men on the frontiers to guard against the attacks of Madûne, in whom the death of Boneca-Bau gave rise to fresh designs on the Empire, four months being spent

on these preparations; at the end of which the Viceroy, being informed of what had taken place and of how the Portuguese had been altogether driven out of the Island, prepared with great diligence a fleet of 70 foists in which he embarked in the beginning of May, and after a prosperous voyage dropped anchor in Columbo on the 12th. And as the achievements of this force of 3000 Portuguese were far from praiseworthy, the documents omit to name the Captains.<sup>1</sup> The Infantry being disembarked, he formed of it three good divisions, the vanguard being led by his son D. Fernando de Noronha, whom he ordered to go ahead to seize the principal officers of the King to be held responsible for the treasures, placing meanwhile a guard in the Palace of the King so that they might not escape therefrom. And after giving the necessary orders in Columbo, he hastened to Cota with the remainder of the force, where he laid hands on the principal Modeliares and the oldest attendants of the Palace Royal without the King being able to prevent it. And as it was supposed that the treasures of the ancient Kings were great, they say, he announced that therewith he intended to conquer Ceylon—for in truth he had a force sufficient for anything, as we shall show at length later on—and that he intended once for all to have done with that war and to leave the King and the Island in peace, considering that in no other cause could the wealth of that youthful King be better spent, nor a greater service rendered to him and to the King of Portugal.

P 240 | But the documents are at such variance, that the truth can scarcely be ascertained. And if such were the noble purpose of D. Afonso de Noronha, only the manner in which he carried out the undertaking can be found fault with; for he achieved nothing of any moment, considering the force he brought; and finally he retired with what he obtained, which ill betokens any such intention. And as God alone knows the truth, I shall continue the narration of his doings with the same uncertainty, for some say that having begun his search for treasures and not finding what he imagined, he ordered some Modeliares and Eunuchs to be put to the torture. But as not even the Portuguese knew his plans fully, while the natives could not expect that such behaviour meant any good, these excesses greatly scandalized both the one and the other; and forthwith more than 600 of the principal persons went over to Madúne, seeing that he persisted in this course in the Palace of the King, searching his private apartments where, they say, he found more than 100,000 paradaos, according to others 800,000.

<sup>1</sup> Couto gives a list Vl. 9. 16.

Afterwards he proposed to the King and his Father to march upon Madúne and not to return without laying hold of him and conquering all his lands; 'That they should give him 200,000 paradaos for the expenses of that expedition, 100 [thousand] at once, and the other moiety afterwards: That all the prize taken in that conquest should be divided between the two Kings of Portugal and Cota.' To pay this moiety, the King had even to sell his jewels and other ornaments of his person wherewith he was able to pay only 80,000 paradaos. Before they set out, there arrived D. Diogo de Almeyda, who on his way from the Kingdom had touched at Cochim and brought a reinforcement of 50 soldiers. He was welcomed, and they set out for Seytaváca, the Viceroy leading nearly 3000 Portuguese, leaving the remainder in Cota and Columbo, and the King 4000 Chingaláz, a clear proof that the others did not want to go in such company and that many had kept away. In the rearguard went D. Fernando de Menezes with all the young Fidalgos. Madúne fortified three stockades, garrisoning them with many men and munitions and kept in reserve 3000 picked men to use as occasion demanded. All three resisted with valour, but were captured with the death of many enemies. And marching to Seytaváca, those of the vanguard had some encounters with Madúne in which they defeated him completely, and he fled to the hills of Darnagala with 100 men. They entered the city unopposed, and the Viceroy lodged in the Palace of Madúne and the King near the Pagode. The city was sacked and they found much prize therein. He ordered the Palace of the King to be dug up, but did not find the treasures. In the large Pagode he found many idols of gold and silver, bells, sconces, basons, some jewels with precious stones,<sup>1</sup> which he did not share as he had promised.

P 241 | The King asked for 500 Portuguese to go with his Father in pursuit of Madúne till he was taken. The Viceroy approved it, asking him immediately for the 20,000 paradaos that were still due to him from the 100,000. But as the King had not the wherewith to pay, the Viceroy dissembled in the matter of the expedition, and said that it was already late, that he had to attend to other matters of the State and to the despatch of the ships for the Kingdom, as if these affairs were of greater importance than the conquest of the whole of Ceylon, which

<sup>1</sup> In 1904, Sousa Viterbo brought to light an inventory of the articles robbed from Kotte and Sitawaka. This inventory, *O Tesouro do Rei de Ceylao*, was made by Simao Botelho, the conscientious Vedor da Fazenda, who accompanied Noronha and afterwards became a Dominican monk.

God had put into his hands, and once Madúne was finally dealt with, in a short time with the forces of the one and the other Kingdom he could have subdued that of Candea, and left sufficient garrisons to hold the Island in peace; and once this was done, the reduction of Jafanapataõ remained altogether easy. He returned to Columbo, placed 400 men to garrison the City of Cota, and named as Captain-major of the Island and of a fleet of 10 foists, D. Joaõ Henriquez with order to dwell in Cota and to fortify Columbo with cabook walls (*typas*).

But as I have no wish to be wanting in truth nor in justice to the Viceroy, I shall relate what others narrate with more accuracy, saying: That the Chingaláz driven by torture disclosed two places where was buried by Boneca-Bau a quantity of venetians and a treasure of costly gems, and that, as he continued the tortures, killing some and tearing others to pieces, the others promised to give him what they had on condition that he would not torture them, thus exceeding the rigour of Constantius, who to obtain payment of the tribute which the Sicilians owed to the Empire, obliged them to sell their wives and children. Seeing this example, the soldiers went about the City robbing houses, violating women with great insolence and highhandedness as if they were declared enemies, without the poor Chingaláz having any one to complain to or to seek protection from; and they did not spare the innocent, but killed some only to wrest the earrings and bracelets and *chorcas*,<sup>1</sup> and the City was [only too] small for the double affronts. Such was the lack of justice and discipline! So blind was self-interest, that it only saw what ambition imagined! At sight of this, the Chingaláz began to realize the evils which ensue from communication with ill-conducted foreigners, on account of the scanty military discipline that was almost habitual in India, for far different were the injuries which we received from the native enemies, who, if they did not spare property and sometimes even life, are not wont to break out against the honour of women. A great disgrace to Christians that Pagans should be more moderate in this!

P 242 | Fain would Tribule and the chiefs of the City have applied a remedy to these evils, but the large force which the Viceroy had and the fear lest he should do to them what F 134o<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anklets. *Chorca* is not found in any dictionary, but Botelho's *O Thesouro do rei de Ceylao* speaks of 'Xorquas de peis,' which is *azorca* or *ajorca* (from an Arabic word) and means ornaments worn on the arm, leg or neck.

<sup>2</sup> The copyist has left F. 133v and 134 blank.

he did to others made them adopt the advice of Tribule, who told them: 'That the tyrannies wrought by the Portuguese continue and increase; That to save their lives it was necessary to abandon the City, and if their blindness was so great that it would not be moderated by this retirement, let them satisfy their desires with the stones of which they were masters; That all should be ready the following night, with their families, and with any valuables they might have, to make away to the woods which were at a distance of five leagues.' And though it seemed to them all a hard thing to quit their fatherland, the fear they had conceived made them accept this counsel as the best course. However, such a multitude of people could not sally out with such secrecy as to prevent the Viceroy from coming to know of it, before they reached the shelter of the hills in which they sought an asylum expecting greater gentleness from the company of wild beasts than of men. The Viceroy sent 8 Companies to hold the passes through which the Chingaláz had to pass, but despite all their haste, Tribule put himself in safety. However they came upon the young King Darma Pala Astâna in the company of two Modeliars and some men who were conducting him. He returned in fear of his life from which the Viceroy relieved him saying: 'Son, You are a King, but your Father is not. You are young, and the King of Portugal has sworn you as Lord of the Empire of Cota. Look after its government, which I hope in God you will do better than your ancestors.' He directed that he should be lodged in his Palace, and that all should obey him, on his promising not to let in Tribule, but rather to hold him for an enemy. Which they did with pleasure, for Tribule was little liked, and the King even in appearance resembled his grandfather. As guardian and defender of the Kingdom there remained Eranáz Bandar, a man of sound judgment, whose loyalty was stronger than his fear of death. The Viceroy coming to know of the excesses that had been committed, ordered six Portuguese to be hanged in order to appease the City altogether, which he could have avoided, if he had forestalled the evil betimes.

Afterwards he passed to Seytavâca in the manner described, and wrote to Madúne not to be uneasy or to think that he made that expedition for any other purpose than to visit him and to thank him for the kind manner in which he was welcomed, when he came from the Kingdom. Madúne, expert and hardened in malice, knowing what the Viceroy had done, took the message as a favour and made away with his treasures and his people to the village of Batuguedre, leaving the City

deserted, the inhabitants not thinking themselves safe even in the highest hills and mountains. The King left a Portuguese with a letter for the Viceroy to be handed to him as soon as he arrived in which he told him ; ' That as he knew that his men were many and the place small, he had quitted it, so that the Portuguese might make themselves quite at home. | F 135

P 243 And if it | seemed to him a strange proceeding, he must not think him a fool, for it was prudent to take warning from another's fate. That the echoes of his cruelties were so terrifying in Seytavâca, that its inhabitants judged it better to abandon the place than to offer themselves to the sacrifice ; that if it pleased him and his men to satisfy their greed for precious stones, they were able to find plenty of stones there, but if their ambition soared higher, they would find treasures along with arms to defend them in the mountains to which they had retired.' This letter made the Viceroy fear some disaster, for he saw everything in revolt, and that they intended to fall upon the Portuguese from the woods. And after effecting the robbery referred to, he ordered Seytavâca to be burnt with such havoc, that it was never again completely rebuilt, destroying the palm groves that surrounded it, thus giving ample material for the writings which the Chingalâz preserved, reading them to their children to bring them up in hatred of the Portuguese.

Little satisfied with his expedition, the Viceroy returned to the Metropolis of Cota, whither he did not escape unscathed, for Tribule, who never lost an opportunity, made his return to Columbo difficult, and it was at the cost of some lives that he saved the Elephants laden with gold and other precious things. When everything was embarked, there came a ship from Goa with the tidings that the Turk Soliman had sent to these seas against us a goodly fleet ; and before setting out, he pressed the King to become a Christian, from which he for the while excused himself because of the danger of his subjects passing over to Madûne, saying that he would give him his Cousin-german,<sup>1</sup> whom the Viceroy took with him, and after becoming a Christian under the instruction of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, he went to the Kingdom [of Portugal] under the name of D. Joaô, and was at Court for some years, being treated with the privileges of a Count. Afterwards he returned to India with a pension of 600,000 reis,

<sup>1</sup> 'Primo cum irmao' so also Couto (VI. 9. 18.) and Mepezes 'primo hermano,' but Simao Botelho calls him 'an infant, a son of the dead King' (Cartas 39). The King of Portugal refers to him as 'the Prince of Ceylon who is being educated in the Monastery of St. Francis in Lisbon and whom the Governor sent to this Kingdom.'

married a Portuguese lady in Goa, and when he died, was buried in [the Church of] St. Francis. Before the Viceroy left, they say, he again asked for the 20,000 paradaos that were due to him, while the Chingalâz remonstrated that they owed him nothing, as he did not fulfil the contract of waging war till Madûne was killed or taken, and that therefore he seized Henerâz Baudar, who not finding anyone to lend it to him, sold a belt and other ornaments which fetched 5,000 paradaos, and bound himself to pay the balance within a year. The Viceroy set out for Goa, and in a storm off Cochim he lost two ships which were laden with much treasure, the sea, the creditor of all ill-gotten goods, swallowing it up. In this small way began the chastisement which pursued him beyond the Cape of Good Hope, | where the Viceroy perished F 135b on his way to the Kingdom, having returned to the waters the treasures gotten with blood.

## CHAPTER . 21.

P 244 THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, AND WHAT TOOK PLACE UP TO THE ERECTION OF A NEW PRAÇA IN COLUMBO, AND THE IMPRISONMENT OF TRIBULE

Among the things thus lost was an elephant of hollow metal which the Viceroy esteemed more than the Colossus of Domitian, as it was of the first workmanship and very life-like, which according to the tradition of the Chingalâz had been sent to one of the ancient Emperors of Rajâ Purê by him of China at the time when they were trading in Ceylon, where it was preserved for its grandeur ; and the Viceroy was taking it away as the principal article of his triumph, though far different from the Lions of Afonso de Albuquerque taken in Malâca and lost at Cape Timia in the Island Samatra,<sup>1</sup> or from the arrows of which D. Francisco de Almeyda was justly proud. It is certain that the King of Portugal did not approve the taking of the treasures of the King of Cota, and he would not accept the articles sent in advance to the Queen, but ordered everything to be restored ; but as for the

<sup>1</sup> Among the other things taken in the sack of Malacca in 1511 were six large bronze lions taken from the tomb of the Kings of Malacca, which Albuquerque intended for his own tomb ; but they were all lost in the wreck of the 'Flor de la Mar' in the strait of Malacca. (Dan I. 228-238.)



money, it was paid by the three payments customary among Ministers, slow, ill and never. Father Negrao concludes by saying that this is the truth, though it would have been easy for him to dress up falsehood with specious reasons, if he forgot what St. Cyprian wrote to Pope Cornelius,<sup>1</sup> declaring that it is a matter for laughter to imagine that falsehood can conceal truth; and it is most certain that many modern Historians deserve the chastisement of the Massilians and Lycians who made slaves of liars, and even their own pagodes did not escape punishment [at the hands] of Amasis for this crime because of their false oracles.<sup>2</sup> And on the contrary the Athenians erected statues to Socrates, because his works were in all things truthful. But the death of D. Afonso de Noronha put an end to other demonstrations.

But it did not put an end to the hatred of the Chingalaz against the Portuguese name, for the remembrance of evils is ever more powerful in ungrateful minds than the recollection of benefits; and though many of these early excesses were made up for, it did not succeed in diminishing the memory of this tragedy. As soon as the Viceroy turned his back, Tribule, who was most concerned and whom the Viceroy had deposed from the office of protector of the King, his son, and of the Realm which he held by the consent of all, dispossessed his son without opposition; and matters taking a worse turn, the Portuguese began to feel the effects of the past disorders in the death of Pero de Morim whom the Viceroy had left as Alcaide-mor | and Factor of Columbo, of Jorge F 136 Duarte and Manoel de Araujo, his officials, and of a few others, who, relying on the friendship, had remained in Cota. The Factory was burnt down, as also the Hermitage of Our Lady of Victory which the Viceroy had ordered to be erected; and Tribule left not a single vestige of a holy place, | of which P 245 many had already been raised by the Religious of St. Francis; which made the two Kings of Candea and Seytavaca ingratiate themselves with Tribule. Nor was this the worst evil, but [the worst was] that the natives were forbidden to receive the Faith of Christ, though without respecting this edict

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to a letter (Cypriani ad Cornelium 55a in Migne Patrologia Graeca IV. 348) in which referring to a boast that twenty bishops were present at a heretical council in Africa, when in reality there were only five, he says: 'atque haec est pater, vera dementia, non cogitare nec scire, quod mendacia non diu fallant; noctem tam diu esse quamdiu illucescat dies, clarificato autem die, et sole oborto, luci tenebras et caliginem cedere et quae grassabantur per noctem latrocinia cessare.'

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus Bk. II. 178 describes how Amasis, King of Egypt revenged himself on the oracles that gave lying responses.

they professed and received it, being instructed by the Religious of St. Francis, who on this occasion went about the jungles secretly cultivating the Field of the Lord. Of whom the venerable Father Joao de Vila Conde suffered not a little when he saw the houses of prayer turned into pagodes, and that Darma Pala Astana either out of inconstancy or for fear of his Father, showed that he desisted from the good purpose which was noted in him, while a remedy was rendered difficult by the hatred and pertinacity of Tribule in whose heart reigned Hell. And though he would have considered Martyrdom as a great favour of Heaven, if only it could bring a remedy to so many souls whom he preserved in the Faith or converted anew, he turned these considerations, expressed by sobs, into prayers and begged God for aid.

It would be difficult for any other Prince who governed that Realm to do in a few days, so many things as Tribule did, even to the extent of refusing the tribute which those Kings paid to him of Portugal, for he thought that when that was done away with, the foreign domination would end. Of all this the Viceroy had information, but being distracted by the war with the Turk Soliman (who had sacked Ormuz and had laid siege to the fortalice, where he arrived and captured 25 Royal Galleys, only two escaping, and in one the General, whom the Turk ordered to be beheaded) he was unable for two years to attend to these evils. But seeing how badly his first rupture with Boneca-Bau had been received in Portugal according to the letter which we gave above, and seeking by some means to remedy such numerous disorders, he sent Miguel da Cunha with two ships to Columbo, by whom he wrote to Tribule confirming him in the government and begging him to desist from his tyrannies and to acknowledge the King of Portugal as Lord by paying him the usual tribute. Owing to these submissions and the great exertions of Miguel da Cunha and the prayers of many servants of the Lord, God was pleased to melt that obstinate spirit, and with some honourable terms [of peace] which were afterwards sworn to, Miguel da Cunha returned triumphant, and the Viceroy was relieved.

Upon this liberty the Religious sallied out in public and the Portuguese | took heart. They again erected the factory F 136a wherein were Antonio Coelho and Dinis Machado with whom Tribule never got on well. But as the wars of the State did not give room for anything else, insults were ignored, so long as the cinnamon was laden. The cinnamon of this year of [15]53 was brought by Ambrosio Vieyra who, coming from Malaca along with the Holy body of Xavier, the great



P 246 Apostle of India, visited this Island as God wished, in the midst of so many trials, to favour those living | in tribulation with the merits of this dead David. His prophecy was fulfilled by his friend D. Pedro Mascarenhaz who took possession of the government of India in [15]54, for in conformity with the instructions given to him, he at once sent Preachers to Ceylon along with 500 Portuguese who arrived in Columbo in the November of this year; and as Captain [of Columbo there came] D. Duarte Deça with the needful appliances to build the fortalice anew, which, though begun under a show of resistance, was made more spacious than the previous one erected by Lopo Soares de Albergaria, the walls running from what was afterwards the jail and was recently a bastion till they reached Mapâne. For which he had need of all his valour to get the better of the malice of Tribule, who being unable to destroy by arms, tried to do so by contempt, neither visiting him nor treating him as he used to treat the [former] Alcaydes-mores.

These complaints went to Goa; and although there were not wanting diversions of the war in the vicinity with Idalxâ in which 5000 Portuguese were put on the field, there were so many soldiers in India, that the zeal of D. Pedro Mascarenhas was able in less than three months to send three reinforcements, which consisted of nearly 2000 Portuguese. They built some houses giving rise to the City of Columbo which had within it the mound of St. Lawrence and was surrounded by Calapâna,<sup>1</sup> a lake of nearly three leagues and a half in length, which in summer admits of access into Columbo in some places with water up to the waist. By the river of Calâne there comes to it from the inland country an abundance of provisions, and in course of time it grew till it had 500 Portuguese families besides many others of the people of the country, a handsome row of houses, well laid out streets, and four Monasteries of the four [Religious] Orders which first came to India, [the members of which] while helping in the cultivation of souls, sometimes also took up arms to defend [the city]. Outside the walls, which never reached completion, all were palm groves and refreshing gardens wherein the Portuguese lived in time of peace and took their recreation. The name Columbo is a corruption, for the true one is *Caleambe* which means in the Chingalâ language 'leaf of the mango tree'<sup>2</sup> | F 137

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *kalapuwu*, lagoon. The lake of Colombo afterwards went by the name of 'Beira.'

<sup>2</sup> Rather the 'leafy-Mango-tree' the popular etymology of the name Colombo, as recorded by Knox I., The Dutch coat-of-arms of Colombo has a leafy mango tree with a dove (Columba).

because of a tree of that name which stood on the point of St. Lawrence [who was] the Patron (as we said already) of the Hermitage which D. Lourenço de Almeyda built there, giving it then that name, and as arms the gridiron of the Saint.<sup>1</sup> The fortalice kept the name which Lopo Soarez gave it, namely Our Lady of Virtues. Such was its development, beginning with humble houses, which in the subsequent wars were sometimes burnt down.

217 The many complaints of the tyrannies and insolences of Tribule obliged D. Pedro Mascarenhas to order him to be arrested. For King D. Joaõ, receiving information from the Secular Ministers that he was usurping the Kingdom, and | from the Religious in particular about the persecution of Christianity, and judging with more reason than Metellus that the evils endured sprang less from particular faults than from the neglect of Religion, recommended the King [? Viceroy] to put a stop to it, and, if it could not be done by any other easier means, to seize Tribule the cause of all that trouble. However when it came to taking counsel on this matter, they were confronted with grave difficulties, the most judicious being of opinion 'that fresh war should not be undertaken, when there were so many which had to be carried on; that seeing that Tribule was not a declared enemy, he should be considered a friend, or at least that his defects should be tolerated so long as the diversions of the war lasted.' With this first opinion came D. Duarte to Columbo, where after doing what was related, he wrote to the Viceroy of the great injuries which he habitually received from the Tyrant, and that the forbearance hitherto shown to him did not soften him, giving particulars of various cases. These fresh complaints forced the Viceroy to order him to be arrested with all precaution and Darma Pala Astâna to be acclaimed King once more, whom they should try to reduce to our Holy Faith, which the Religious of St. Francis did not consider to be a difficult matter because of his well-known good dispositions. He emphasized the importance of this business and encouraged D. Duarte with the hope of great rewards and concluded [his letter by saying] that he hoped in God that the matter would be of notable credit to the Portuguese name and his own.

The letter reached D. Duarte D'ça at a time when there was with him Diogo de Melo Coutinho, a young gentleman most resolute in such enterprises, who, noticing the anxiety

<sup>1</sup> Which appears on the Portuguese coins, cf. 'Ceylon coins and currency' by H. W. Codrington.

of D. Duarte as he read the letter, repeatedly expressed to him his desire to know the cause and whether there was anything in which he could serve him. But as he did not reply, he, like a witty and courtly person, said: 'No doubt, Sir, D. Duarte D'ca, the Viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas wants to marry you, and you are in anxiety fearing to take up such a burden. God knows that to live happy I only want one of those hours!' | D. Duarte who was walking up and down with great agitation said to him: 'There is a spouse for you, Sir; I am not equal to her, as she is too exalted. Be patient and prepare for the wedding.' In such conversation they spent the afternoon; but at night D. Duarte called Diogo de Melo in secret and told him of the order which he had from the Viceroy, 'that it was impossible and even unbecoming to carry it out in the fortalice, as the Viceroy suggested, because Tribule never came thither nor trusted the Portuguese. That it was necessary to enter Cota with some soldiers as if on a visit, and seize him; and that to his valour and resolution alone could he entrust that enterprise, and if it should somehow succeed, it was so worthy of remembrance, that its fame was a sufficient reward.' For this fearful resolution, still spoken of, it was not necessary to adduce many examples, but it may be that nothing like it is found among those | who risked their lives for the Fatherland; for the valour of Coutinho, like that of another mutilated Senegiro,<sup>1</sup> from whom they say those of this family are descended, offered with such a light heart and reckless daring to arrest a King of Ceylon, one of the most valiant that was ever born in that Island, as if he had been invited to some feast; and its success being in his mind quite assured, he even considered it as accomplished. He picked out 12 companions, soldiers of valour whose names, worthy of eternal remembrance, may justly find a place of honour in our work; and they were the following: the oft mentioned Luis Pardo, native of Alcobaça, Fernão de Moraes, son of Henrique de Moraes, a gentleman, native of Chaves, João Salvado of Tavarède near Buarcos, Francisco de Fontes, a Castilian of Malpica, Pero Rangel of Braga, Pero de Misquita, son of Gabriel de Mesquita of Porto, Antonio de Valadares of Melgaço, Theodozio de Freytas of Guimarães, Christovão de Souza,

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to the exploit of Cynaegirus at the battle of Marathon. According to Herodotus when the Persians were endeavouring to escape by sea, Cynaegirus seized one of their ships to keep it back, but fell with his right hand cut off. Later versions of the story would have it that when the right hand was cut off he held the ship back with his left and when that too was cut, he held it in his teeth. Hence 'mutilated Cynaegirus.'

natural son of Pero de Souza Alcaforado, a Branch of the House of Miranda which still flourishes in Canavezes, João Velho of Lisbon, Miguel Nunes of Leyria, and Manoel Botelho, son of Andre Botelho.

They sallied out of Columbo, it seems, after Confession, and as ready to return as to die. They entered the Palace, and after the Captain had inquired about the health of Tribule, the rest meanwhile securing the doors, he said: 'Know, Sir, that the principal reason which brought me to your house, is not to see you, but to arrest you, because it has been so ordered by the King of Portugal of whom both you and I are vassals. I should be very sorry, if by resisting you give occasion for the death of both of us, exposing the Empire, which you may still enjoy, to the enemies who desire to have it. Arise, let us go to see Columbo. Perhaps with such good climate you will improve.' Saying this, he laid hold of his arm, as Tribule asked on what charge he was arrested, | though he had treated the Portuguese with friendship on the strength of the peace that had been made with them. 'These,' said Coutinho, 'the Promoter of Justice will declare, and he who passes sentence; I have only to obey. I am ordered so. Have patience, remembering the cause you have given for greater chastisement. The Captain of Columbo desires to see you; the others expect you. Let us go, for when one goes to another's house, it is better to go early than late, so as to be a sure of a welcome.' With such witticisms they sallied out of the Palace already accompanied by many people attracted by the novelty of the affair. And though they intended to rescue the prisoner, he prudently held them back saying, 'that he would soon return, and that they should not give occasion for his death, which would certainly ensue on the least disturbance,' for Diogo de Melo carried a pistol in his hand to shoot him under their eyes, and the others were as vigilant and resolute, as if they were ready to sell their lives at the highest price. This affair was one which made the world wonder, and under the circumstances it was greater than that of Jonathas in Machmas, for | it was not done in despair, nor due to a confusion, but though the rashness was great indeed, deliberation accompanied valour which facilitated everything.

They reached Columbo, where all was astonishment at the sight of so few against a warlike King trampling under foot the fear of the 70,000 men that there would be in Cota. D. Duarte was delighted, and awaited them with the rest of the Portuguese outside the Fortalice; and at a little more than 100 paces he was given a salute of artillery and another of

musketry. Tribule in all this change of fortune ever showed himself as courageous as if he were its master. D. Duarte received him, and addressing Coutinho, he said alluding to what had passed before: 'I should like to congratulate you, Sir, on your success, but for fear of making a mistake therein I will be silent; because it might be said that fearing not to enjoy the bride, I withdrew.' 'You can scarcely envy,' said Coutinho, 'what is your own, nor wonder at the fruit of your own foresight. Give praise to these cavaliers, if the enterprise has deserved it, and chastisement to me, if I have not done it to your liking.' 'It is I who deserve that,' put in Tribule, 'for making so late a visit.' 'Confession is good,' retorted D. Duarte, 'before Sentence.' Thus they entered the fortalice, the accused pretending to be as free from guilt as he had been of insults.

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## CHAPTER 22.

### WHAT HAPPENED ON ACCOUNT OF THIS IMPRISONMENT

Tribule entered with the rest into the second Hall of the Captain, where under a canopy | on a carpet stood a chair of velvet on which sat D. Duarte, and on others Diogo de Melo and his companions, leaving Tribule standing, whom D. Duarte addressed in this speech. 'I assure you that I regret the rigour which I am compelled to use towards you, for I should not like to have to carry it out; but as the will lacks liberty when it is under constraint, I have an excuse for this proceeding; but you have none for the excesses you committed, for which the greatest punishment would be but small. However as Christians are not wont to make the punishment equal to the injuries, this imprisonment is only intended for your amendment, for which the Viceroy desires that you go to Goa, there to answer for the deaths inflicted without cause on the Factor and his officials, and for forbidding the Faith of Christ, destroying Churches and impeding conversions; crimes which can ill be atoned for by death, which I assure you does not affect you, because there is no intention of exacting the extreme penalty from you, for such is Portuguese generosity, that though power is not wanting | for taking satisfaction, it only intends to undeceive you. All this

I wish to tell you before these Gentlemen, so that it may not be said that I do an injustice by treating you ill on personal grounds, which I might well do considering what you have done to me, for though the Emperor your Father-in-law visited the Alcaydes-mores of Columbo and had that esteem of them which the King of Portugal desires should be had of those who represent his person, you, making little account of me, not only treated me with contempt, but even opened the door to greater humiliations, though it is I who am to blame for what has passed, for being the first Portuguese to put up with it. Forgetting all this I only ask you: What excuse had you to come upon Columbo with an army after the sworn peace, and to seek to kill by night the Portuguese who were here, and when they escaped you in two boats, to take up your quarters at the gates of the fortalice and thus defy me, which I did not take notice of, lest it be said that the peace was broken on account of a thing which might be the work of the least of your Lascarins, though I am not unaware that you are the author of it all. Other crimes I can point out to you and make a long impeachment, but I am sure you know them all; and I do not want to tire you further nor to bore those who are listening to me; and I only remind you that a change of air is not so painful as it is painted. By this [change] I hope you will come to understand what you have hitherto ignored, and venerate the greatness of mind of the Portuguese, since from your misdeeds they only seek to procure your salvation.'

Tribule listened to D. Duarte unmoved, and when he tried to reply, he was taken to an underground room as low as it was narrow. But as inborn valour shows itself most when adversities | are greatest, he ever showed himself as courageous as if he were insensible, with feet fettered with strong shackles, with no other bed than the ground, and with such scanty sustenance for life, that he begged alms from those who passed by. And though his crimes were enormous, this cruelty, unworthy of his person and of the birth of D. Duarte, only increased the causes of the punishment which we afterwards received, and gave occasion to the death of this Gentleman who, on account of private grievances, reduced him to these extremes, putting to the score of justice what did not belong to it, just as it has always been considered praiseworthy in Dion, King of Sicily, that he did not kill Heraclides, though the Syracusans clamoured for vengeance on him for private wrongs; and for not heeding private wrongs, King Charillus deserved the memorial which Plutarch made to him. D. Duarte did not display here the valour of the

Conde de Aveyras<sup>1</sup> in our days, for when a Gentleman of great valour, but hasty, did him a serious and open injury, though there were not wanting those who advised him to take a good opportunity of chastising him, he replied like a valorous and Catholic soul: 'God forbid that Joaõ da Silva Telo should avenge private wrongs with the arms of the King.'  
 P 251 But how many such men do we find!

Tribule, a prisoner awaiting the monsoon for Goa, displayed as much self-command, as if he were governing the Realm, which his son, Darma Pala Astâna, now possessed being assisted by Eranâz Bandar, well affected to the Portuguese, for which God rewarded him by leading him to our Holy Faith. He was assisted by 320 Portuguese of the garrison under the command of Diogo de Meló Coutinho, who treated the Chingalâz with all respect, and was likewise loved by them. The Sacred Churches were rebuilt, and Christianity was cultivated by the Seraphic Labourers. Everything prospered as a result of this imprisonment without Madûne being able to oppose them, though he laboured to do so, for as the King of Candea was at war with him for other reasons, he was unable to take up arms against those of Cota [and he put forward] the pretext that it was no concern of his to prevent the Portuguese from seizing the one who governed them. However he secretly corresponded with him, encouraging him to endurance till he was able to take vengeance for these affronts, for which he promised him help in men and money.

Tribule however, relying less on him than on his own industry and on his superstitious belief in the relic of Buddum, which he had with him in a little box of gold, after the long trials of the rigour of the prison, tried by means of his son to obtain from D. Duarte a more commodious cell } as a relief to his sufferings, giving his word to submit to all necessary orders and not to increase displeasure, because it was not his intention to appear again in that Island, but to die out of it where his guilt might lead him. The King took counsel with Eranâz Bandar about this matter, and though he found him inclined to favour the Father, he cautiously represented to him: 'That if anything untoward were to happen, he might incur suspicion and even penalty; That he should continue his government in peace without opening a fresh door to disaster.'  
 By this resolution Tribule was disappointed of the little hope he had in that quarter, and [he realized] that the natural obligation of the son, for greater reasons, did not make him try to obtain his relief; because, as the King now recognized

<sup>1</sup> Viceroy of India 1640-1646.

no Father save the venerable Father Friar Joaõ, and was intending to receive baptism, as in fact he did this very same year, the release of Tribule could only serve to prevent these greater purposes; nor did it become him to acknowledge as Father a persecutor of the Faith of Christ, not to mention the scant regard he had shown to him, dispossessing him of the Kingdom which belonged to him alone; and since he did not act towards him as to a son, it is not strange that the latter did not look upon him as a Father.

In this extremity Tribule turned to the bold and vile caste of the Palarâz of his village of Guelagâma, promising them great privileges and honours, whereby great difficulties were surmounted, | and secrecy, the soul of such enterprises, was kept. These people are given to digging mines under-ground, a habit inherited from their ancestors, accustomed to live in caves and dens like beasts, whom they resemble even in their movements; and the necessary money not being wanting, they began a mine from a great distance with incredible speed. It could not well have been without the approval of the others; and by this stratagem they soon liberated Tribule and took him to the county of Passadû, where in the village of Pelenda, situated in the rugged and defensible frontiers of that Corle, he had not to fear the Portuguese, both on account of the ruggedness of the position as well as because many people gathered round him forthwith from all those parts, especially from Seytavâca, whence Madûne succoured him with great solicitude, proclaiming this escape as the greatest Chingalâ feat; and in fact it was wonderful, considering the distance mined as well as the secrecy which the natives kept, their resentment of this imprisonment overcoming any self-interest which could have been expected by revealing it, and thus foiling the sentinels, rigours and oppressions, under which Tribule lived more on alms than on any fixed rations, altogether similar to Gelimer, the last King of the Vandals and prisoner of Belisarius, who had only his eyes | left to him to behold the contempt wherewith he was treated; the similarity with the fate of Belisarius being in this alone.  
 F 140

Thence he sent to notify Eranâz Bandar that he should give over the Empire to him under pain of paying with his life for any resistance. But he vouchsafed no other reply to the Ambassadors except, 'Get away,' whereby they were not a little confused. Chingalâ inconstancy forthwith created such a tumult in that City, that some acclaimed Tribule as defender, others Eranâz, who with the Portuguese and the lieges of his faction chastised the ringleaders in such a way

as to quell the mutiny completely. D. Duarte, being informed of everything, sent D. Leonel de Souza and D. Manoel de Castro with some Companies to succour Cota, for which, they say, he had already at that time paid homage, as the King of Portugal had begun to be Lord of that Island by the death of Boneca-Bau, which claim we shall discuss later. Tribule after fortifying himself well with the customary stockades and gravets<sup>1</sup> of Ceylon, sallied from Pelenda with a numerous army and marching along the seaboard from Columbo as far as Gâle, he burnt and razed the Churches erected on that coast, making martyrs of the Chingalâz, recently converted, with rigorous tortures. In this persecution of the Faith there gave up their life for it the Fathers Friar Francisco de Braga, Friar Joaõ Calvo, Friar Antonio Padraõ, who erected one [*i.e.*, Padram<sup>2</sup>] to his name and the Seraphic Order, worthy of eternal remembrance, being torn to pieces by Elephants, when they could not make him apostatize by other means. A Religious of the same Order was the Father Friar Francisco Braga, who preaching the divine law to the

P 253 Tyrant, and seeing that the terrors of hell were of no avail | against him, raised his eyes to Heaven saying: 'O Lord, in confirmation of what I say, make that those who torment me may become Preachers of Thy Gospel.' He had scarcely uttered these words, when two of those assailants, executors of the will of Tribule, began to shout; 'We truly believe in the Faith for which Friar Francisco dies.' In his presence they were immediately beheaded, their blood serving them for baptism, and with them Friar Francisco, to whose body the enemies set fire. In this [*i.e.*, fire] also there offered up his life to God in sacrifice Friar Joaõ Calvo who, being a man of years and of little strength, succumbed in a short time with the sweet name of Jesus on his lips. At the sight of such great Captains of the Seraphic Order there embarked for heaven 18 Portuguese whom Tribule found on that coast, and whom he beheaded with his own hand, thus satisfying on them the desire he had of killing all.

[Then he laid siege to Cota, falling upon it on all sides F 1400 with many thousands of lascarins. But the King on the one hand and Diogo de Melo Coutinho on the other defended it in such a way, that realizing that he was not able to carry it, he made secret overtures to the inhabitants to foresake it, and to Eranaz Bandar to come over to him. But the latter loyal to God and his King, answered him by cutting off the ears, noses and hands, of the two Chingalâz sent to propose it.

<sup>1</sup> Garavetos, *Kadavat*. Cf. p. 100, n. 1

<sup>2</sup> A pun on the name. Cf. p. 35.

And as some of the leading men again became disaffected and inclined to Tribule, he ordered them to be given over to D. Duarte, and they were publicly put to death in Columbo as traitors. The King proposed to sally forth against the enemy, and this being done he was put to flight because, as it seems, he only wanted to invite them, and as it did not take effect, he raised camp.

D. Duarte D'ca, one of the most illustrious cavaliers of that age, who had learnt warfare in the African school and had been Captain of Maluco, and twice of Goa and always with a good reputation, seeing so many misfortunes within so short a time, so many insolences in less than two months, and that Madûne was coming down with an army to the help of Tribule, and reflecting how little he was able to do with so few Portuguese and perhaps also on the cause he had given to Tribule's hatred, and being tormented by all these considerations of the ill effects of his imprisonment, fell ill of a malignant fever, and becoming delirious repeated with such sorrow these same words: 'India, India, Ceylon, Ceylon, Portugal, Portugal': that there was no one among the bystanders who did not shed many tears out of pity for his sufferings and for the anxiety with which he repeated them; for when the attendants begged him to explain, he only replied by repeating them, so that it could clearly be seen that he lamented the mismanagement of the government of this conquest, because if before they became dexterous in arms, they had placed in Ceylon two thousand Portuguese out of the many thousands who at that time came to India, in the opinion of all, by persisting in it they could have reduced that Island to the obedience of Portugal. But | (as) they aimed only at power and cared little for justice, so long as the legitimate Kings did not impede the spread of the Faith, we shall afterwards reconcile these two principles.<sup>1</sup> D. Duarte died in this madness<sup>2</sup> which he left as an inheritance to those who discoursed best about the disposition of the Portuguese State in India. The death of this cavalier was felt more than the flight of Tribule because of the state in which matters were, and because Madûne had left Seytavâca against Cota | F 141 without meeting with any opposition and doing all manner of

<sup>1</sup> The Author's meaning is not clear to me.

<sup>2</sup> Couto has a quite different account of D'ca, which the Author has rejected. According to Couto, D'ca was appointed to the captaincy of Maluco (VII. 1. 7.) where he arrived in Nov. 1555 (VII. 4. 7.) but misconducted himself so badly, that the Portuguese in the Moluccs seized him and sent him prisoner to Goa where he was sentenced to be taken before the King of Portugal, 'as we heard some people say' says Couto (VII. 5. 3.). Cf. also J. XX. p 169, note.

hostilities, till he joined hands with Tribule, both thinking that the enterprise would be very easy because of the scanty force which Eranâz had. But God diverted him with tidings of some risings which, in the absence of Madûne, broke out in Seytavâca, whither he went in haste, leaving Tribule in Pelanda rather disappointed at not having concluded the enterprise.

The King, Eranâz, and Diogo de Melo Coutinho then gave information to the Viceroy of the death of D. Duarte, asking help against what they feared. D. Pedro Mascarenhas with all haste in April [1]555 sent as Captain of Columbo Afonço Pereyra de Laçerda, a gentleman of merit, with some reinforcements which could not be more, because at the same time 5000 men were led in this Concaõ in favour of Meale, the lawful King of Guzarate. Laçerda forthwith tried to wage war on Tribule, and the better to do so, he ingratiated himself with Madûne who was displeased with him [Tribule] because of the ill-treatment he had given to the Princess, his niece, about whom we shall speak in due place, and not a little afraid that his Kingdom would be taken because of the great reputation and credit which Laçerda had gained among the natives. To add to these reasons there was the oppression by the King of Candea, and the disinclination of Tribule to aid him in that enterprise.

This peace was solemnly sworn to in August [1]555, the Viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas being already dead at Goa in June of the same year, who had been succeeded in the government by Francisco Barreto<sup>1</sup>; and the conditions were: 'That each on his part should be obliged to carry on war against Tribule till he was completely destroyed; That Madûne Pandar should be obliged to give to the Kings of Portugal each year as tribute what had been imposed by the Governor Lopo Soares de Albergaria on the Emperors of Cota; That he should enable the Factors of Columbo easily to collect the dues of the ports and lands in the neighbourhood of the City of Cota which amounted to 5072 xerafins, distributed in this manner: From the port of Columbo 2000 fanoês *calivoês*<sup>2</sup> which were then worth one tanga<sup>3</sup>; from the port of Matual 3300; of Paniturê 560; of Caliturê, Macûne, Aliçaõ, Belitote<sup>4</sup> 1300; from those of Mulerima<sup>5</sup> 2000, from those of Mapane 700; of the County of Reygam Corla and Salpety

<sup>1</sup> Nineteenth Governor, 1555-1558.

<sup>2</sup> A clerical error for fanoes chacroes.—H. W. C.

<sup>3</sup> Tanga originally the larin, rated at 60 reis, then a coin of account, 5 of which = 1 pardao.—H. W. C.

<sup>4</sup> Welitota.

<sup>5</sup> Mulleriyawa. Cf. Couto's (VII. 2. 4.).

2500, without taking into account the other counties and lands, nor the ports of Nigumbo, Caymel, Chilaõ and Putalaõ; | That in order that this might have effect, and because it was conducive to the service of the King of Portugal, Afonço Pereyra de Laçerda should be obliged to arrest Eranâz Bandar, Chief Chamberlain of the King | of Cota, and his brother-in-law Acahâssem Modeliar,<sup>1</sup> otherwise called Alaca, and a son of Santû called Joaõ,<sup>2</sup> for inducing Tribule to commit the aforementioned ravages, and because they were double Spies giving warning of the intentions of the Portuguese. Of all this he succeeded in persuading the new Captain with the object of destroying these men, because they were the ones he feared most, thinking that once they were out of the Island, he could easily become the Lord thereof; and in order to obtain this, he promised what he did not intend to give. The Ambassadors pretended, 'that the faithful King of Cota was the principal cause of the escape of Tribule, and with him the others who were most aggrieved that he [Tribule] was arrested in that City; and for this purpose they bribed the Palarâz, persuading them that it was a prophecy of the Ancient Yogis that to gain great posts a time would come when the liberty of a Prince would depend on their favour; and by giving it they would be freed from the low state inherited from their ancestors; and that by means of these promises and hopes they unburied that monster to persecute the Law of Christ, and the Portuguese name.' Nor was this all, for when Tribule besieged Cota, they wrote to him: 'That to make himself master thereof, it was necessary first to burn the fortalice of Columbo, killing all the Portuguese who were there, because Diogo de Melo being disappointed of reinforcements would easily surrender, and that with these Portuguese he could make war on Seytavâca and Candea, making himself the Grand Emperor of the whole Island: That Eranâz Bandar preserved the Portuguese only out of policy in order to manipulate Darma Pala, who was more of a puppet than a King!' This jumble of falsehoods he succeeded in making Laçerda believe; and though he was warned that these were all wiles of Madûne, without heeding these counsels, he entered Cota and seized the three greatest defenders whom we had there, and who for that reason were hated by the greater part of the people, who, confused to see the reward to such great friends, called it by no other name than that of the blackest ingratitude.

<sup>1</sup> Couto also 'Alaca', 'Alanca' brother in law of Barreto. Not identified.

<sup>2</sup> 'Son of the black Captain' Couto (VII. II. IV.). Not identified.

## CHAPTER 23.

THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED. THE WARFARE AND  
DEATH OF TRIBULE

From the aforesaid trial of Eranáz, God was pleased to draw great fruit and to reward him for the good deeds he had done for the Portuguese, for being arrested to the universal grief of the Lusitanians and taken to Goa along with true reports, <sup>P 142</sup> he received a welcome from the Governor Francisco Barreto, and being treated with honour and favour, on the instruction of the Religious of St. Francis, he received Holy Baptism, <sup>P 256</sup> taking the name of the Governor, his Godfather, and returned to Ceylon loaded with honours and rewards and with this letter to the Captain: 'Afonço Pereyra de Lacerda. The lack of experience in those who govern was ever a hindrance to the attainment of success. I wish that in your affairs it should never be lacking, and that you should realize that experience, when taken as a guide, never misleads. I have no doubt of your desire to do right, but the duty of knowing a person with whom one has to deal admits of no excuse. A great wrong it was to imprison Eranáz, since I know on good authority that he not only served with satisfaction, but that in order to do so, he even despised things which would have tempted any other. He is returning to the Island, and though his best recommendation is the Faith he brings with him, keep before your mind what I consider to be the least of his merits, the great satisfaction he gave me while he was in this City. 10 September [1]555.'

His return to Ceylon was as great a credit to the Portuguese as it was a delight to the Chingaláz and an affliction to Madúne, both because he saw his wiles undone as well as because of the fear he had of him. While Eranáz was in Goa, which was only for the duration of the winter, the war was kept up against Tribule, whose valour was no whit less for being attacked by two foes, but displayed itself so much, that on some occasions he gained the better in various places, wherein without regard to the Kingly dignity which he always claimed with the very white shield, which is the badge of that dignity in Ceylon, and with a spear, he performed memorable feats of gallantry in consequence of which the Chingaláz enemies dreaded his courage so much, that they did not consider themselves safe so long as there was life in him. Some months were spent in this warfare of attacks rather than of pitched

battles and many lives were lost and Tribule bettered himself by his success. Though in the very same year in which Madúne became tributary of the King of Portugal and swore to keep peace with the Portuguese, war was declared for other reasons that were not given out, and Madúne, joining Tribule, made inroads into the lands of Cota. They afterwards retired, one to Pelanda and the other to Seytaváca, Madúne alleging affairs of government, a pretence which he had recourse to, while secretly seeking every means to bring about the death of Tribule whose tyranny and courage he feared, and trying to ingratiate himself with Lacerda by every possible means. For this purpose he wrote to Francisco Barreto<sup>1</sup> Secretary <sup>P 142b</sup> of the King, expressing his regret for having concurred in his imprisonment, and laying the blame on the partisans of Tribule who, desiring to ruin both, worked in such a way as to injure both; but that as the truth was now patent, in order that Tribule might realize the futility of his cunning, it behoved the Chingaláz and the Portuguese to join hands and put an end to this war, which, if not hindered in the beginning, might afterwards become difficult.

<sup>P 257</sup> | And though the wiles of the deceitful Madúne were very patent, yet as on the other hand it was feared that Tribule might seize Cota by means of his partisans, Francisco Barreto represented to the Portuguese Captain the fresh intents of Madúne, being of opinion that so long as Tribule was alive, the Kingdom of Cota was not safe, for the Chingaláz were variable, and if they acknowledge the King (who at this time was a Christian, as we shall presently say) it was not spontaneously, but against their will, as they think he is undeserving of the Kingdom by reason of his becoming a Christian, which, in their opinion, was an infamy unworthy of a Prince of the race of the Sun, and that this was a sufficient reason for them to go over to Tribule, though they had received many injuries at his hands, in order to have a native King who kept the law of Buddum: That he was so crafty and bold a person, that if he did not reduce them by arms or by love, he would do so by treachery or by fear, wherefore it seemed best to suspend hostilities with Madúne, even if it were nothing more than to have one enemy less. This proposal did not displease Lacerda and he summoned a council in which were Captains and soldiers of experience who were all of opinion: 'That peace should be made with Madúne, on the understanding that war would be continued till Tribule was completely conquered'; and for this purpose there came two Modeliares

<sup>1</sup> Henceforth Eranáz (Tammitta Suriya Bandara) is referred to by his Christian name Francisco Barreto, the name of his Godfather.



from Seytavâca who approved the proposal. And not to interrupt the narrative of the progress of this war up to the death of Tribule, before narrating the conversion of the King of Cota D. Joaõ at the time these things were taking place, I shall go on to narrate the war with Tribule.

Madûne despatched from Seytavâca a goodly army under the banner of one of his sons, a youth of 16 named Raja Singa Pandar, who afterwards gave great trouble, and whom the Portuguese always called Rajû, a man so warlike and valiant that so far as his person was concerned he could be compared to Caesar at the same age, and to Alexander, if he had had the veteran soldiers of Philip. He reached the port of Calaturê whence | he sent a messenger and awaited reinforcements. <sup>F 143</sup> From Columbo there set out 300 picked Portuguese men of renown and so well trained in arms that Rajû said of them: 'That the lambs of Tribule were not able to withstand such Lions.' As Captain-major and Captain of one of the Companies went Antonio Chainho de Castro, and of two other Companies, Ruy Dias Pereyra and Antonio de Espinola, both valiant cavaliers. As soon as they sighted each other, there were salutes on either side and many courtesies, but I have not found the reason why another force of the King of Cota did not accompany them and why the Portuguese so often trusted to the treacheries of Madûne. They soon reached Pelanda, where Rajû fortified himself with stockades in their fashion; and Antonio Chainho with less concern, for he relied less on them than on the Portuguese hearts. These preparations being made in the course of three days, Rajû was of opinion <sup>P 258</sup> | that they should attack the enemy. The latter confident in his position and valour, did not await the challenge, but forming in field of battle invited them to it. Rajû did not decline, but fell upon him with courage. But his men soon gave way, driven by a great volley of artillery and musketry with such shouts and din of drums that it frightened the army, all stopping short at sight of the foe and the foremost turning their backs to the great confusion of Rajû, who, as was known afterwards, wanted them in the van that our people might think him a great Captain for daring to begin where others end.

The Portuguese remarked this disorder and as the reverse affected them, crying 'Sant-Iago' they attacked so bravely and resolutely, that by continuous charges they put Tribule to flight, capturing with the same fury the stockades, where they made cruel slaughter of those who attempted to defend them, and captured many arms, pieces of artillery and muskets, two elephants of war, a cauldron full of money, and other

things of great value. All fought with musket and sword with the utmost valour and there signalized themselves among others in the conflict of battle, Ruy Dias Pereyra, who, when badly wounded in the face and in the right arm, replied to one who called upon him to retire: 'That the Cide Ruy Dias conquered even after death.' And Francisco Gomes Leytaõ who was pierced through the leg by two lances said: 'That the horse never ran better than when bleeding.' Antonio de Espinola, Antonio da Lomba, Pero Jorge Franco, Diogo Gonçalves, Jeronimo de S. Paio | Antonio da Fonseca, Cosme <sup>F 143b</sup> Correa, Manoel Lourenço, Pero Rodriguez, Antonio Lourenço, Estevão Jorge Albanez, Sebastiaõ Pirez the Galician, Bras Dias, Adriaõ Leonardes the Frenchman, Alvaro da Costa, Mathias de Salamanca, and Antonio Guerreyro, and all in fact, wrought wonders of strength, and it is not possible to particularize the feats of all those who on this day put the Chingalâ nation to shame, for the army of Rajû consisted of 30,000 and that of the defeated Tribule 14,000, of whom nothing more is known for certain than that he retired with 6,000 to Tanavarê,<sup>1</sup> leaving prisoner his second wife whom he had married after the death of Banduge, and to whom Antonio Chainho de Castro ordered an elephant to be given to ride upon, using towards her such regard as Dionysius King of Sicily showed to the wife of Phocius, Augustus to Cleopatra, and Alexander to the wife of Darius. We lost in this battle 15 Portuguese.

Rajû, admiring these feats, presented to those who were prominent, rings of rubies which he had taken with him on the advice of his Father, who knew what generosity did in war, for in truth on that day each Portuguese was a regular army, both in point of valour and in difference of odds; and <sup>P 259</sup> it matters little that envy refuses to believe it, provided | truth declares it. The majority of the wounded returned to their lodgings, which, being surrounded by puddles of stagnant water, were infested with leeches, loathsome creatures of Ceylon, which profitted by the blood of the wounds, and what else there was there in the two days they remained in Pelanda. The whole army was engaged in demolishing the strong stockades which Tribule had erected, burning the wood which supported the platforms. Rajû returned to Seytavâca where he was received with extraordinary feasts by his Father Madûne who, being an old man, desired him to take his place, as his valour promised him the Empire of the whole Island; and he was so vain of the victory which

<sup>1</sup> Dondra.



the Portuguese had won, that leaving aside his paternal name of Pandar, he called himself thenceforth Rajâ Cinga Adacim, which together mean 'King, Lion, Marvel,' for Rajâ means King, though the rustics pronounce it Rajearam, Cinga means Lion, from what we have said in the first book about the descent of these Princes, Adacim means Portent or miracle, in memory of a Queen of that name about whom they write monstrous fables, their priests persuading them | that she <sup>F 144</sup> delayed the sun in order to give food to the Ganezes before midday, because they cannot take food after that time; and that the Sun for her sake and at her request held the reins of his course and halted the whole interval that was necessary for Adacim to appease the hunger of the Priests, and that Heaven rewarded her for this piety, for when all that sat for the meal had been served, camphor rained into her lap some of which, they say, is still preserved in the Pagode of Candea called *Deladasde*.<sup>1</sup> From Seytavâca the Portuguese returned to Columbo where Aforço Pereyra de Laçerdo congratulated them on the victory, and at the same time took his leave of them, as Duarte Rodriguez de Bulhao had come to succeed him.

As soon as the new Captain took possession of the Fortalice of Columbo, he ordered Diogo de Melo Coutinho to remain as before in Cota, where there was not a little to do, for when the King D. Joaõ was converted to the Faith of Christ, there were some who refused him allegiance, holding it an insult to them that the heir to the Empire should follow Christ, and that it was harder than death to obey a Christian Prince. D. Joaõ took little heed of this, punishing some and rewarding others and obliging many by his example to despise idols, and destroying the greater part of the pagodes. And as the object of the new Captain was to pursue Tribule to death, he forthwith prepared to seek him out, but the latter on hearing of this passed from Tanavarê to the Seven-Corlas, to the Prince thereof, in Andugal his capital; and he, as a relative, gave him hospitality hearing of the ill success he had met with in the recent battle, and gave him every favour and assistance <sup>P 260</sup> and did him so much honour, that ingratitude | itself could have learnt therefrom to be thankful. But Tribule, who was a cruel and ungrateful man, forgot all this and one night he stabbed him to death and made himself Master of the City and of the wealth of the Prince, being assisted by his followers to whom he had communicated his treachery, and he fortified himself in such a way that he considered himself quite safe. Then he tried to subdue the other Corlas

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 60, n. 1.

belonging to the deceased. It was a large State which neither Madûne nor the Portuguese were able to enter, as the passes were difficult and because the defenders were many. He mustered an army and went about subduing the country. But seeing the injuries he did to them, they wrote to one another and leagued themselves together swearing in pagan fashion to die in the defence of their lands and to avenge the death of their Prince. This force being gathered, they fortified the passes by which | the tyrant could enter, and for greater <sup>F 144v</sup> security they sent to Duarte Rodriguez de Bulhaõ to ask a reinforcement of Portuguese, and besides other rewards which they promised they offered to pay 15 gold pardaos<sup>1</sup> a month.

This offer was not unwelcome, as it meant making war on Tribule. The Portuguese Captain at once sent Joaõ Fernandez Columbrina, a veteran and brave soldier, with 70 companions, who reached the Seven-Corlas on one side while Rajû (who also wished to take part in this war) entered on the other; and they began to wage war on Tribule with such repeated attacks, that as he was unable to defend himself, the fervour with which he began turned to despair. Thinking only of his safety, he fled one night with his treasures and the tooth of Buddum, which was more esteemed by him than his own life, and through inaccessible ways he went to Jafanapataõ to get reinforcements from that King in order to fall upon the corlas which he had abandoned for lack of troops. The Chingalâz of the Seven-Corlas set up their King; Rajû returned to Seytavâca; and the Portuguese to Columbo thinking that everything was secure, as if in Rajû new developments had not begun. In Jafanapataõ Tribule represented his misfortune to that Kinglet with such exaggerations and regrets as to make him give reinforcements, although he had made peace with Madûne, because as his hatred of the Portuguese and the Christians was great, he wished to settle with them once for all what he had previously attempted, and asked some neighbouring Kinglets to muster their men under pretence of liberating their fatherland by expelling therefrom the Christian perverters of their Law. And in order to strengthen his cause the more, he obtained a Jubilee from Arracaõ wherein the Maturanse in the name of the Buddum promised great indulgences to those who took part in the enterprise, and to those who died gallantly in its attempt the stomach of a cow, which is their greatest happiness. By this means (for even here the Devil aped Christianity) the neighbouring Provinces were depopulated, and there gathered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 63, n. 4.

in Jafanapataô a large arrayal composed of various races. When the day arrived on which the Kinglets, Vaneáz, Modeliães, Araches | and other Captains had to swear obedience to Tribule and to die fighting against the Portuguese and their partisans, this pompous solemnity was held in the great pagode outside the city of Nelur, wherein, before the other ceremonies, the Bull of the Maturanse was read and the indulgences contained in it were explained by the Ganezes, and the other things carried out with great ceremony and feasts. But when Tribule was acknowledged and declared <sup>F 145</sup> General of that large camp and army, either by mishap or on set purpose, a match fell near him upon some powder, and at sight of that tiny flame there arose so great a tumult and confusion of voices that Tribule, in whose heart there was nothing but treacheries, thinking that the King of Jafanapataô sought to kill him, drew his sword against him. And his followers imitated this rashness and without any other reason they broke out into war with deaths on the one side and the other ; and at last Tribule lost his life there and the quarrel ended with his death, and thereby [ended] one of the greatest enemies of the Portuguese nation and of the Faith of Christ. So easy is it for God to pervert the plans of his enemies ! Such is the end that awaited one, the punishment of whose wickedness was delayed.

## CHAPTER 24.

### THE CONVERSION OF DARMA PALA ASTANA AND WHAT RESULTED FROM IT

As the King of Cota showed himself altogether inclined to our Holy Faith, the effusion of so much blood in such bitter wars was not able to prevent the blood of Christ from prevailing for the conversion of that heathendom ; for in the beginning of the year 1556 more than 70,000 *careas* with their Pantagatim<sup>1</sup> were converted to our Holy Faith, and were baptized by the Missionaries, the Religious of St. Francis ; and when this good news reached Portugal, the King D. João III. wrote the following letter to the Guardian of their Religious order. ' Friar Francisco de Chaves. I the King

<sup>1</sup> From Tam. *pattankatti*, one on whom a title (*pattam*) is conferred (lit. bound) whence Sin. *patabenda*.

send you much greeting. I received the letter which you wrote to me, and I rejoice to read the good reports which you give therein about Afonço Pereyra de Laçerda whom the Viceroy D. Pedro Mascarenhas sent as Captain of Ceylon, whose doings, it seems to you, our Lord has been pleased to favour because of his good purpose and conscience. I am much pleased thereby and I also rejoice at the news you give me of how Our Lord was pleased to enlighten, by means of the Religious of your order, that nation of *Careas*, who, you say, live in the seaports of Ceylon and are said to be more than 70,000 souls, whose captain called Pantangatim <sup>P 262</sup> came with them. I give great thanks to our Lord for it | and greatly recommend you to labour as much as you can in order that there may be no lack of what is necessary to obtain the end which may be expected from such a beginning, since, from what you write, there are signs to show that their conversion is sincere | . And I also rejoice to hear of the successes <sup>F 145v</sup> of the Christianity of Baçain and in the College of the children, about which I write to the Governor and to the Captain of Cochim, as it seemed to you I should do. Thus done. Antonio de Aguiar. Lisbon, 20th March 1557.

Moved by this example, many other Chingaláz were converted and this harvest compensated for the calamities of war. But to the great delight of all, with the help also of the new Christian, Francisco Barreto, Secretary of the King, Darma Pala Astana, the teaching of the Venerable Father João de Vila Conde prevailed against the opposition which policy dictated and which the Ganezes again contrived, and this Prince determined to receive Holy Baptism at the hands of his teacher with public demonstrations of joy in spite of the Demon who tried by various means to dissuade him from it. In thanksgiving for his conversion there were public festivities in Goa as well as in Portugal whence, (as the pious King D. João III. had died and the King D. Sebastião his grandson was in his infancy, the Queen D. Catharina was ruling with the Cardinal D. Henrique,) the following letter was written to the Guardian of the same Religious Order. ' Father Friar Belchior of Lisbon. I, the King, send you much greeting. Through the Father Friar Pedro of Belem I received a letter of yours, and from it and from one of the Father Friar João de Vila de [sic] Conde I learnt how our Lord was pleased to enlighten the King of Ceylon and to lead him to a knowledge of the truth of our Faith which gave me great pleasure, and I gave great thanks to our Lord for that He was pleased that there should take place in my time a deed which promises to be to His great service.

May it please God to confirm it and to make His name greatly followed in that Island in which it has hitherto been so much outraged by the Princes. As for the help against Madúne which the said King asked from the Governor, and the hopes of assistance given to him, I am sure that since the said Governor knows how much I desire to favour those who follow the way of truth, he will see that the said King is assisted in all things as he needs. The upbringing of the Prince of Ceylon, who is being brought up in the monastery of St. Francis of Lisbon, and whom the Governor sent to this Kingdom, shows me the care which the Friars of your Order take in matters of the service of God. I am greatly pleased thereby and I will keep in mind what the aforesaid King asks and with good reason, as you show. As for the things which you say have been begun in Baçaim and Bardéz, and what you desire me to commend to the Governor, I wrote to the Viceroy D. Constantineo,<sup>1</sup> my greatly beloved Nephew, to show you favour in everything that he was able according to the need of those parts | and you might ask him. For <sup>P 263</sup> the reason you gave I thought it good | to give order to continue the work of the Oratory which was begun in S. Thome at the time you arrived and the study of Theology which you enjoined in Goa and that of Arts and Grammar in Cochim. I am greatly pleased with this, because it is to the service of our Lord in those parts. Thus done. Antonio de Aguiar 7th March 1558.

The Prince who is spoken of here as sent by Governor Francisco Barreto to Portugal, was one of the two natural sons of King Boneca-Bau of whom we have already spoken.<sup>2</sup> The following letter was also written to the newly converted King. 'Friend D. Joaõ Perea Pandar. I the king, as one interested in your welfare, rejoice at the knowledge which our Lord communicated to you by means of the Friars of St. Francis, from whose labours no less fruit was expected, nor anything less from the fair hopes of your youth. Remember how great an advantage you have in the Catholic faith without which our condemnation is certain. Give thanks to the Lord who enlightened you in the midst of so great an obscurity, and though Madúne stirred up by the Demon, the perverter of all good deeds, disturbs you by all the means he can, let not this trouble make you negligent in the observance of the precepts of the Divine Law. But rather mindful

<sup>1</sup> Seventh Viceroy. 1558-1561, Don Constantine was a scion of the most noble house in Portugal, being a son of Don Jayme the Sixth Duke of Braganza. The eight Duke of Braganza became King of Portugal in 1640.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra* 304.

of the title of King which you have, you should imitate such in constancy against adversity, for it is in these alone that one gives proof of prudence, while in prosperity there is no lack of those who have [prudence]. Besides that, you will ever receive favour from my Viceroys and Governors to whom I will give special order to defend your cause; as if it were mine own, for so I consider it, not so much because of the donation which your grandfather Boneca-Bau made to my Lord the King D. Joaõ, whom may Holy Glory hold, but rather because of the brotherliness wherewith you confirmed your zeal, which I always consider suspicious when the Kings who swear to it have not the Faith. Forget the anxiety which the wars give you and the industry of your foe, for it pertains to my credit to reinstate you, because it will be a relief to you and because the credit of my arms demand it, I will not cease to prosecute him until he is completely disillusioned.' This was a letter which the King of Cota esteemed most highly, and in it is expressed the ardour wherewith they desired the welfare of Ceylon in those good times.

The Roman Curia did not rejoice less at this conversion, for when D. Joaõ Perea Pandar wrote to the Pontiff, Gregory XIII., to express his submission<sup>1</sup> to the Catholic Church in its Vicar, he received in reply the following Brief | which, <sup>P 264</sup> along with the letter referred to, is preserved in the archives of St. Francis at Goa of which the following is a faithful translation by an older hand.

'Beloved Son, Noble Offspring, Health and Apostolic Benediction. We are pleased beyond belief with your letter and with your piety in acknowledging the Catholic Faith and persevering therein with the utmost constancy; for that is the beginning and foundation of all blessings and of that <sup>P 264</sup> | felicity whereunto we were created by God, in whose name we embrace your nobility and count you of the same rank and number as all other Catholic Princes. Nor is there anything which on your behalf we do not desire to effect with that influence and authority wherewith we have been set by Our Lord Jesus Christ to preside over His Holy Church; for all Catholics, wherever they may be, we regard as entrusted to our care and solicitude; you above all, whom as a tender plant the great goodness of Christ Himself has transferred from that mighty and vast desert of heathenism to the most fertile and cultivated field of His Church, and whom (to use the words of the Apostle Peter) He has desired to be

<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. The brief is a reply to a letter of Dharmapala dated 16 Jan. 1574. Vide Ceylon Antiquary VI. 27-30.

of a chosen generation, a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, that you may declare his virtues who hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light.<sup>1</sup>

We are therefore writing to the King of Portugal as requested by you, and we recommend you to him as much as we are able. Only we warn you not to let the perversity of any man, or the weight of wrongdoing, draw you away from the true Faith and your holy purpose; for that would be the greatest of all evils, and you would thus be going back to the most abject servitude of Satan, from which the highest goodness and blood of Our Lord Jesus have delivered you. We do not cease to pray for you, nor shall we ever weary of recommending your affairs to the King interposing therein all the weight of our authority, &c.<sup>2</sup>

This brief and the letters referred to show the great delight wherewith Christendom heard the news of the conversion of D. Joaõ Perea Pandar who, as soon as he received Holy Baptism, at once tried to do away with the Pagodes, directing that all their revenues should go to the Colleges and Seminaries recently established in that Island by the Religious of St. Francis, thus applying to [the worship of] God what had been offered to the Demon, for St. Paul ordered that what had been dedicated to profanity should pay tribute to Heaven, setting right by this transfer the impropriety of the first application. This gift is shown in the following deed which is already the third ratification.

| 'D. Joaõ, by the Grace of God, Perea Pandar, King of F 147  
Ceylon. To all to whom this ratification shall come maketh known; That having regard to the great boon of the knowledge of the Holy Faith which I received by means of the Friars of St. Francis who co-operate with me for its increase and assist me in matters both Spiritual and Temporal, it hath seemed good to me to give as alms to the said Fathers, at the request of Friar Joaõ de Vila Conde, the Guardian, that was of my City of Cota, the metropolis of my Realms, at whose hands I became a Christian, all the revenues of the Pagodes and the village of Calâne on the one side as well as on the other [of the river]; of the Pagode Deladasde, which was the Church of S. Salvador of the said Fathers; and likewise of all the Pagodes of my Realms, with all their revenues, lands, gardens, P 265  
fields, quitrents and service, | to possess in the same way

<sup>1</sup> I Peter II. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Given at Rome from St. Peter's under the seal of the Fisherman, this first day of July 1578, the seventeenth of our Pontificate.' *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum*. Appendix.

as my ancestors had gifted them to the Pagodes. And as I know that the said Fathers, by the rigour of their rule, cannot possess property, it hath seemed good to me that, just as I and my ancestors had offered and granted the aforesaid lands for the maintenance of the Ganezes and Jadacas, they be spent for the improvement of the Colleges that the Fathers shall set up, and that their revenues shall be collected by a person assigned by them. And as I know that the intention of the said Fathers is not, nor was, any other than the service of God and the salvation of souls without reserving anything for themselves, I ordained in the year 1562 at the request of the Father Friar Martinho da Guarda, Religious of the same Order, that the said alms made in [15]57 be ratified; and now again at the request of Friar Manoel de Santos, Guardian of the College of S. Antonio of Colombo, I ratify the same gift as if it were made anew, with the special declaration that in case there come to this Island Bishops, Prelates or Fathers of any other Order whatsoever, they shall have nothing to do with the said Pagodes or revenues, or services or any of the aforesaid things, but only the said Fathers of St. Francis for the obligation is on them. And if perchance I have made any other gift to the contrary, I hereby declare, that it is null and void of value and that this alone shall have value. And I earnestly beg His Majesty to be so pleased, and I notify the same to all his judges and others, not to call this in question. Given at Columbo on the 19th of January 1591. Thus done, Antonio Ribeyro, Secretary.'

The King confirmed this deed again in 1595 before he died; and regarding the two last clauses, the one revoking all other gifts as well as the other requesting His Majesty to uphold it, | much could be said here, but as it is not proper to F 147  
interrupt the history with discussions of rights, let this also be left for the last Book. But as soon as the King died, the Religious were relieved of this anxiety by the Ministers of the King, who wrote to the Catholic King that these revenues amounted to 70,000 cruzados which could furnish a suitable [stipend] for the Bishop of Cochim, maintain the Colleges and provide fleets, though from the lands of the whole of Ceylon excluding Jafanapataõ, which the King does not mention, and Candea of which we were never masters, such a large sum was in fact never obtained, but in the eyes of the Royal Ministers the poor pittance of the Religious always appeared an abundance, and with better eyes they see in one house what is enough to sustain a whole province, and these very people, who do not hesitate to stake in one day ten to twenty thousand cruzados, consider that income ill-spent on a large

monastery, and though there are no bigger robbers of the Royal exchequer than private ministers, no one bewails the alienation of Royal revenues more than they. The fact is that when <sup>P 266</sup> Mathias de Albuquerque | was Viceroy,<sup>1</sup> the Catholic king ordered the withdrawal of these rents from the Colleges and Seminaries and of their administration from the Syndic of these Religious, which the Vedor da Fazenda<sup>2</sup> immediately carried out, in spite of the protest which the Syndic, Pero da Silva, laid on the ground of justice. And having reached this point, I cannot forget what the Venerable Father Jeronimo Xavier, nephew of the Saint, wrote from Mogol to the Viceroy Mathias da Albuquerque saying: 'That as he considered him getting ready for the voyage to the Kingdom, let him remember that the Cape of Good Hope alone seemed the best residence for the Viceroy of India.' He went to Cochim to embark and on the eve of his departure, when nothing more was left in the house save a writing desk containing papers, there was burnt in that ship in one hour all that he was taking from India. Then remembering what the servant of God had written to him, he said like the good Christian he was 'God hath given and God hath taken away, blessed be His name: only the Residence has arrived much earlier than Father Xavier predicted.' Of this Viceroy the old folk of India used to say: 'That its fortunes came to an end with him,' but he was unfortunate enough to have to carry out this Order, for God is wont to punish in temporal matters those whom He wishes effectually to save.

Though in the course of this History we shall often speak of this King, it would be good to say here how seriously he embraced our Holy | Faith. <sup>F 148</sup> As soon as he received it, the pagan ceremonies became odious to him; and though it was impossible for him not to give liberty of conscience he favoured the Christians so publicly, that he put the pagans to shame and his Christianity could not be dimmed (as was well pointed out by the Roman Pontiff in the Brief given above) by the malice and tyranny which the Captains of Columbo frequently showed to him, without the least reason, and against the declared wish of the most Serene and Catholic Kings of Portugal, things coming to such a pass, that many a day he had nothing else to eat than rice. And though he disguised his feelings before his foes, he did not fail to represent matters to his friends. Seeing however that no relief was given and that the Portuguese took all his revenues, disposing

<sup>1</sup> Fifteenth Viceroy, 1596-1597.

<sup>2</sup> Controller of Revenue.

him in his lifetime, he made a public instrument wherein he named as his Procurators before the Viceroy of India, the Minister General of St. Francis and Friar Chrisostomo da Madre de Deos, Lecturer in Theology, Guardian and Commissary of Ceylon, before the King [of Portugal] the Provincial of Portugal and D. Frey Andre de S. Maria, Bishop of Cochim and Administrator of the Archbishopric of Goa, before His Holiness, Ruy Sobrinho de Mesquita, Inquisitor Apostolic of India and the Guardian of S. Thome, giving them special instructions. But the pity was that in spite of the diligence of so many and so solicitous Procurators he received less profit than credit. For as the Kings were far away and the <sup>P 267</sup> needs of India and Ceylon always pressing, the Viceroy | and Governors found justification for saying: 'That they must not spend outside money on him and that more was spent on Ceylon than Ceylon yielded.' He bore it all with patience, a proof of his good nature and Christianity, whereof we shall see other greater [proofs]. He ever persevered in the Faith which he protected in person taking part in many of the battles which were fought in his time.

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## CHAPTER 25.

### FRESH WAR WITH MADUNE

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We left Tribule dead in Jafanapataõ, where that King erected to him a pagode, giving him worship not out of love but for fear of him, in accordance with the erroneous belief which they all have of the transmigration of souls. He became heir to the treasures which Tribule had robbed and to the tooth of Buddum, which he had | brought with him, <sup>F 148v</sup> and of which we shall speak later. Tribule Pandar was a man of great height, in colour inclined to black, eyes exceedingly large and fearful, given to evil, proud, bold and wicked. He was not, as some said, King of Manâr, but a son of Comerida Pandar of the blood royal and of Lama Eteni,<sup>1</sup> niece of Boneca-Bau and daughter of his Sister Capuru Lama Eteni,<sup>1</sup> and it was for this reason that he was called Prince, a title used by all those who are of Royal stock. Of him the Chingalâz say that, when he was young, he killed his own Father with an arrow, because he rebuked him for his wickedness,

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *Lama-tani*, a respectable term of address.

and that afterwards he hunted tigers and defied elephants to display his strength. Madûne dreaded him so much, that he celebrated the news of his death with public demonstrations, and as he needed the Portuguese only for this reason, and the end for which he had kept them was now attained, he again aspired to the Empire and sought colour and title for fresh warfare. He placed his claims to the Empire of Cota before the council, where he decided to crown himself, trusting in his old age to the valour of his son, to flatter whom there were published presages of his future victories.

As he was now quite certain of what he wished to do, in the Council he only said: 'You know the trouble which the preservation of this City gave me, the trouble of the sieges laid to it, the pains I suffered when I beheld the fire seizing your houses and my Palace erected at such cost and care, and still more to be deplored, our temples, the witnesses of our religion, burnt down. If you remember all this, the memory of those painful sights, which effect all, will excite motives of vengeance, to do against the Portuguese what zeal turned to hatred will dictate, for dissimulation can be prudent P 268 | only so long as you obtain by it what without it would be lost. Hitherto the only reason for it was Tribule Pandar whom alone I feared. He is dead, as you know. Now it only remains to drive our spears into the breasts of the Portuguese, the authors of our ruin. And that I may not be considered altogether ungrateful and unfaithful to the peace sworn to with them under your advice, I desire to maintain my claim to the empire of Cota, so that, as it is so well known, I shall be sufficiently excused for breaking out into war, if they attempt to oppose it.'

Some who did not dare to say what they should have said, seeing the King's determination so clearly declared, said 'that he was no doubt the heir to his Brother Boneca-Bau, both because he was the brother, and because their Laws had ordained that when a King died without children, the neighbouring King should be his heir. And that, though Darma Pala Astâna was the son of a daughter, | he only F 149 represented his Father to whom the Kingdom did not in the least pertain save in case of an extinction of the Royal stock, and above all, even granting that he was the heir, that right was lost, when he abandoned the Religion of Buddum.' The others, who were the minority, for truth is often unespoused, condemned this opinion as false, counselling and proposing: 'That Madûne should be satisfied with Seytavâca and not lose his own by coveting another's; for it was clear that Darma Pala Astâna was the true successor of Boneca-Bau both

because the grandsons are recognized as sons as well as because the Emperor had chosen him to be the heir to his State. And that if Boneca-Bau had a lawful right to dismember his realm and to give him first [the kingdom] of Seytavâca and afterwards Raygam, how could he be judged not to have the right to leave the remainder to his grandson? Moreover it had been laid down by their Legislators that in case an heir was not forthcoming, the succession to the Empire should be by election, and that its Lord could in his lifetime not only appoint a relative, but even a subject. That this truth is not affected by the fact that the King of Cota was a Christian, for there was no law which declared that he should lose his Kingdom for that, and that to have force, such a law should have been approved by the people, and besides that there was no law, the people had shown by the allegiance which they had kept, at least in great part, that they were satisfied with his conversion.' To these opinions was added that of an infamous Portuguese, a native of Algarue, named Afonço Rasquinho, who having apostatized from the Faith tried to prove that D. Joaõ had ceased to be King from the time he received baptism, for just as when Catholic Princes become heretics, they lose the throne or state of which they were Lords, in the same way if one who is a pagan becomes a Christian, he incurs the same penalty, and with greater reason, because the guilt is greater: a Law and Theology quite worthy of a Renegade.

Madûne was greatly pleased with this argument, because there was in it an appearance of zeal for their law, and being P 269 resolved | on making war, he actually ordered the Portuguese to quit his territories. From these people the Captain of Columbo received tidings of this move, which was not quite so quick as to prevent preparations and intimation to Goa of what was taking place, for all the foregoing, the warfare, the death of Tribule, and the fresh moves of Madûne, took place between the year 1555 and the beginning of [155]7. In the midst of these preparations a Yogi of their Sect, Budavance by name, who was reputed for a Saint on account of his penance, and who thought that the object of Madûne was to preserve and spread the Law of Buddum, visited him and thanked him for the zeal with which he proceeded, and in order to facilitate | the enterprise with less loss of blood, F 149 he promised to do all he was able with the help of the Yogis, Jadêcas and Ganezes of Cota to persuade the natives to forsake the City and to enter his service, saying that in this way it would be easier to accomplish what was difficult by force of arms. He thanked him for the service which he said he valued

very highly, and promised to reward him with like favours, for which the Yogi cared very little, as it was zeal alone which made him render that service. He therefore appointed a day and notified to the Ministers of his profession to come to hear him for the common welfare. As they revered him as a second Buddum, they soon repaired to the appointed place, and under a Budiame,<sup>1</sup> which is the tree which they worship, he addressed them thus :—

‘ If as Chingalaz you are grieved to see your country deprived of freedom and given over to tyrants, as observers of our law, you should be still more afflicted to see the contempt into which it has fallen, which is the main cause of the increase of war, the spread of enmities and the ruin of the people, though out of so many there is not one who thinks of the cause of so great an evil. That the robust lascorir, the rude farmer and the thoughtless noble should be deluded, is not strange, for their office or labour or self-interest gives them no room for reflexion and their heedlessness or ignorance excuses them. But you, who are the preachers of the truth, which they do not seem to realize, how can you put up with such patent wrongs without fear of some great punishment? How can you, who are the ministers of our law, dissimulate an evil so great through [human] respect, when our customs are made barbarous, our rites prevented, and the Religion of Buddum and the cult of the Pagodes profaned? Realize, O Realize the error into which you have fallen! Preach the truth without any fear of punishment, and if you happen to be chastised for it, what greater happiness is there than to die for preaching it? Stir up this misguided King to drive the Portuguese out of his Kingdom, along with the Faith he has embraced and not to disgrace the nobility of his ancestors. Rather let him understand that it is because he forsook it, that Madune is prosecuting him and not because he wants to subjugate Cota which he respects for its antiquity and preeminence, but because he fears that in course of time this Kingdom will go to strangers, and that the religion of Buddum will be altogether displaced by that of Christ.

P 270 This is what I represent to you, | warning you of those disasters in order to avoid them. Remember that from small beginnings springs the downfall of great Empires, and that it is unworthy of intelligent men to let a novelty prevail to the discredit of a Religion established for so many centuries and venerable for its antiquity. My birth and the Religion I profess bear witness that it is zeal alone which

<sup>1</sup> Sin. *bodihamy*, an honorific term for the Bo-tree, *ficus religiosa*.

makes me remind you of this, that it is the love | of country F 15C  
which makes me recount these grievances. And if, however, you think that any self-interest or other considerations move me, then do what you think should be done, and he who now warns you, will imitate you.’

Budavance would have continued this discourse further, had he not seen that the other Yogis were inflamed with anger against the Christians and ready to give him their word to die in proclaiming these truths. Taking leave of him that very night, they returned to Cota, and as that was the time of their sermons, for falsehood ever detests the light, they spread about in the streets and crying out awoke the people who, perceiving the efficacy with which those who had hitherto been cowards were now speaking, attributed this new confidence to Buddum. It was a matter for laughter as well as for tears to see the pitiful way in which they preached and the liberty wherewith they rebuked, rolling on the ground and covered with ashes and so improper [in their attire] that they seemed altogether like Demons. Diogo de Melo wished to find out what the matter was and with him the King D. Joao, thinking that it was one of the usual risings, but when they came out of the house, the people led by the Yogis drove them back with stones. He ordered the Portuguese to get under arms with the intention of quelling the mutiny; but Ruy Dias Pereyra, who was with him, was of opinion that he should wait till morning, because the danger to which they exposed themselves was great, as well as because they did not know who were friends and who were enemies. Being told however that the King and the men of his guard were fighting, he at once went with those who were there, killing and putting to flight those who were trying to resist them with sticks and stones. He reached the place where the King was, and seeing wounds in his face, he was grieved and asked him the cause of it, and the King turning round and laughing replied: ‘ What else should it be but the Devil,’ and then he related the arrival of the Yogis of which he had information from those who were captured and from others who joined him. The authors of the tumult fled, and some young men, more intrepid than the rest, were taken. The news reached Columbo that Cota was taken, the false rumour increasing so enormously in the course of so short a distance; and though Duarte Rodriguez had not troops enough to resist so great a force as was said to be upon it, with the few he had, he set out at dawn on the 22nd of June 1557, and though he found everything quiet, he feared there would be another tumult unless this one were punished.



The King, Duarte Rodriguez Bulhaõ, Diogo de Melo and others, being assembled in Council, were of opinion that the delinquents should be examined and that the guilty punished as an example to the rest ; | and though the King, being a compassionate man and one who well understood the character of his people, did not like that so many should lose their lives on account of a chance medley, | yet seeing that Bulhaõ insisted, alleging P 150 convenience to the service of the King of Portugal, he set out for a village where he ordered all the Yogis to be taken and handed over to the Captain of Columbo, reserving to himself the punishment of the rest. Thirty persons, anchorites of the Demon, were taken and hanged for traitors. But the very means which the Portuguese thought would make everything secure, exposed everything to greater peril, for Madûne, foreseeing how all this would be taken by the people to whom it was a horrible sacrilege, for they were persons dedicated to Buddum, and that up to that time such a punishment had never been inflicted on them, wrote to the principal men of Cota urging them with promises to come over to him and threatening severe tortures to those who would not do so, when he entered the city. These letters caused such an open disturbance that in the first encounter there were deaths of the Chingaláz as well as of the Portuguese, and matters were disposed for a total disaster, but Bulhaõ in these wrangles secretly ordered two principal Modeliares, who fomented the cause of Madûne, to be killed by poison. And the King pardoning the accused persons, the City became quiet again after many had fled to Seytavâca fearing the excesses of the Portuguese, among whom it was nothing new to give cause for calamities and to bewail them afterwards, for coming to know of the determination of Madûne, they now came to consider it a mistake to have prosecuted Tribule to death, for as long as he was alive, there was a check on his [Madûne's] daring, and it will always be so, as long as they judge events from their results and do not reason beforehand. The tidings soon reached Goa, whence the Governor Francisco Barreto, before the arrival of the Viceroy D. Constantine de Bargaça, again sent Afonço Pereyra de Laçerda to Columbo with the reinforcements he could get of 300 men to conduct that war according to his experience and courage. Arriving in Columbo, he went immediately to Cota and manned the posts of greater danger with these troops and the others who lived there. At the pass of Ambolaõ, the usual way to that City, there remained Joaõ de Melo with 20 Portuguese and 200 Chingaláz ; in that of the Mosquitos, which was more perilous, Gil de Goes with 40 Portuguese and 400 Lascarins. In that

of Pereacota, which had to be secured, Pero de Mendonça with a double force of both the one and the other nation ; and in this manner he appointed the rest, placing twelve foists in the Lake of which the Captains were Fernaõ de Castro, Domingos Raposo, Joaõ Rodriguez Correa, Antonio de Espinola, Diogo Juzarte, Christouaõ das Neues, Gaspar Pires, Vicente Belo, Antonio Guerreyro, Adiraõ Leonardes, Antonio da Fonseca, [and] Esteuaõ Jorge. The King and Bulhaõ kept the rest of the men | to render assistance wherever P 151 it should be most needed and for assaults, as he had not troops enough to give battle.

P 272 | In this order they awaited the enemy, of whom it was known that he had left Seytavâca with 50,000 men formed into 300 companies, the vanguard in charge of Rajû, the centre led by Panapitim Modeliar, and the rearguard by Madûne ; but as the ways were scarcely suited for such a large body of men, Rajû set out on the 10th November 1557, the Modeliar on the 15th [and] Madûne on the last day of the month, fixing their quarters as they came, whereby they intended likewise to scare Cota while awaiting larger forces. Rajû tried to attack forthwith from the side of the Lake, but the foists drove him back with falcons. And as these forces were scattered, the King D. Joaõ ordered 8,000 men to sally out at the dawn watch under the captaincy of Francisco Barreto, who attacked with such gallantry, putting them into disorder and killing many men, that he was able to retire unscathed with 80 Portuguese in charge of Diogo de Melo, all of whom on that day performed many feats of which there has remained the record only of that of Ruy Dias Pereyra who broke through the *estancia* and the guard of Rajû himself, and would have killed him, had he not been thwarted by being pierced in the neck by an arrow, of which he fell dangerously ill, after he had taken the life of many Chingaláz in company with D. Manoel de Castro, Joaõ de Abreu, Christovaõ Juzarte Ficaõ, [and] Fernaõ Peres de Andrade, who returned with the standard of the enemy, and others who worked wonders under heavy odds. In imitation of these, the Captains of the foists Antonio Espinola, Fernaõ de Castro and Diogo Juzarte made their way inland with a few soldiers and reduced to obedience the lands which had submitted to Madûne ; but being attacked by Panapitim, they were obliged to retire much faster than they liked to the lake, whence with falcons and musketry they attacked all together and caused great mortality. When occasion presented itself, Madûne succoured them, when peril was greatest, for Afonço Pereyra de Laçerda had many encounters with them outside the fortifications,



where by dint of assaults he kept them at bay without letting them draw near the City, though the enemy made up for the loss of so many by fresh reinforcements. As the siege continued, the famine was so great that the Portuguese were reduced to eat filth. In spite of these trials, the valorous Lacerda was so incensed that the perfidious Pagan should persist in his visit without realizing how little he was able to accomplish, that he determined to attack him with what forces he had. He briefly represented to his men the extremity of famine in which they were, the motives for that war, the fame they would acquire and that it was better to die valiantly than perish in fear.

| It was already the month of August 1558, when at the <sup>F 151e</sup> dawn watch tambours resounded and trumpets bid defiance, a course which could well have been dispensed with, as experience showed. Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda led the van with 100 Portuguese and 3000 | Lascorins, D. Manoel de Castro with an equal number led the centre, Diogo de Melo Coutinho the rear guard, with less whites. Rajû, who knew of our attack, promptly mustered all his force, covering the army with artillery and musketry in good order, but two falcons were let off so opportunely from our side with small shot, that the enemy was terrified by the many deaths which they saw under their eyes, and the vanguard abandoned the field and their arms, which our men collected. Their satisfaction at this success was such, that it made them follow up this victory with less order than before, and the enemy, reforming themselves and invoking Buddum, while our men invoked St. James, charged with all their might which Lacerda withstood with the sword. Panapitim tried to attack Coutinho in the third Line, but like the skilful Captain that he was he joined the first and after killing many men cut off the head of Panapitim himself. On seeing this our Lascorins gained heart and pursued the fleeing enemy (a thing at which they are very smart) with such force and fury, that they fell upon the main body of Madûne which was still intact and received them with a good volley of musketry. Some were killed thereby and the others were dispersed in such fashion that few were those who rejoined Diogo de Melo. This valorous Captain, finding himself without these Lascorins, with the remainder and the few Portuguese he had, went to the help of Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda, who had twice called for him. He found him pressed on all sides by the enemy who would have killed him, had they not, on Rajû's orders, sought to take him alive. Coutinho by sheer force cleared a broad way, through which they all retired facing the enemy till they

reached the Lake where the foists with small shot made the enemy realize the loss, thereby killing also some of our Lascorins. Fourteen Portuguese died of arrow wounds. In this battle there distinguished themselves Afonso Sodré, D. Alexo de Menezes, Pero de Castilho, Agostinho de Azevedo, Pero Palha, Fernão Perez de Andrade, Gaspar Pereyra the Long, Christovão Juzarte Ficaô, D. Manuel de Castro, and others who were all wounded by bullets, darts, and arrows.

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## CHAPTER 26.

### THE SIEGE IS CONTINUED. ITS SUCCESSES

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| The Portuguese, who make no account of those who die <sup>F 162</sup> through disorders in the voyage from the Kingdom,<sup>1</sup> in the hospitals or in the streets, though they are the majority, and think only of those who die in war, not because of the honour they achieve thereby, but because they believe that it diminishes the credit of the captains, even though they may have acted with all valour, as Lacerda did on this occasion, now broke out into unceasing complaints against him which gave him great pain, because he had not failed | in his duty; and <sup>P 274</sup> desiring to punish those especially who use the tongue better than the sword, he endeavoured to find out the authors of these clamours, and coming to know that Diogo de Melo Coutinho was the ringleader, because he had once saved him from a greater danger, he prudently sought to put an end to the matter by good means; and encountering him as if by chance he said to him: 'Diogo de Melo what do you mean? I own I owe you my life, and since you have given it to me and saved me from so many enemies, do not be the occasion of my losing it.' By this and other fair words he brought it home to him and put him to shame so that he had to contradict what he had said in public, and to praise Lacerda not only for a valiant man but also for a great captain, for in this way are feelings wont to prompt words and reasons. Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda was pleased thereat and like a Cavalier overlooked both the grievance and the taking satisfaction therefor.

Madûne was dissatisfied with this warfare, because he was not able to press the siege on account of the death of Panapitim and other Captains, when there appeared in Cota Jorge

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<sup>1</sup> Portugal.

de Melo, nicknamed the First, Captain of Manâr<sup>1</sup> with all the men he was able to get together, as the rumour had reached him that Afonso Pereyra was dead. He was of opinion that to enhance [our] reputation in arms, it behoved to attack the enemy once more, which was also the opinion of Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda, Diogo de Melo Coutinho, Christavaõ Juzarte Ficaõ, D. Manoel de Castro and others. The others said: 'That the force was not enough to face so great an army and that their affairs were not in such a state as to defy fortune which had put into our hands what had once dropped from them. That they should remember the evil that befell Caius Marius in the second Cimbrian battle, and call to mind the opinion of Hanno in Carthage after the victory of Cannae, when he voted to make peace with Rome, and that Carthage was lost, because this opinion was not followed; And that if Pompey the Great had been content with the victory of Dyrrachium, he would not have been defeated at Pharsalia; That it was much better to preserve reputation than to endanger it; and that Rome did not cease to be Rome because it was besieged for 20 years by the Portuguese Veriato<sup>2</sup> as is related by Paterculus; that temerity is not the Legitimate Mother of honour, as is seen in the case of the Landgrave<sup>3</sup> of Hesse who fell by trying to cope with Charles, and that Francis, King of France, after taking so many praças was defeated and taken at Pavia, because he tried conclusions with Antonio de Leyva.'

This opinion, though a prudent one, was not acceptable to minds which were stimulated by valour as well as by despair. Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda entrusted the vanguard to Diogo de Melo Coutinho, (although according to the practice in Ceylon due to the paucity of soldiers they called it the advance guard (*dianteyra*) and called the centre (*batalha*) the vanguard, thus altering the military terms), the centre to Jorge de Melo, <sup>P 275</sup> reserving the rearguard for himself. | The three Captains commanded 370 Portuguese and 7000 Lascarins, and set out through the pass of Ambolaõ in November of that year. The enemy sighted them betimes and owing to the distance they had time to form themselves in the place where they were, whither our men arrived in such spirits that he thought they were a new reinforcement. They exchanged a preli-

<sup>1</sup> There was no Captain in Mannar at this time and Jorge de Melo became Captain of Mannar in 1562 (see *infra* p. 335). The same error is found in Couto VII. 9. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Viriathus. A Lusitanian patriot who escaped the massacre of the people by the Proconsul Galba B.C. 150 and afterwards surrounded the Roman Army.

minary charge more in the nature of a Salute than a battle, which was commenced by D. Manoel de Castro with such resolution that the men of Rajû, who were the first to charge, ended by retiring. But the Portuguese ire, greedy for victory, had recourse to the sword, heedless of the advantage which the enemy had in their spears. D. Manoel, realizing the inequality, flung his sword into the air and, snatching a pike from the enemy, went on transpiercing so many of them that, though he was already wounded in the face by a spear, he forced them to turn tail after the death of many. Seeing his gallantry and that of his companions, Jorge de Melo cried out with joy: 'Senhor D. Manoel, you are a Tower of Strength,' and joining in the fray with the same valour, he broke through the enemy giving and receiving wounds; and though he lost some companions, it was at the cost of so many lives that D. Manoel, seeing the enemy abandon the field, shouted out, to return the compliment: 'Lucky Melo, Lucky Melo,' because many of that name in India have not been lucky, though many of them were very valorous. With similar valour acted on this occasion, as always, Diogo de Melo Coutinho in the vanguard, and Afonso Pereyra de Lacerda in the rearguard; and captains and soldiers and lascarins that day fought with such resolution that the whole army of the enemy was routed after many deaths and gave up the field. Our men returned victorious to Cota.

There in thanksgiving was held the first procession which was seen in that Island, with various banners of St. Francis, of St. James, of St. Bernard, on whose feast-day this battle was fought, of St. Lawrence, Patron of Tapobrana, of St. Thomas, St. Francis Xavier (even before he was beatified, because he had planted the Faith in that Island) of St. Peter Martyr, St. Antony, St. Jerome, St. Augustine and St. Dominic, as the Religious of both the one and the other family were already living in Columbo. All these banners bore curious and devout Inscriptions. At the end of the procession was borne a lifelike Image of Christ crucified, to animate the Christians and to attract the Pagans. The latter (as has happened often) repeated the Litany with the Fathers who sang it, confessing with their lips what their mind had not embraced, without knowing that only the deeds that begin and end in the mind are referable to the doer.

The procession, which I have tarried to describe, because it was a long one and the first of many magnificent ones of Portuguese piety, having returned, we must again return to deeds of arms which, being so victorious, obliged the enemy

<sup>1</sup> 'Soys Castro', a pun on his name.

P 276 to bring a larger force. Whereof Afonso Pereyra sent tidings to Goa, and of the impossibility in which he found himself of prosecuting the war, as he had been attacked for the last 20 years by a quartan fever which owing to such great cares reduced him to delirium. D. Constantino de Bragança therefore despatched as Captain of Columbo and of that warfare D. Jorge de Menezes to whom they gave the nickname of Baroche because of his valorous exploits in that city<sup>1</sup> which lies in the interior of the bay of Cambaya. He set out in May, accompanied by many gentlemen and good cavaliers, and on reaching Ceylon, he at once went to see the King to whom he said that it was the desire of continuing the war and if possible of finishing with the enemy that brought him to the Island. The King thanked him in words, though he was pained to see his Realm destroyed, and because the troops of this reinforcement were not enough to vie with the pertinacity of the obstinate Rajû ; and as sadness seldom changes its garb, he only reflected that the greater part of his lieges went over to the enemy after he became a Christian, and that there was little remedy to be applied to that defection. That a change so great produced no less an effect on Infidels, and that greater circumspection was necessary to combine Politics and Theology in such cases. This was the greatest task of the Portuguese arms in Ceylon and those noble cavaliers considered that, if at first they defended their own cause, in this long-drawn-out war they not only defended their own but God's as well.

D. Jorge soon made ready to meet the Enemy who had changed his position to the grand stockade on the bank of the river Calâne. He occupied the other bank of the River facing the army which came also to meet him with banners flying. They first exchanged musketry from P 153e which some died on both sides, but when it came to the sword, the victory remained on our side, for when a few lascarins were wounded, they were so stirred to vengeance that with great mortality they forced those of Seytavâca to abandon the field and to withdraw to their stockades, whence they made various assaults, but were well repelled with further loss. Of those of greater consideration there died Jorge Cabral, nephew of the Governor of that name, João Vasquez, Luis da Costa, Manoel Carvalho, Jeronimo Rebelo, João Rodriguez and some Lascarins, at the cost of many lives of the enemy. In the other [assaults] that followed there were no casualties ; but this war became equally lingering and tedious to all. D. Jorge was as unwearied as he was impatient, and for this

<sup>1</sup> Broach, (1547).

reason some soldiers retired to Cota and the means he chose to consume the enemy served to make him disliked by the soldiers. He took this proceeding in bad part, considering another man's weakness as a personal insult, and leaving Jorge de Melo in his place, he set out for the City with the intention of punishing the fugitives severely. Rajû came to know of this matter, and though he would fain have profited P 277 by the occasion, his men were so distracted in the chase | and in fishing that Jorge de Melo did not miss the opportunity, but attacked the encampments of the enemy one day at dawn in great silence, when he wrought great slaughter on the most important men, killing many Modeliares and Araches and taking a great quantity of arms with other spoils with which he retired unscathed, obliging the enemy to be more united in future.

This was a great triumph for D. Jorge, who returning to Cota with the greater part of the soldiers who had retired, on the next day invested the stockade of Rajû and put to the sword 300 men who were there, among whom were the principal Captains, and he burnt it and returned without the loss of a single Portuguese. He determined to attack the grand stockade in which Madûne was with the main force. To do so more effectively, he ordered two wooden castles to be prepared on two boats which they call *padas*,<sup>1</sup> and he placed therein 40 soldiers with many pots of powder, fire bombs and other devices to go up by the River, so that while the enemy would be fighting on either side [of the river] the stockade might be the more easily taken. Having come to the appointed place and the signal being given to attack, they began to row the *padas* and Madûne, seeing the *padas* approach with castles, ordered a camel [gun] to be fired so opportunely that the shot passing from the prow to the poop killed more than 20 sailors of the country, who in a line were hauling some *rogeyras*.<sup>2</sup> Those of the River stood still because of the fear which seized the living sailors, and much as D. Jorge ordered to signal to them to | get near, they did nothing, P 164 the greatest danger that befalls in such cases owing to the weakness of these mariners. D. Jorge remained on the field defending himself with great courage from the assaults of the enemy. He afterwards learnt that Rajû was fortified in a meadow at a short distance from the stockade with 4000 men. He fell upon them one hour before dawn with such violence that he put them to flight leaving 200 dead. He went in

<sup>1</sup> Flat bottomed boats from Tam. *padava*, Sin. *padawwa*, Anglice 'Pade' (Doyle's diary), 'pada boat'.

<sup>2</sup> Guns loaded with stone balls.

pursuit of the rest, killing many as he overtook them, till they faced him in a narrow and well-fortified pass. He tried his very best to dislodge them, but Pero Jorge Franco, realizing the danger to which they were exposed by trying to attempt the impossible, with the confidence of soldiers veteran and brave, said to him: 'That he should be content with the fortune God had granted and should retire, because munitions and powder were running short; that even if they had these things, they would not be able to inflict any damage on the enemy, but would merely expose themselves to danger, because the firing was so ill-directed, unless he wished that there should befall them a disaster, if Madúne should charge with all his force. D. Jorge being puffed up with victory replied with less prudence than courage: 'That if there was no powder, they might load their muskets with sand, and if they did not shoot, they might finish the business with the sword, because such brave Portuguese had no need of arms so long as they had nails and teeth.'

P 278 | He had scarcely finished these words, when he attacked the pass with the rest of the Portuguese who followed him against their better judgment. But as the [enemy's] force was great and capture impossib'e, they had to retreat, which made D. Jorge snatch the banner of Christ from the hand of the Ensign and shout to those who deserted it: 'Hold back: Hold back'; but in that din of shouts of the enemy and of those who were retiring, the loudest voice was but silence. Whereupon D. Jorge turning to the enemy with the banner cried out: 'Where thou art present, Lord, what else is wanted?' He had scarcely finished, when Rajú, perceiving the disorder of the raw recruits, in all haste charged the gentlemen and cavaliers who did not shirk it; and on this occasion they again made the enemy retire. They traversed the meadow, always facing the enemy, till they reached a pass the end of which was obstructed by large trees wherewith the enemy had blocked it. They were not able to clear the pass so quickly as to prevent the war elephants from coming upon them. Here he courageously addressed his men saying: 'The intention I had is my excuse for this, if fortune condemns me. Let us fight, gentlemen, and sell our lives dear, and if everything fails, I will admit that my mistake is the cause of this disaster. But since we fight for God, let the success be in His hands.' Meanwhile there was an elephant making for him, and Pedro Alvarez Freyre, a native of Serpa, drove it back sending it a bullet in the head from which it died after trampling their | P 154e men. The Ensign, Luis de Lacerda, attacked another and broke on its forehead the staff on which was the banner of

Christ, [but] he did not escape death, for the animal, taking him with its trunk, hurled him in the air. Another one approached Grogorio Botelho, a veteran soldier born in India, who courageously awaited it with a halberd and held it back by the stroke and thus had time to cross the bridge, by this time disencumbered, which separated the meadow from the wood. However there fell 30 soldiers, fighting with an incredible courage worthy of a better fate, and among them Joaõ Sodré who with his cap between his teeth broke through the enemy and sold his life for many; Pero da Cunha who, being transfixed by a spear, passed his sword through the assailant; Francisco Pinto de Moraes who, when his weapons were broken, tore some Chingaláz with his teeth like a lion. Sebastião Pinheyro seized a broadsword and made the victory doubtful, till he was pierced through the breast by an arrow. Paulo Gomez de Abreu, seeing the enemy fall upon D. Jorge who had imprisoned him in Cota, placed himself in front of him saying: 'Here, Sir, we are friends,' and shielding him with his life saved him from death.

The enemy hurried on to surround another perilous pass, where D. Jorge gave himself for lost, but God came to his aid, for Antonio Dias de Lomba had the presence of mind to fire a berço which our men had left behind, because they P 279 were unable to carry it, so | opportunely that the shot fell amidst the enemy who were in a line and killed so many that it terrified all; and fighting with muskets only in the woods, they killed Joaõ de Melo, Roque de Tavora, Gil de Goes, Fernaõ Pereyra, Simaõ Peyxoto and Francisco Pimentel, all well known and brave soldiers. Those who escaped with their lives arrived so badly wounded at the stockade from which they had set out, that 20 of them died, and so many courageous men fell owing to the pride and contempt of the Enemy which in India was ever a cause of misfortunes.

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## CHAPTER 27.

### OTHER SUCCESSES OF THIS WAR AND THE EXPEDITION OF THE VICEROY TO JAFANAPATAO

D. Jorge de Menezes felt so keenly this disaster, clearly foreseen by his reason and so ill-befitting his valour, that, remembering what Pliny said of Nicias, that he never erred when he took counsel, but always came to grief when he acted without it, he was inconsolable for the loss of such good

soldiers and friends, and because of the encouragement it gave the enemy, for when Madúne wanted to desist from that prolonged siege, alleging among other things | that the futility <sup>P 155</sup> of such continuous battles and the loss of so many lives might give the Chingaláz of his camp occasion to forsake him, Rajú, who in his youthful fervour sought to win greater renown, persuaded him not to give up hope of success nor give the Enemy time to provide and fortify himself better, saying that the success of great enterprises depends on perseverance, and that it was necessary to get nearer to Cota in order to do greater damage; and so it was done. Meanwhile the King D. João, being harassed by so long a siege, and for other reasons which I did not find out, without regard to the danger, passed to Calâne with his Court, accompanied by 1500 men including some Portuguese. D. Jorge de Menezes remained to govern Cota, and though he was now cured of the wounds of the recent battle, he again received other [wounds] which were not the less dangerous, though they did not draw so much blood, as I shall narrate here for the instruction of others; not that I praise them, but in order that the effects of ill-considered actions may be known. D. Jorge was better skilled in breaking through enemies than in keeping clear of informers and flatterers; and a diversity of opinion often prevails with regard to battles, especially when, as in India, there reigns liberty of speech, some condemned his valour, others his actions, some admired his boldness and others gave him credit for prudence, and argued from effects to principles, with the result that they so set him at variance <sup>P 280</sup> with Afonço | Pereyra de Lacerda, who was still detained in Columbo by the winter, that the City of Cota became exposed to great peril being divided into two parties. On the side of D. Jorge was Diogo de Melo Coutinho and those of his faction, on the side of Afonço Pereyra, D. Manuel de Castro and his party, all this owing to comparisons and preferences of actions and valour and even of quality. Matters came to such a pass that the two challenged each other, but as D. Jorge was not able to accept the challenge, while he held that post, Christauão Juzarte Ficaõ took the field on his behalf, and João de Abreu, nicknamed the Devil, for Afonço Pereyra, and they wounded each other as cruelly as if they had some notable grievances to settle, but fortunately they escaped with their lives.

According to all the iniquitous laws of duelling, each of the aggrieved parties would have been satisfied, had the instigators not persuaded Lacerda that Menezes intended to kill him, Antonio Dias da Lomba, who, they say, was sergeant of both terços, going so far as to assert this on oath. Lacerda,

believing him, sent for D. Manoel de Castro and told him the news, concluding from it: 'that in order | not to expose <sup>P 155r</sup> themselves to death it behoved them to forestall this danger, not by taking away his life, as he had done homage both touching Columbo and Cota, but that to live in safety, it was necessary to seize him and hold an inquiry and send him to the Viceroy, putting in his place Jorge de Melo', who, though he had not declared himself, was more affected to Menezes than to Lacerda, as if forsooth the homage were not effected in this way also. This being settled upon they awaited an occasion when Menezes should be unaccompanied by his friend Coutinho, who had gone to Calâne to take measures against Rajú. At a time so suitable to their design, but so disastrous to the common weal, D. Manoel de Castro entered the house of the Captain, while Afonço Pereyra and his men stood at the door. After some expressions and not a few harsh ones, he laid hold of him saying: 'that he was a prisoner: That it was necessary for the service of the King that he should go to Goa to give an account of his misdeeds.' D. Jorge tried to resist and, as he attempted to defend himself, the others closed the door, lest people might be attracted by the noise they made. They put him in fetters and put him in a Cell, killing his servant because he cried out, a deed most unworthy of such worthy men, but not [unworthy] of passion. They sent for Jorge de Melo and required of him, as it so behoved the Royal honour and service, to take charge of the fortalice of Columbo and the government of Cota, and they insisted so much on it, that he had to yield at last.

A few days later Diogo de Melo Coutinho returned to Cota and said to Jorge de Melo: 'that unless the Captain were reinstated in his place, it would be the occasion of many Portuguese passing over to the enemies or of bringing matters to such a pass, that Rajú alone would be able to remedy it.' Jorge de Melo who was equally determined, answered him: 'that he might do what he thought best; that D. Jorge was <sup>P 281</sup> in good | custody; that as for going over to the enemy, the King of Portugal had so many and such good soldiers, that in place of one there should not be wanting many'; and rising he dismissed him. Diogo de Melo, who had planned a similar revenge, dissembled for a few days, and after getting some men together, one day when Jorge de Melo least expected it, he entered the house and seized him saying; 'The one who in this very place manacled a mightier than you, will teach you what you do not wish to understand.' They loaded him with shackles, to which he submitted with good grace ordering his servants not to resist.

Lacerda and the others hastened to his aid, and there was such a clash of arms, that the greater part of them would doubtless have perished, had not the Father Friar Simão de Nazareth rushed into their midst with the most Holy Sacrament accompanied by two tapers, calling upon them to show reverence. They all revered it, though two were already killed and many wounded. The Father begged them in the name of the Lord to put an end to such discord wherein the victor could not but be himself conquered, and to be mindful of Portuguese piety ever obedient to God; 'that if they had grievances, they should remember what the Lord himself had suffered for love of them.' With these and similar words and by showing them the Lord whom they adored, he succeeded so well that there and then he made them friends, and placing the Pyx on a table, in the presence of the Sacramental Lord, they ratified their friendship. D. Jorge was set free and Jorge de Melo gave up his office. Then they accompanied the Most Holy Sacrament and made their confession to that same Father. It was a work of God's arm which could not have been effected, had it not been settled in that way, because besides the greatest captains, it had involved many cavaliers. Rajû himself coming to hear of these discords marched upon Cota, but being assured that they were at peace, he determined to fall upon Calâne where the King D. João was. D. Jorge set out in haste with more than 3500 Lascarins and 240 Portuguese, leaving 50 in Cota under the command of Antonio Dias de Lomba with the Chingalâ lascarin and their Captain Francisco Barreto. Seeing this diversion Rajû changed his mind and returned with such speed and secrecy upon Cota that he was not detected before the ladders were placed against the walls and some had got in, crying victory. Lomba hastened to meet them and at the point of the spear and with pots of powder they killed some and drove away others and cleared the walls, and letting off the artillery on the others by repeated volleys, he dislodged them with such effect, that by dawn they were in pursuit of them.

D. Jorge, apprized by the noise of artillery, promptly despatched Francisco Gomez Leytao with 100 Portuguese and 500 Lascarins who joined the others and helped in the pursuit till they were within sight of the enemy arrayal lodged in Moleria, where not a third of their men arrived. Our men retired with many spoils of arms and munitions, and upon this final disillusion, Madûne returned to his lands; and during this protracted warfare many a singular feat of valour was performed which for want of documents remains in

oblivion. The reinforcements however were not great, because the Viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança soon engaged the forces of the state in the conquest of Damao.

Afterwards the Viceroy, considering that when he left Portugal in the year 1558, one of the things which the Queen D. Catarina had recommended to him with special earnestness was to give effect to the letters of King João III. written to his predecessors, which had not been carried out either because of other distractions of war, or for other reasons which the Queen did not approve, since she received complaints from the Religious about the scanty favours they gave to Christianity, which Her Highness ever regarded as the apple of her eye, greatly regretting that the King of Jafanapatao should remain unpunished for the outrages of Manâr already related, and for the injuries which he continued to do, persecuting Christianity and declaring for Tribule, when he took the field with him to extinguish the Portuguese name in Ceylon, and the Viceroy being also spurred on by his Catholic spirit and that great zeal which he displayed for the spread of the Faith—and which was so well known even in Rome, that Father Daniel Bartoli<sup>1</sup> said that if the zeal of D. Constantino had been combined in India with that of the Holy Xavier and his miracles, the whole of India would have been converted,—after settling other things in which further delay would have been dangerous, [the Viceroy] determined to cross over to Jafanapatao, where reigned the said Xagâ Rajâ Xagara Pandarâ,<sup>2</sup> the author of great crimes.

He made ready for this expedition in 1560 and set sail in September, taking 20 galleys, 10 galliots, 70 ships in all with foists and *catures*.<sup>3</sup> The captains of the Galleys were: the Viceroy [Captain] of the Royal [Galley], D. Antonio de Noronha, Sebastião de Sâ, Martim Afonso de Miranda, Andre de Souza, Fernão de Souza de Castel-branco, Gonçalo Falcao, Leonel de Souza, D. Leonel Pereyra, Luis de Melo da Silua, Ayres Falcao (in the documents [the name of] one of the Captains and of the captain of the sea and war of the galley of the Viceroy are missing): Of the captains of the galliots also one name is missing, for there are named only Duarte de Soveral, D. Antonio Manoel, Francisco de Melo, D. Jorge de Menezes, Ayres de Saldanha, Martim Afonso de Melo, Jorge

<sup>1</sup> Bartoli Daniel. Dell'estoria della compagnia di Gesu, L'Asia descritta.

<sup>2</sup> Cheka-rasa-Sekaran (Sankily).

<sup>3</sup> A light rowing vessel used on the coast of Malabar in the early days of the Portuguese, a cutter. Cf. Hob.-Job 175 Dal. Glos. I. 239.

de Moura, Fernão Gomez Cordouil and Lourenço Pimentel. Of the foists, D. João de Castelbranco, Henrique de Sâ, Francisco de Souza Tauares, Gracia Rodriguez de Tavora D. Francisco de Almeyda, D. Felipe de Menezes, Aluaro de Mendonça, Pero de Mesquita, Pero Peyxoto da Silua, Nuno de Mendonça, D. Payo de Noronha, Fernão de Castro, Tristaão de Souza, Fernão de Souza de Azevedo, D. Pedro de Castro, P 233 João Lopes Leytao, Manoel de Mendanha, Afonco | Pereyra de Lacerda, Gil de Goes, Martim Afonso de Souza, Pero de Mendonça, Sebastião de Rezende, Antonio Farráz, Agostinho Nunes, Bertolameu Chanoca, Luis de Aguiar, Apolinario de Valderama, Manoel da Silueyra, Andre de Vilhalobos, Antonio Nunes, Christouão de Faria, Pedro Xenxemos, Duarte Ferreyra, Diogo Madeyra, Jeronimo de Magalhaes, and others.

Bartoli here relates that in order not to lose time while the fleet was being prepared and in order to give precedence to the conquest which he valued most, the Viceroy set out | for F 157 Angediva where he had been informed that a Yogi was living in great penitence; and calling him and making known to him a greater reward than the one he expected from his voluntary penances, he succeeded in persuading him to go to Goa with a letter from him to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus to instruct him in the lofty and recondite mysteries of our Holy Faith. He came to Goa and the greatest difficulty wherewith the Devil tried to hinder him from receiving Baptism was to persuade him that he would lose all his merits, as he had not realized that it was for this that God gave him a Prince to enlighten him to live according to reason. Being baptized, he desired to go to Rome and died in Portugal. After this first victory, when the whole fleet was fitted out in spite of some contrarities of the weather which was still tempestuous, the Viceroy reached Cochim without mishap, and there the Bishop D. Jorge Temudo, in order to keep him company, embarked in a Galliot fitted out at his own cost, and Jorge de Souza Pereyra with a squadron of six other ships of which he was the leader and of which the Captains were João Bautista, João de Malafaya, Pero Mexia, Antonio da Silva, Antonio Lourenço and Paulo da Cunha, who also wished to take part in this expedition. Thence [the Viceroy] set out in the beginning of October and, doubling the Cape of Comorim he reached Manâr where he left the Galleys, as they could not pass that channel, and they returned to Cochim under the command of the Patrao-mor,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Navy Surveyor.

Vicente Correa, their men being given over to the rowing ships. And on the 20th of the same month they anchored in front of the quay. Here a council was held about the manner of disembarking, and they decided (according to the information of the time) that there were only two places, that of the quay of the elephants where the King had all his forces, the other half a league from the City of Nelûr, called Patanão, where there was less danger, and where some merchant vessels had been driven by the force of the Vara, on which account their soothsayers had persuaded him that the Viceroy would not disembark there. Afonço Pereyra de Lacerda, who was supposed to have better information, because he had been Captain of Columbo, voted that they should disembark at Patanão. Of the same opinion were D. Paulo de Lima, D. Pedro de Castro, Tristaão de Souza and D. João de Castelbranco. On the contrary it seemed to Nuno de Mendonça P 234 that it would be little creditable to our arms | to seek a place behind the enemy's back, when there was the Viceroy who represented the Royal person, and though the danger was patent, it was not proper to attack the weaker part but the part where the resistance would be greatest, as they had brought so many and such good men, that they were enough to withstand the greatest Monarch in India. And the pity of it was that this fantastic nonsense found favour with D. Jorge de Menezes, Leonel de Souza, Martim Afonso de Miranda, D. Felipe de | Menezes and other gentlemen. F 157 D. Antonio de Noronha tried to reconcile these opinions, saying that both should be followed in part to safeguard both the reputation and the expedition: 'That his opinion was that the Viceroy should disembark at the Quay of the elephants with two thirds of the troops, and Martim Afonso de Melo, Captain of the vanguard, in Patanão with the remainder, so that the enemy being charged, on both sides might lose the hopes he had in his stockades. Sebastião de Sâ retorted: 'That the delay which the two forces might have in uniting would be enough to conquer or be conquered, and that the Viceroy might be routed before he was succoured: That it was necessary to disembark together, and that he was of the opinion of Afonço Pereyra de Lacerda, as being the safer and not dishonourable, because military prudence consists in securing the means of victory and not adopting hazardous plans; that the force they had was not so great that they could give an advantage to the enemy who had more men and was well fortified; that because the Viceroy was there and he represented the King's person, they must avoid the greater risk, for it was better that it should be said that they



won by good tactics than that they lost through pride, and the best regulated valour condemned the rashness of seeking a foe on the side where his security was greatest.'

In the midst of such a conflict of opinions, the Bishop must needs add his own, though those of the cloak and the sword were wont to call it the opinion of the Breviary; and asking leave (perhaps owing to the diffidence) in a matter so clear he said: 'that it was by no means meet to land at the quay, because the enemy had all his forces there and much artillery, and though once that force was destroyed the rest would be easy, it seemed impossible to accomplish it, and they might be defeated even before they landed, and if they were spared in the landing, they could not escape ambuscades which they are wont to use, especially against those who knew little of the land; that they should not trust the Chingalâ guides because they knew that the Viceroy by setting foot in that Kingdom was setting foot in Ceylon also; and that since everybody thought that Patanão was the safest Place, it was the best course, because Princes must govern and not risk their persons, for if he fell, everything would come to an end; and that the right thing for those who govern was to spare themselves in order that others might not perish, and not to seek to accredit actions of their own valour at the cost of other people's lives. The Macedonians found fault with their King Philip for retreating from a certain battle, and he replied that they spoke against themselves, since he did it for their sake, giving up the pursuit of his desires in order to save their lives. From this originated the Epirotic Laws which assigned to the Captain the heart of the army, not because they wished him to be timid, but because they wished him to be prudent. What greater power was there than that of the Turk? And yet he goes in the middle of his greatest force under a screen of shields: and because Boleslas, Prince of Poland, failed in this precaution, he was slain on the field when he gave battle to the Prussians and with him [was slain] the greater part of the Polish nobility. For the same reason Constantine Nicephorus lost his life at the hands of the Bulgars, and history is full of similar examples. These instances and every military prudence teach not to leave victory in the balance, as this is so important, that the whole of India depends on it, and as I feel it, so I judge and do not exaggerate.' He did not say this without some knowledge of what we shall soon disclose which the contrary counsels, though couched in fair words, clearly insinuated. For it is one thing to wage war by profession and this calls for experience, it is another thing to know it theoretically, and this can be acquired without

practice; and in the case of Ecclesiastics there is no place for envy, which so dominates the laymen that they do not often know what they say, or do not say what they think, or think differently from what they say.

Having decided that the best course was to disembark at Patanão, when they were going to get into battle order, they found there were only 1200 men, though 4000 had enlisted in Goa alone. I should not have believed this, had not the documents asserted it unanimously. India was ever the same in thwarting great men and in not submitting to the lesser ones, without ever settling down to the mean between these two extremes, knowing that it is impossible to punish so many. D. Constantino de Bragança was a Prince by quality, a Christian in his proceedings, most zealous for the spread of the Faith, prudent, valiant and benign. He had conquered Damaõ and was beginning to conquer Ceylon from that quarter, showing like a Prince that it was the zeal for the Faith that moved him thereto rather than any desire for domination. It is morally certain he would have subjugated Ceylon, if he had brought 4000 Portuguese; but they grudged that fortune even to so great a person, and such was the effect of calumnies and impudent Satires in dances and other outrages, because they thought he would hold that Government for life, that they wrenched him altogether from India; and by the time they found out their mistake, they had removed from him any desire to return to govern it again, thus depriving the Crown of Portugal of so great a conquest of souls as well as of Kingdoms; and shall we not believe that it was for these and other causes which we shall mention, that God delivered Ceylon to the Hollanders and animated the Chingalâz to carry on against us so lengthy a warfare?

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Our Prince, seeing that he had only so small a force, determined nevertheless to do something, now that he could not do all that he intended. He divided the force into five divisions of which the Captains were Luis de Melo da Silva, D. Antonio de Noronha, Afonso de Miranda, Gonçalo Falcao, and Fernão de Souza de Castel-branco. The Viceroy remained



in the rear-guard with some adventurous gentlemen and some soldiers, giving the advance-guard to Luis de Melo in consideration of his rank, age and services. In the vanguard (as they called it then for the reason pointed out) was D. Antonio de Noronha; and though he would have liked to have a more perilous post, he accepted this one, because the Viceroy told him to take it and to remember that in war one gets more honour in proportion as he is the more obedient, and that therein he would have opportunity to show his valour, when all were engaged in fighting. These things being thus arranged, they all confessed and communicated and the Bishop gave a general absolution, communicating to them the indulgences and the Jubilee which Pope Leo X. had, at the instance of King D. Manoel, granted to those who fall in the war of India, fighting for the Faith of Christ. Then he preached to them an eloquent sermon wherein he briefly declared the cause of so just an undertaking and the reasons there were for a successful result, showing that the foundation of our conquests was the spread of the Faith, which was the base on which the Kings of Portugal built the State of India in order that it might never fall, and explaining the promptitude with which a soldier should proceed in battle, since the object for which it is fought was only the honour of God, of the King, and of country, most legitimate reasons for despising death, since it was the way to life, not only to the spiritual, which is the most important, but also [the way] to fame which is of lesser importance, and to a permanent epitaph on the grave, each of these motives being so many reasons to the valiant that to obtain any of them the greatest sacrifice was but small. since to die for the Law is to be a Martyr, [to die] for the King is honour, for the country, renown. He embellished this discourse with sacred illustrations and human examples with such efficacy that they soon left the neighbouring Island wherein this ceremony was held, and between two and three o'clock in the afternoon they made for the port for disembarkation. The enemy was convinced that it was because they had intelligence of the 12,000 men who were at the quay and in the ambushes they had laid, but when they saw the course [of the ships] they posted men on the way as best they could, and the Prince of Jafanapatao | instructed a <sup>P 13</sup> Chingalâ, and he came to have speech with the Viceroy and told him: 'That Xagâ Rajâ being certain of being attacked at the quay had placed his larger force there, where he had 500 muskets on supports, 42 heavy pieces, [and] 20 ambu. hes, <sup>P 227</sup> all of which were so well arranged | that it would be impossible that any Portuguese should remain alive, but that seeing the

change of plan, he had given himself up for lost, and had recommended the Prince with 6,000 men to oppose the landing, over and above those who had been placed there ready to defend the liberty of their fatherland, or fall with it: That there were other precautions in the more dangerous places, large caves deftly dug and covered with thatch, and that therefore it was not convenient to land without first discovering those pits, which could easily be done, if two or three were to go on land on the side he pointed out, where there were no sentinels; that they might keep him, as a hostage till the truth was known and take vengeance on him, if it turned out to be otherwise.'

Hearing this Sinon, some at once understood it to be a trick; others already blamed the Viceroy for a sluggard for not sending some to discover these rat-traps (as D. Antonio de Noronha called them). Two sailors, both brave men, Pero Travaços, a native of Cochim, and Braz de Couto of Truquel in the Boroughs of Alcobaça, offered to go and discover them. They landed with all precaution, but were at once surrounded by the Chingalâz within sight of the Manchua<sup>1</sup> in which they went, and by the dawn watch there came a letter from the Prince [brought] by a Christian sailor who had been a prisoner there after a shipwreck, in which he said that if the Chingalâ whom he had sent should be killed, he would also kill the Portuguese, but that if he were set free, they would be restored. Here some voted that the Chingalâ should be hanged, little caring for the lives of the two Portuguese worthy of a better reward. Others (as if it were necessary) made a subtle distinction between deceit and trickery, [saying] that the Chingalâ was only trickish and deserved praise rather than punishment. It was finally arranged in such a way that the exchange took place on the following day, the 23rd of the month, when the Viceroy made this speech:

'Well I know how much I can rely on your valour and experience, but as it is my duty to do so, I must declare the reason which brought me to this war, so that with eyes intent on it, you may offer your lives for a death both Christian and honourable. When I was young, I heard the Duke my Father (such a Prince, that the Duke of Bragança is not to be named among the Monarchs of India) relate the victory of Azamor, and what I retained most in mind | was: that when the battle <sup>P 159</sup> was about to be fought, he found, when visiting the field, a soldier so sad, that it was easy to remark his melancholy,

<sup>1</sup> From the Malayal *manji*, a large boat with a single mast and square sail.

as all the others were happy, and when questioned, he owned that for 24 years he had not made his confession. Here, said the Duke, he thought himself lost, fearing that domestic enemy more than the foreign ones, and he ordered him to choose between two things, either to go over to the Moors or to live like a Christian and confess at once, for he preferred the loss of one man to that of the whole army, like another

P 288 Machabaeus who burnt | those who worshipped images and provoked God's hatred against Israel. Now you know what I mean : if perchance there is any such among us, I warn him here to make his confession, and let us prepare all together for the victory. Nor should this language appear strange to you, for Captains are wont to encourage and not to rebuke on such occasions, because as this war is [intended] to avenge so many innocent Martyrs, it is not right that those who wage it should be in a state of sin, for, as said Constantius Chlorus, there is no victory when the conscience is not good ; and this is my answer to those who on this occasion show themselves to be less Christian than politician, thinking that fear is more Christian than valour, and who, by attributing to human strength what are the actions of God, think that victory is always due to numbers. If this were true, Christians would never have vanquished infidel armies, while on the contrary we see that one Christian Alcides was enough for a whole infidel host. And as the motives I mentioned are so just, and our arms take the field to-day on behalf of innocence, it would be altogether improper to fight with discordant arms, the more so as valour always consists in virtue, and that for lack of it, and as a punishment, the enemy becomes mightier. Let us fight like Christians, and win like Portuguese.'

In this way, on the information of the two soldiers he pointed out the most certain means of victory. At this time the enemies uttered their battlecries (*coqueadas*)<sup>1</sup> from the beach under the command of the Prince who defied all therefrom. But this presumption brought upon them the artillery of the ships which swept the beach in such manner as to leave many dead, and our men landed unopposed, Gonçalo Falcaõ being the first. There they formed, being preceded by a Crucifix borne on a staff by Friar Pedro de Souza, a Religious of St. Dominic. And when Luis de Melo da Silua reached a narrow pass, he was attacked by the Prince, [who was] recognized by his white shield, with 2000 men who, helped by their position, fought with all valour. Many were killed,

<sup>1</sup> This represents the South Indian battlecry, *Sin. Kokhanda*

but the others showed no sign of weakness so long as the night did not | disillusion them altogether, because our men, firing at random, by favour of Heaven hit the mark so successfully, that to their equal wonder the rest ended the days of their lives. Gonçalo Falcaõ, who had knowledge of the country, was of opinion that the City should be carried by night, but the other Captains thought otherwise, and there they halted till the dawn watch.

The King was relieved, when some Modeliares told him that the Prince had left the Portuguese in such a state, that the morning would find them embarked ; but he realized his mistake, when he learnt that they were making for him. After overcoming the impediments of stockades and entrenchments, D. Antonio de Noronha with unnecessary impetuosity went along with a guide by a short cut through some jungles, which the others dreaded, without meeting any opposition, | and when he emerged from it, he found himself in front of Luis de Melo. Then he stopped short, and sent him word to take his place, that he was only waiting to accompany him, because all the honour they should gain would be his. Luis de Melo courteously declined, and they marched in company till the Viceroy ordered them to take their places. In this way they sighted the City which at this time was situated on an open plain walled in with stone and earth with some strong bastions provided with artillery and much infantry and on the outside, entrenchments provided with musketry. Luis de Melo, realizing that any delay would only give heart to the enemy, gave 'Sant-Iago' and the signal with a musket, when he was within less than a falcon shot. They attacked together with such valour, that they carried the first entrenchments with the death of many and of two Modeliares of note which made them desert the second [entrenchment] near the walls, leaving our men almost sheltered from the artillery which they fired without effect. They easily broke down a stretch of the wall which they had intentionally left insecure, hoping to settle us there.

Through this broad breach they entered a wide street in which they had mounted three pieces of artillery covered with leaves of the palmtree. D. Fernando de Menezes, understanding the trick, cried out in a loud voice to get out of the way. He had scarcely said this, when one of the pieces was discharged, but too high and without damage. Luis de Melo passed the word to open out and keep to the porches (the usual buildings of India). This was not done quickly enough, and another volley, better directed, killed Vicente Sardinha, Ensign of Luis de Melo, carrying off both his legs,

and two soldiers, one of them a Castillian who was advancing boldly, and they could well have got out of the way, had they known how to obey. | A stone or some rust from the neighbouring gun struck Luis de Melo in the face, reddening his long and grey beard with blood, which made him look more handsome. João Pessoa raised aloft the banner of Christ saying: 'Lord, there are Christians still who worship thee with true Faith,' and advancing forward he placed the standard on the gun putting to flight the enemies who were guarding it. But another shot from the third gun soon killed five soldiers of the company of Ayres de Saldanha, which roused our men so much, that they charged vigorously without giving room for another shot; and the enemy abandoned the position with many dead and wounded. Luis de Melo sent word to the Viceroy telling him where he had arrived, at a time when the latter with great courage was battling with the main body of the enemies, for when they killed his horse, he seized a spear, without minding the danger that might befall his person, and plied it dexterously breaking through clouds of bullets and arrows, and when he was warned to retire from that peril, he replied: 'That he did not come to war to watch others fighting: And that, moreover, if he should die, there were | many in India who could succeed him in the government.' D. Antonio in another quarter had done great havoc, and Martim Afonso de Miranda on his part had put more than 3000 to flight. Gonçalo Falcaõ and Fernão de Souza Castel-branco, not finding any more enemies to fight with, acclaimed victory and joined the Viceroy, and they concluded the battle putting the whole force of the enemy to flight. Of our men there died a few besides those mentioned, and it is worthy of mention that a bullet hit D. Felipe de Menezes in the throat, but glancing off left only a red mark which remained for a long time and gave occasion to compare him to Philip the Macedonian who was hit in the eye by an arrow, but was not blinded. The Viceroy placed the captains in various streets and went to the assistance of Luis de Melo da Silua who was still engaged in lance play with the enemy Prince.

This battle lasted nearly two hours, because the Moors taking bhang and the Badagáz running amok fought with all resolution. Many died and the others fled with the Prince, who encountered Gonçalo Falcaõ in the neighbouring street, while bent on escaping with his Father who was on the quay, where the others gathered, and seeing himself cut off, he gave notice of the pass in which he was, and with 5000 men who came to his aid he vied with Falcaõ, to whom also the Viceroy

sent relief, for which D. Antonio de Noronha offered himself saying: 'I, Sir, am enough.' He joined Falcaõ, who was by this time badly wounded, and his soldiers quite worn out. They attacked with valour and made the enemies retire and pursued them till they captured a piece which they fired causing great destruction, as they were together.

| When the City was taken, the Prince advised his Father P 161 to betake himself to the Palace outside it, defended by a small fortalice; and so he did for greater security. Our men found good spoil and some women of quality whom the Viceroy entrusted to Luis de Melo da Silua and to D. Antonio de Noronha, who treated them with all honour; and among them was recognized the wife of the Prince, [a person] gifted with great beauty, and as Heaven had preserved her for that boon, on the persuasion of the Bishop and other Religious, she was instructed in the Faith, in which she died soon afterwards, of poison, they say, given on the order of her husband for leaving the law of Buddum to follow that of Christ. Meanwhile Luis de Melo entered a broad road which led to the courtyard of the Palace, and from the end of it he sent word to the Viceroy that it would be good to get hold of the King that very day, and that he and his men were ready to do so. The Viceroy who had already all the Captains around him desired to have their opinion. Some said that any delay in pursuing him would give him time to forestall it, as Barca already said to Hannibal after the victory of Cannae, and as for the same reason Hesiod had recommended P 291 Captains not | to think a victory was theirs, till that was done; and Plato called lost opportunity hope deferred, and that to risk losing the credit one had gained was not an action of fortune but of neglect.' Others said that it was not wise but rash to seek out an enemy without further precaution, and that if the King were not secure in that place, he would not have gone thither: 'That nothing was too late, in the opinion of Cato, if it were well done, and they quoted as example the defeat of the Marshal D. Fernando Coutinho who, not content with burning the city of Calicut, fell with those of his company by prematurely attacking the Palace of the Samorí, and that it was already late, and that it would not be good to attack, if one had to retire in case of resistance.' D. Constantino along with the others, went to meet Luis de Melo and he said to him: 'For the services you have rendered to the King I give you thanks, though what you have done is no surprise to me; because, when I left Goa, I knew that your valour and experience would facilitate the victory for which I hope you will receive a reward worthy of the trouble you

have taken,' and leaning on the other horse he embraced him. The venerable old man after mutual courtesies said: 'Sir, I have done less than I should have liked, but I can well be content with my desires, since you deign to praise me, for greater prowess is necessary to deserve it, and there can be no greater reward for the service, since the favour you have done me is greater than any.'

| The Viceroy determined, as it was late, to put off for the next day the attack on the fortalice, and he placed the Captains at the entrances to the streets which led from the Courtyard, and ordered some houses from which mischief could be done to be pulled down, and some thatched houses to be unroofed, lest there should be an outbreak of fire. He lodged at the end of the grand street in a gallery, wherein they laid a carpet and two pillows for him, on which, however, he did not lie, but patrolled the city twice with arms in the company of some gentlemen, thus obliging all to keep their arms in their hands. From the spies whom he had sent, he learnt that the Prince had not retired to the fortalice with the Father, but was on the contrary preparing to attack the Portuguese from the rear in the daylight watch and had sent scouts to find out how they were lodged. The tidings was confirmed by one who fell into the hands of Francisco da Costa, a soldier of D. Antonio de Noronha, and whose industrious efforts to escape as well as his vigorous resistance were unavailing. The Viceroy ordered him to be put to the rack, and at the first [torture] he confessed that the Prince who was superintending the war had arranged to attack the Portuguese with 6000 men divided into eight parties, and that the King had remained in the fortalice relying on the promises of the Chingaláz, Badagáz and Moors who served him, and that should fortune fail him, he intended to retire to a place which was so strong, that therefrom he could recover what was lost.

<sup>P 292</sup> The watch at dead of night was just beginning | when this news was received, about which the Viceroy ordered warning to be given, but day dawned without any fresh tumult, for when the spies returned, this one was missing and understanding that he was taken, [the Prince] determined not to fight but to flee. Such is the value of vigilance in time of war! The Prince informed the King of the precautions of the Portuguese about which one of the seven scouts had heard them speak: 'that he must choose one of two alternatives, [namely] either to risk battle or to seek another position.'

After taking counsel he decided to yield to fortune and retire, to see whether he could escape by flight, for some counselled him that courage was best displayed in adversity,

that the Viceroy could not remain there, and that if these misfortunes were put up with, they might be the means of retrieving his fortunes. But because the others asked him to submit to the Portuguese, promising them tribute and vassalage with a feigned heart, as he had done before, till time brought about a change of circumstances, he was still so full of obstinacy, that he ordered the 12 Modeliares, who were of this opinion and had represented to him the complaints and losses of the natives, to be arrested. He ordered things of greater importance to be removed from the Palace and entrusted the Queen | and other women to the Son to be put in safety. <sup>F 162</sup> Then he set out with some soldiery, but hearing noises at a short distance, he thought they were Portuguese, and was about to turn back, when he was assured that they were his own men who were retiring through that place. They in their turn, being misled in the same manner as the Prince, fled to the woods, whence they returned at the daylight watch to burn the Palaces to which the King set fire with his own hands, bewailing with loud cries, and not singing like Nero, over the destruction which he himself caused, because misfortunes are always tolerable at the time they are endured, but once they are gone through, they seem intolerable. Thus he sallied out of the praça with the pagodés on his back, but without the tooth of Buddúm, which had remained there on the death of Tribule and was found in the City, and he followed the Prince who had encamped a league and half from the place in a strong house of sunbaked brick<sup>1</sup> with its bastions and round turrets and kept in readiness for similar disasters, for he who owes is ever in fear.

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## CHAPTER 29.

### OTHER SUCCESSES OF THIS WAR

The Viceroy understood quite well, when he saw the fire, that the Enemy was abandoning the place, but as he knew that he still had a large force around him, and as it was still dark, he gave order to stop Luis de Melo who had at once begun to march to the fortalice, and even to capture the King, as he did not quit the courtyard till he saw the Palace

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<sup>1</sup> In Kopay where afterwards was built the Church of our Lady of Guadalupe. From the information given by the Author on p. 567 Father Guana Prakarar, O.M.I., was able to identify the site. See his paper in the C. Antiq: II. 194-5.

completely burnt down, thinking that our men would put out the fire in order | to fix their lodgings therein. And though <sup>P 293</sup> he knew the risk to which he exposed himself, some one heard him say that he would fain lose his life on that occasion or liberate his State. D. Paulo de Lima with 60 soldiers fell upon him on the way from an ambush and cut off 200 heads without any difficulty, which the King wondered at, seeing the skill with which he did it, for these first fruits were a pledge of the reputation which he won in after times of never being in a hurry except to fight and of never fighting a battle which he did not win. For as the Viceroy had posted six companies along the seashore, for fear lest the King should escape to the opposite coast, these Captains made fun of D. Paulo da Silua for looking for him in the interior; but he reflected that a native King would not be so easily disappointed, and that if he lost one City, he had other Places to retire to, and being, moreover, informed by spies about the journey of the Prince, he chose that part [of the country] which was the reason of his good fortune in confounding the Enemy. The King spent three days in so short a journey, because he was told | that at a short distance from the fortalice, <sup>F 162o</sup> in which the Prince was, there were seen some signs of fire that night, and being cowed by fear, he sought an asylum in a mountain covered with forests and so rugged, that he could not be attacked there without difficulty. Thence he sent word to the Prince.

Among the spoil of the City (which was not so great as they expected, as many things were hidden in the hills of the interior), was found the tooth of Buddum, which our Historians said by a manifest error was [that] of a monkey, and which was one of the most sacred objects of worship in the heathendom of the South and of Tartary, as we said in the first Book, being, as we said, the one which Tribule Pandar carried away from the City of Cota; and when they informed D. Constantino de Bragança of it, and those who knew best about it assured him that in exchange for it the King of Pegu would think little of offering his greatest treasure, and that it would be the same in Siam, Tartary, China, and Japan and in other smaller Kingdoms where it was worshipped, if they came to hear of it, the Viceroy ordered it to be entrusted to D. Antonio de Noronha in the golden case in which it was found, set with the same metal with many precious stones. The Bishop of Cochin, D. Jorge Temudo, was opposed to this and was of opinion that it should be burnt, and though the piety of that Prince, helped by the scruples which the Religious infused into him, was inclined to do so at once, being persuaded by

the many gentlemen, he deferred it till a decision was taken after further consideration, as to what should be done with it, [and] he heard constant complaints from the Fathers of St. Francis that it foreboded no good to the expedition, because the Demon was in that little bone, and where he was there would be no good. The King Xagâ Rajâ, on the other hand, attributed his misfortune to its loss, and on this subject he heard from the Yogis and Jadacas as many monstrous <sup>P 294</sup> and impudent things | as those people are wont to say in such cases. What was determined about this tooth in Goa, the reply given to the Ambassadors of the King of Pegu, and how it was reduced to ashes, are narrated at length by our Historians and lately by Manoel de Faria e Souza<sup>1</sup> in his description of the doings of the great Viceroy, D. Constantino de Bragança; nor were foreign Authors silent about it, for, leaving aside theological points, it was certainly a deed worthy of a highborn and Catholic Prince.

While the Portuguese were busy getting what was found in the City, the Viceroy gave thanks to God for the favour done to him hearing the Mass said by Friar Belchior de Lisboa and the sermon delivered by the Bishop D. Jorge who took for his text the words of Genesis Chapter 14, *Da mihi animas, coetera tolle tibi*; and pointed out | in the three points of his <sup>F 163</sup> discourse, the effects of ambition, the grandeur of contempt [of riches] and the obligation of seeking the interests of God, all in allusion to the Idol. This ceremony took place in a suitable place in the large Pagode. Afterwards the Viceroy ordered a proclamation to be made in the neighbouring lands: 'that the natives should bring provisions for sale without fear; that a just price would be paid for them; That the inhabitants of the city should return to dwell in their houses, [and] that he would do them great favours': whereupon the villagers began to come, bringing provisions and vegetables. And as there was scarcity of rice in the country, he wrote to Joaõ Fernandez Correa, Captain of Negapataõ, to succour him with all the rice he could, because the King, before leaving the City, ordered the storehouses<sup>2</sup> to be burnt hoping that famine would bring about the speedy abandonment of his lands, wherein he was soon disappointed when he saw the seas covered with sail laden with provisions, Correa pleading to be excused for any delay in getting the transport fleet

<sup>1</sup> Couto VII. 9. 18.; Souza Tom. II. Parte II. Cap. XVI. pp. 350-365. These fifteen pages are summarized in one by Capt. John Stevens in his translation of the *Asia Portuguesa* (M. L. R. IV. 199. 200).

<sup>2</sup> Bagaças, Skt. *Lhândasala*, whence Sin. *bangasala*, Anglice 'Rank-shall.' Cf. Bankshall street, Pettah.

ready. The Viceroy was so pleased with this service, that he said to him : ' That one is not late who comes so opportunely ; that the delay made it the more welcome ' : and taking a collar from his neck, he gave it to him saying : ' Take what I give you that you may know how much I esteem you. It will be the King's business to reward you generously for the service you have rendered, and mine to let him know of it. Now it is necessary that you go to S. Thome with Fernão Gomez Cordovil, and try your best there to bring with you as many Portuguese and Christians and others who are willing to come to this Kingdom and City.' The reasons he had for this we shall give presently, for now we must follow the Viceroy and the other captains in pursuit of the King of Jafanapatao, leaving some soldiers to guard the city and as their Captain the Bishop of Cochim, who consented to it at the request of the Viceroy himself, as he was ready for anything. He received information that the King had fled that morning and that the fortalice was abandoned. He entered it and ordered the banner of Christ to be hoisted amidst salutes of Musketry, though he regretted not to find there the King, | who went away vanquished, since he went without honour, and we know that Achilles was reputed immortal so long as he did not show the heel of his foot. Among other things he found a block with 12 Chingalá heads which the King ordered to be cut off, because they pointed out to him how necessary it was to make peace with the Portuguese even though only deceitfully, for to him the faintest dream of a crime was proof enough, and this cowardice, as a necessary consequence, made his subjects exceedingly cowardly, and he had a black Inscription on his white shield above the tail of the Lion which was his arms, which said : ' I am this.' A mere boast to be sure, for if he were like a Lion, he would have pardoned those who submitted, and Menander had remarked that valour consisted | in making oneself beloved by those by whom one could be feared : that it was for this reason that Agamemnon took the Lion for the symbol of his feats. <sup>P 295</sup> <sup>F 163r</sup>

The Viceroy considered that spot a suitable one for the conquest of that Kingdom, and therefrom he despatched Luis de Melo da Silua, Martim Afonso da Miranda, Gonçalo Falcao and Afonso de Souza de Castel-branco, who, though they were worthy of commanding greater armies, did not disdain this expedition, but had great difficulties about precedence, since for common sense, age, and experience of his disposition and valour, it was due to Luis de Melo da Silua, of whom the Viceroy often said, that there was no post he was

unsuited for. The others based their differences and even insults on his courtesy, but Melo checked them by his gravity and prudence and put himself under any of the three. This matter came to such a pass that the worried Viceroy said to them. ' It is certainly a great disgrace to the Portuguese nation which has gained such renown by arms, that one should try to ruin by the tongue what has been gained by courage. What remains, Gentlemen, but to think of serving His Highness, since the Kingdoms he has we possess, and there remains but a small part to the King. Let it not be said in Portugal that while in hostile territories we have done more harm to each other than our foes. That as for Charles V. leaving Captain Leyua in his place to avoid disagreements between the great men whom he was leaving in that army, though Leyua's name was so great, it was due to other reasons. because they were nearly all of different nations. You are all kinsmen ; let there be no disunion among you, for here it will bring no credit, but loss of authority. Take these three dice. Throw them, and let him who has the better lot command the arrayal.' Quieted by these reasons, they agreed that Luis de Melo da Silua should command the first day and the others in the order named. They set out without baggage with 400 Portuguese and some natives who were more of a hindrance than a security, for besides the little trust that could be placed in them, at every stop they imagined that the King was in ambush, our men lost, and all killed. Such was the fear they had conceived of this tyrant, that they did not remember, like Diogenes, that misfortune is boldest against those who fear it most, nor the reason of Misenianus, | <sup>P 296</sup> the Iberian Captain, who once seeing the Roman army stopped by the appearance of a single bird, while the haruspices were reflecting about it, killed it with an arrow saying — ' what ill or good can one predict who cannot escape it himself ?'

Thus they marched in search of the King, whom they found in a place so secure, that had fear not been his counsellor, the result might have been different, for as there was only one narrow passage between a thick wood and a | lagoon, <sup>F 164</sup> a few men could have held it against many. He, however, fled in such haste, that it was impossible to overtake him, for he went up hill and down dale with greater rapidity than they, for his speed was natural and fear gave him wings, while our people advanced with great care, because they could not march in ranks ; and the tyrant King was as cruel as he was desperate, and having killed a Chingalá who had many relations, he would have been destroyed altogether had he not taken the precaution of curing that wound with blood,

cutting off 40 heads of Araches, whose property he gave to those of his faction. But he could not prevent Urulinga, a valiant Chingalá, from coming over to us with 1500 Lascarins. From him the Portuguese Captains inquired as to the means they should adopt to have the King in their hands dead or alive, as the Viceroy had greatly recommended to them, which he on the one hand considered an easy matter, but on the other, he made so many detours that our people began to distrust him, though he gave in explanation that he was avoiding the obstacles which the King had left at the passes. Finally one afternoon they attacked the jungle and cut off the heads of a great many enemies. Thus they kept on giving chase to the tyrant, who sometimes resisted, trusting more to tricks than to valour. They reached the river which separates the lands of Jafanapatao from the State of Triquilimalê and discovered the King on the other side. They advanced to cross it without minding the floods and the danger to the munitions, when Urulinga shouted: 'Hold back, Hold back.'; and before long a spy brought news of the great reinforcement which the Vaneá of Triquilimalê had sent, it being now the 15th of November. And they were so vain, that on the following day they were the first to attack the passage, though they were shot with arrows by Urulinga's men and some were killed by musketry, but they retreated with such disorder, that they killed each other. Our men waded the river in pursuit of them, till they came upon other narrow passes blocked with large trees, an obstacle which they had great difficulty in surmounting. There they halted that night. Resuming the march after five days, Afonso de Souza de Castel-Branco sighted the enemy at the end of a meadow by the side of a spacious wood, and as he did not see our men in time to mount the elephant on which he was riding, he fled on foot with his men, leaving the pots on the fire, which was no small help to the soldiers on account of the recent labours and the hunger and thirst they had. For the heat of the sun was so great, that two were stifled by it. Here they took some rest.

P 297 | Gonçalo Falcaõ, who was in command that day, laid before the others, the distance they were from the Viceroy, the little they had done, the perilous passes either for advancing further or for retiring, and showed them the order which directed all: | 'That in pursuing the enemy they should not put the arrayal into serious danger'; and that as the danger was clear if they continued the march, because, according to information they had, the King was expecting help from the neighbouring Princes, and that he retired only to

be able to destroy them with greater security and afterwards to fall upon the Viceroy: That it was necessary to send him a message with this information and meanwhile to quarter themselves with care.' They were all of the same opinion, adding that it was two days since they were short of victuals.

The King thought that it was through fear that they gave up the pursuit, and forgetting that it was the very people from whom he had fled that he was now seeking, he determined to surround them with the reinforcement he had received. He came within gunshot. They let him come nearer, and Luis de Meló fell upon him from the van, and the others in their order attacked with such valour, that he realized how little they feared him face to face. They abandoned the field full of arrows and muskets, for the elephants laden with gold were in a safer place. Here died a Prince, son of the Prince of Triquilimalê, and some other great persons. Meanwhile the Viceroy sent rice and munitions through the sailors of the fleet and [directions] to keep the place till further orders, as he thought the King had no help but to submit or run away. This was a resolution which the Viceroy took after hearing that those of S. Thome had excused themselves from the migration, which he had regarded as so certain that already in Goa he had promised Leonel Pereyra to leave him as Captain, and he had brought the Ouidor Henrique Jacques to make a tombo<sup>1</sup> of the lands.

## CHAPTER 30.

### THE KING OF JAFANAPATAO OFFERS TERMS.

Not to interrupt this History, before relating what took place in S. Thome, I shall continue [the narrative of] these events. The King seeing how little he had effected, and that the war of the Portuguese did not appear to be a passing attack, but a regular conquest, summoned his council and after representing the sad state to which fortune had reduced

<sup>1</sup> Register, see p. 54, n. 6.



him, he begged them to enlighten him, bringing forward so many reasons why they should do it with all sincerity, that they compelled Naganâ Bramene, whom he venerated, to speak as follows, while the rest kept silent: 'Know, Sire, that all who are present prove their fidelity by the anxiety which thou seest in them, though because of the tyrannies thou hast committed they do not say what they think, for fear of thine anger. But I, to whom death would be but an end | to the many evils | which I have received at thy hands, will speak in all truth, even at the risk of receiving for it the fate of the rest, relying on the zeal and fidelity with which I have served thee. Know, misguided King, that carried away by thy presumption, thou hast ruined thy Kingdom; thy lieges are fallen, thy reputation discredited, because thou hast taken the lives of those who with truthful hearts counselled thee to promise tribute to the Portuguese, of whom it is impossible to get the better, unless fortune changes completely. Consider the victories which they have obtained with so few men, that they have more still in India wherewith to conquer the whole of Ceylon, that so great a Viceroy would not have come with so few men, unless he had known that this was enough for thy petty Kingdom, sparing the other forces and training these for the complete conquest of this Island. Consider that he has on his side thy lieges whom thou hast unjustly wronged, taking from one his goods, from another his wives and killing many without justice, a Law altogether foreign to a good pagan, for humanity and respect are the principal means of one's preservation. Are not all these crimes peradventure deserving of this punishment? Does thou think that because thou art a King, thou wilt escape punishment? or because thou art powerful, there can be no one to equal thee? Thou art well undeceived by the Portuguese! It remains for thee to change thy rigour into benevolence, to conciliate friends and pardon the guilty, so that all may follow thee for love of their fatherland. Having done this diligently and in all secrecy, send to beg peace from the Portuguese on whatever terms they desire, awaiting better fortune, for nothing prevents one who is compelled into submission by force of arms from gaining independence by the same means. And when thou hast united and satisfied thy lieges, with the help of the neighbouring Princes, it will be possible either to defeat the Portuguese unawares, or if this cannot be achieved, to improve fortune in their absence, for they have no lack of business to attend to in Goa, nor enemies of their State to distract them. Trust to time, for time cures all things.'

He had scarcely finished, when the King rising up embraced him saying: 'You alone, Father, speak the truth and everything that deviates from the path you have pointed out would be a mistake.' Then he called Visiale Modeliar, a Captain of long experience, and his brother-in-law Vacu Arache, whom he ordered 'to go to settle a peace without hesitating to anything the Viceroy might ask, and to excuse him for what he had done, since it was [done] only in order that his lieges might understand how much he desired to save them from a fresh vassalage and not for any hatred he had of so valiant a nation, worthy of being considered a friend by all.' The Viceroy received the Ambassadors with pleasure, and with them he settled the following conditions.'

| 'That the King of Jafanapatao shall remain in his Kingdom as before, swearing according to his rites, vassalage to the King of Portugal with a tribute of 12' tuskers and 1,200 patacas: | that any one who shall freely wish to be a Christian may freely become such; That he shall forthwith hand over all the treasure of Tribule Pandar, and besides this (which belonged to the Portuguese, seeing that it was removed from Cota of which they were the Lords,) the other things, which he knew for certain were taken from Ceylon to his Kingdom; That he shall pay the cost of this fleet; That he shall take nothing from the ships which may chance to run aground on that coast owing to bad weather, as happened during the war, but on the contrary he shall rather give favour, so that the Factor of Columbo, or any other whom the Captain of Columbo shall name, may take delivery of the cargo of the said vessels, and that the owners of those ships which shall henceforth moor in his ports, should they be Portuguese, shall not be obliged to pay anything; That of the treasures that shall be discovered, the King of Portugal shall have a third part, as also of all other properties, the revenues of which shall be given in the name of the said Lord to certain Churches, which were begun in the City of Nelur and other neighbouring towns before his departure for India. That as hostage for the fulfilment of these articles he shall order to be delivered the Prince, his heir, and two Modeliars named Oriculnar and Eleagora who served as his Secretary.

These terms [written] in the Portuguese and the Chingalâ, languages, were signed and authenticated and the Prince was handed over and sent in a ship with the Modeliar in good custody, in which more than 15 days were spent. The King



began once more to take possession of his lands, into which he had secretly sent some people in order that, if the Viceroy did not consent to give him the Kingdom, they might stir the people by promises to mutiny against the Lusitanians; And they were so successful as to reduce to obedience many who had refused it and even to persuade Urveingâ to escape secretly. This was foreseen by a Canon of Cochim, a native of that place, a virtuous and experienced person, who said to the Captains who were encamped in those woods, 'that they might well look to their arms, for that pagan who had made use of our arms against his King had enough edge in his own arms to defend him and to attack us.' But it was not possible, and there was no room for avengement, as the Viceroy had given tidings that peace was made, and that they could return to Nelur where the Viceroy still was, the King being in the fortalice which he had abandoned; and though Martim Afonso de Miranda and Gonçalo Falcaõ, on the information of some natives, counselled that it was not convenient to make peace, as it was not the intention of the King to observe it, but to cut the throats of the Portuguese unawares, it could not be believed that such | was his P 166 intention, as the Prince and the Modeliars were in our power. While this was being settled, the four Captains underwent great hardships, as victuals ran short, and the neighbouring villages were abandoned through fear. Things were no better in Nelur, and as a disposition for greater ruin, the soldiers went about in gangs through the villages, seeking food and treating those | people as if they were conquered folk, P 300 doing what is usual where there is no discipline, which the Bishop of Cochim and the Religious greatly resented, as at this time they were trying to convert the natives, treating them like children with great benignity. Many however fell ill, and some died, because the change of climate, the labours of the war and the lack of necessaries produce nothing less.

The Viceroy pressed Xagâ Rajâ to give over the treasures, and then passing to the neighbourhood of the river, which separates the territories, he ordered the Captains who were on the other side to return. Here he remained some days taking delivery of what the King had promised, which amounted to 80,000 cruzados, with some *olas* which gave information of what Tribule had buried on a hill in the neighbourhood of Cota, when he declared against the Portuguese, where in spite of great diligence nothing was found. When this had been recovered, he again sent to demand from the King that he knew from trustworthy persons that by the death of Tribule

there had remained in his power three million three hundred and one thousand five hundred cruzados of minted money, not to speak of the valuable jewels, an amount far different from that which he had delivered; that he should carry out the terms of the capitulation or else the war would be carried on to a finish, and now that moved by pity [the Viceroy] had restored to him the State he had lost, though he still had the same force with which he had set out from Goa, he should be content with what belonged to him and not try to lose what was his by coveting what belonged to another. The King, who was not yet quite ready for the treachery, deceitfully replied: 'that the money handed over was what he had in his power, that the balance was in the hands of debtors, and that the amount was not so great; that he would try to recover and would hand everything over.' Seeing himself in this plight, all his difficulty in taking up arms was that his son was a hostage, but he resolved to disregard it for the greater advantage in view of the information he had of the state of the Portuguese arrayal, and of the confidence with which they were proceeding, and he exhorted his men and fixed a day and an hour for the rising, ordering his Captains not to spare any living thing and promising them rewards and threatening punishments.

Of our men, meanwhile, some were with the Viceroy, others | on guard over the ships, a few in the City, and there were P 166 not wanting some, especially servants, who were dispersed in the villages, buying necessaries, and notwithstanding all the proclamations that were issued, some were disorderly in their licentiousness without realizing the danger to which they were exposed. They knew that the Viceroy was fond of hunting, the sport of Princes and characteristic of his time of life. They invited him to a deer hunt, to which he went accompanied by a few on the very day appointed for the rising. But either by special protection of Heaven, or because of the respect they had for his person, for his very presence made P 301 him respected, though he spent almost | the whole day and returned only in the afternoon, he was not attacked by the many people deputed for the purpose whom the Viceroy met and thought to be engaged in the same exercise. It is a matter for great wonder certainly, for at that very time they were killing all those whom they found dispersed. The Bishop, D. Jorge de Temudo [who was] in the City, betook himself to the ships with great trouble and risk to his person, and some were killed therein and in the neighbouring villages, nearly all who were found, the greater part of whom were

Christians of the country, servants of the Portuguese, and purveyors. Vicente Carvalho, Captain of a foist, seeing himself attacked by 200 men who sought to kill him, said to them: 'Take me to your King, for I have some things to communicate to him on which depends his safety.' The delighted Chingaláz made their way to the fortalice where he was; and as they had to pass by the Broad street where D. Antonio was plying his sword to save the Bishop, Vicente Carvalho saw him and drawing his knife escaped by means of stabbing from the two men who pursued him, then seizing a spear, he did great havoc with it on these tipstaves. The Fathers of St. Francis, Frair Belchior of Lisbon and Friar Joaõ, were taken when they were preaching in the neighbouring villages and led before the King, who asked Friar Belchior: 'What right have you in the lands of this Kingdom, that you pull down pagodes and erect temples of your Religion?' To which the blessed Father replied: 'that the Demon was master of nothing, while Jesus Christ was of all things, that he was a preacher of His Gospel, and finding the people disposed for their salvation, he not only burnt the pagodes, but even destroyed their houses, so that the idolators might know their error.' He ordered him to be stripped and whipped with canes till he was bathed in blood. As for Friar Joaõ, when they were unable to make him renounce his faith, he ordered the same punishment to be inflicted on him also; which they both received joyfully singing the words: 'Let us praise the Lord in tribulation.' Afterwards he ordered them to be imprisoned without giving them food for four days, and being again brought into his presence, he saw Friar Belchior weeping, and he asked him the reason. And though he could have answered: *Fuerunt Mihi lachrimae meae panes die et nocte*,<sup>F 167</sup> he replied 'that he bewailed the misery of a man whom the ignorant call King, though he was a slave of the Demon.' 'I am greatly obliged to you' said the Tyrant, 'you will soon be satisfied.' The Father retorted. 'All the suffering I undergo for my God is sweet to me. There is nothing which I will not consider a favour, however rigorous it may seem when one does not know the reason why it is borne. If one realizes it, he will understand that the reward is far superior to the labour, at sight of [this reward] you will think little of exchanging a limited Kingdom for another which has no limit. Do not think that I weep for fear of the penalty, for though  
<sup>P 302</sup> as a man made of frail nature I did fear it, I begged my God to set my soul ablaze with the divine fire so that with tears and sighs I might offer him a tribulated spirit and a heart contrite.' The King, though he acknowledged that they

were men of good life, because they spoke against the Pagodes, ordered the heads of both of them to be cut off. And when they had prayed to God for themselves, for that Island, and for those who killed them, they were beheaded. With them died many Neophytes for the same reason and for refusing to give up the Faith of Christ, and their number was never known for certain.

The Viceroy heard these sad tidings with great grief, and his first action was to send reinforcements to Fernão de Souza de Castel Branco who with a few hale and 200 sick, he being one, was in the fortalice surrounded by the Enemy, and to inform them of it. Several nights [the enemy] came within speaking distance and said; 'that they must not expect any reinforcements, because the Viceroy and all the Portuguese were dead: They would spare their lives, if they surrendered, otherwise they must know that all would be beheaded.' Those within replied courageously: 'That it was a falsehood that the Viceroy was dead, that very soon he would come upon them and they would have to pay for their treachery: That they were in no want and had no lack of soldiers, who in good time would make them take the path by which they had so often fled.' They were preparing ladders to mount the fortalice a little away from the body of the army, 800 in number. Fernão de Souza sent 40 men against them for a night attack with shirts over their armour so as to recognize each other in the dark. They set out at the dawn watch in great silence and in a short time put to the sword the greater part of them. The reinforcement consisted of 400 men in three companies of which the Captains were D. Antonio de Noronha, Andre de Vilhalobos and Joaõ Fernandes Correa who had returned from S. Thome bringing the necessary provisions from Negapataõ and two ships of Lascarins of the country, who in good order hugged the shore and marched to the fortalice. When they were not far from it, the King sent to them to say: 'That he had just cause to renew the war for no other reason than to recover his Kingdom: |  
<sup>F 167e</sup> That he was not an enemy of the Portuguese but rather was willing to give them entry into his ports; and that unless he was recognized as Lord of the country, they must not try to succour the fortalice: That if in exchange for the prisoners they were willing to release the Prince and the two Modeliares, he would make the exchange.'

Upon this message D. Antonio halted, keeping the Chingalá, and sent word to D. Constantino de Bragança, who getting rid of the other people who were with him, came to Nelur

in a *manchua* by a different route and communicating with the Captains of the relieving force, he ordered them to reinforce the praça, the next dawn breaking through the Enemy, and to send [to the King] that evening by one of the prisoners the head of that Chingalâ hostage with this message. 'That so long as he did not pay for the recent treachery with his head, P 303 he must take example from this [head]; and remember | that he who had at one time spared his life at the next would give him death.' The King was uneasy and intimidated, and in a few hours sent to the Viceroy a Portuguese named, Diogo Madeyra, telling him first that if he gave him his word to come back, he would send him to treat about the release of all. He promised to return within a definite time, giving only his word as a hostage. He came to the Viceroy and gave him an *ola* which contained the following: 'That he Xagâ Rajâ Xagarâ Pandara was not to blame for this *perlim* which took place, but a Captain of his, whom he had imprisoned for so great a crime; that his intention was to continue in friendship and to fulfil the capitulation, the condition of which would be carried out on the delivery of hostages whom he had given.' The Viceroy did not want to hear the apologies with which he concluded the letter, and taking it threw it into the sea saying to Diogo Madeyra: 'My son, this master of yours is already well known. Write to him to think of his second son, though he is a bastard, for this one dies, and you will remain here, because it is not becoming that one who came out of captivity should offer himself for it. Tomorrow you will go with the rest to than him for the favour he has done to you.' Madeyra, to keep his word, returned and told the King what took place and hurried away at once leaving him in astonishment at Portuguese truthfulness. What more did Attilus Regulus, Egas Monis or Amaldado? the former celebrated in Roman history, the [two] latter in Portuguese. Modern critics may say that these are trifles for a pretty history and thus be reduced to condemn even the Famians. But it was enough that the King knew the delicacy of Portuguese faith, for to show off his valour, he killed the Chingalâ to whom he was entrusted and fled to our men in sight of an army. The reinforcement entered the praça, and as Fernão de Souza was ill, Noronha took charge of it in accordance with the order he had, but as the enemy was not far, | he was not able to send the sick to F 168 the fleet.

## CHAPTER 31.

THE PORTUGUESE DEFEND AND ABANDON THE FORTALICE  
AND THE REASONS FOR QUITTING S. THOME.

THE King continuing in his desire to liberate his son, sent one to visit Noronha and to offer him whatever he wanted. But the Viceroy put [the prince] in fetters covered with velvet and entrusted him to Pero Lopes Rebelo, and told [the Prince] to think only of his salvation, for in that alone consisted the true Kingdom. The Bishop, D. Jorge, took on himself the task of converting him and though at the commencement he showed great obstinacy, when he lost the hope he still had of being reinstated, he became a convert to our Holy Faith P 304 in which he died | in Goa in the year 1571 after receiving favours from all the Viceroys who succeeded D. Constantino de Bragança. The Viceroy did not consent to the peace, as it seemed to him that it was not right to leave Christians subject to tyrants, nor did he restore the Prince, because he was more warlike than his Father, but contented himself with the recent demonstrations of fear to effect the subjection better. And afterwards it was known that the Chingalâ to whom the King attributed the rising was the fugitive Urucinga whom he wished to deliver, if an agreement could be effected, because, as he did not trust him, he did not mind losing a pretended friend. But seeing the determination of the Viceroy, he tried to continue the war, making various assaults and using other stratagem which brought him no success, though he placed a numerous army in the field. The Moors laid mines, but without effect. And as the fortalice was not on the seashore, nor capable of defence, and as it did not then appear necessary to preserve it, because it would necessarily remain in a continuous state of siege, on account of the tenacity of the King and of Chingalâ courage, the Captains wrote to the Viceroy, 'that it did not seem creditable to our arms to remain locked up with the enemy within sight, since we were accustomed to vanquish more experienced and valorous nations, that their opinion and the opinion of the other cavaliers was, that since they had not the forces necessary to destroy those of the King, and

since that praça was neither capable of a long siege nor of being relieved without a large force, it seemed best to abandon it, while they had the means to repel the attack of the enemy.'

The Viceroy laid this proposal before the Captains, and some were of opinion that it was not convenient to abandon the praça without being attacked, because they thought it wrong not to | maintain what was once conquered, since it <sup>P 168v</sup> could be a door open for the conquest of that Kingdom. Some blamed D. Antonio and the others for being of that opinion. The Viceroy perceived the passion which gave rise to it, and taking the side of those great men said to them all: 'When I showed you this letter it was not to ask you to vote for it or against it, for as these gentlemen are well known for their valour and prudence, it would be a great mistake to condemn their advice. My intention was to declare to you the reasons why it is convenient to desist from this war'; and passing over the injustice done to him by reducing to such an extent the men enlisted in Goa, he continued saying: 'That it was not experience but foolhardiness to leave the lieges of the King [of Portugal] in such an inefficient praça, infallibly exposed to the sword; that as they admitted that it was rash to take the field against an enemy so numerous, they should not condemn retreating, because not all battles in which victory was obtained were well fought, nor the success of campaigns ever the same, but fortunate or unfortunate according as Heaven ordained, and that it was not prudent for Christians always to expect miracles of God; that those who argued upon unreasonable principles always condemned what was right.' • 'My intention <sup>P 305</sup> was | to reduce this Kingdom to the faith of Christ and to the vassalage of the Crown of Portugal, but either the natives do not deserve the former and God is satisfied for the present with the first fruits of the martyrs who died for the Faith, or our own faults, which I do not particularize, have prevented the second. And if you wish to put it on me, that I was ungrateful to Heaven, be it as you wish. You saw the commencement of this undertaking so well begun, now you see how difficult it is to retrieve the position, [you see] that we are short of men, how strong the force of the Enemy is, how those of S. Thome failed us, who could have kept up this conquest with a praça erected in a suitable place and well garrisoned. And as the other Portuguese are needed in other places, this my intention for Jafanapataõ is rendered

impossible. Sooner or later it will have to be ours, either with the might of our arms, or with reinforcements from the King of Cota, for it is impossible for a tyrant to preserve himself; and I know that the natives are secretly corresponding with D. Joaõ Perea Pandar, which is a short cut to our desire. And though the present war distracts him, when that is ended, there will be an end also to the pride of Xagã Rajã, whom for the present I leave unpunished. I should rather lose my life than desist from an undertaking, but I think it wiser and safer to erect a new praça in this island of Manâr [which is] subject to this same King, whereby two objects are gained; the first to leave a door open for the conquest, and a surer one than any in this same land; the second to settle there the Christians of the Fishery, so much persecuted by their neighbours. For these reasons I order <sup>P 169</sup> this | useless praça to be razed, and if there is any mistake in it, I will answer for it; let it be yours to understand that another's opinion does not seem wrong to me when it does not lack what is expected from an honest man.'

These reasons, though so well founded, were not enough to prevent them from resenting the fact that the Viceroy was of the opinion of the besieged and did not support their absolutely unreasonable one. They therefore sought to lay siege to his liberty, and dividing themselves into groups, they began to grumble and to break out into such passionate words, that the Viceroy, hearing them, drew his sword and said to them: 'Retire, or else I will make you retire; and if any of you is so brave as to wish to be Captain of the fortalice, I shall write to His Highness that he is as bold as he is silly.' Abashed they held their peace.

The Viceroy got baggage bearers ready to carry the sick and to remove the artillery and other things in company with Lourenço Pimental and the soldiers he was able to take from the fleet, and he wrote to the Captains what they should do, and thanked them for the services they had rendered. D. Antonio entrusted to the sailors the sick, of whom there were more than 200 who could not move, and distributed to the men of service the munition and other things with all the <sup>P 306</sup> artillery, excepting a large iron piece | which it was not possible to take away, or to blow up with a charge of powder, and which he ordered to be thrown into a deep well. All these went in the van in charge of Souza who was also ill. in the advance guard went Joaõ Fernandes Correa with his

artillery, and he himself remained in the rearguard. And as the Viceroy had greatly recommended to him a rich dais (estrade) which was used by that King at their feasts, and as it was of great weight and size, he took off the canopy and the Viceroy sent it to the King D. Sebastião through D. Jorge de Souza.<sup>1</sup> They set fire to the praça, and marched on under the eyes of the enemy in the midst of bombs, arrows and shots, without being disconcerted, and though some wanted to charge them, the Captains opposed it because of the inconvenience to the sick. But at the end of a meadow 40 soldiers stayed behind under cover of some embankments, and as the enemy followed, they fell upon them with such rapidity under the direction of the invalid Fernão de Souza, that they killed more than 500. Ayres Falcaõ, seeing the ambush, pretended to be lame, and falling with his men, upon those who returned routed them in such a way, that they gave up the chase. This success procured them more relief, for till it was achieved, neither were the sick secure nor the hale able to march, which made that journey more painful than long, for a whole day was spent therein while two hours would have sufficed.

Upon this good fortune they parted company, some of the converts being the worst foes, which the Bishop felt keenly, for in rebuking those who spoke against them, he used to call them his angels, and the soldiers making fun of it, said that the Bishop's angels had turned into Devils, little remembering those who gave their lives for the Faith. | As soon as the Portuguese were embarked, there began a domestic war among those who disapproved of this retreat, and disparaging words were heard in some ships, which were at once written down, and D. Antonio de Noronha and Fernão de Souza de Castelbranco came to know about this; and afterwards in Goa, on one side and the other, there died persons of consequence for not knowing how to speak, which could not be quelled without chastisement. And as the Viceroy did not fail in this, they tried to involve him also in this disorder, for which he justified himself in Portugal showing that false information from these distant parts was as ancient as India itself. D. Constantino de Bragança was a Prince of such valour and prudence and Christianity, that when the King D.

<sup>1</sup> Captain-major of the fleet of 1560 and captain of the *Castelo* (see *infra*) who returned to Portugal August 1561. Falcao, 167.

Sebastião sent D. Luis de Ataide as Viceroy for the first time, he pointed him out as an example to be followed saying: 'D. Luis, proceed in the government of India with the prudence, Christianity and valour of Constantino de Bragança.' But it was ever considered easier to drain the sea than India of grumblers. (I do not diminish honour, says Father Negraõ in this connection, nor deny prowess nor obscure miracles, for the echoes of which the world is | too small, fame too feeble and writing too short, but it may be allowed to say without exaggeration that of all the Viceroys who governed India, no one ever excelled him in loyalty and prudence and piety, or surpassed him in valour. If there are adversaries, let them accuse, if jealous, let them speak, if bold, let them rebuke, if fools, let them murmur, if rash, let them condemn, because their impudence will be a gallows to them, when they see the most remote nations who, by their echoes perpetuate his memory.) There was much to imitate in this Prince, if deeds so worthy of remembrance can be imitated, as was said by the Prince of our popular poetry, and yet he could not escape the calumnies of India which dare to conquer the sun, though Claudian thought that envy could exist only among equals. They gave him great cause for vengeance, but the bolts of Jupiter do not descend on the vales.

When they were about to set sail for Manâr, on the 20th November of the aforementioned year, two ships of the Kingdom were sighted. Rejoicing at it, he raised anchor, and sent ahead D. Antonio de Noronha and Luis de Melo da Silva, who was already convalescent, with four ships to reconnoitre them, and they saw them rapidly making sail almost over the shallows, which they noticed too late owing to bad navigation and an error of the pilots, who imagining they were in front of Panane and making for Cochim had doubled Cape Comorî. D. Jorge de Souza was captain-major of the ship 'Castelo'; of the Galleon 'Drago' another Luis de Melo da Silva, both of the company of the fleet, with many gentlemen and cavaliers [with] despatches, the first Inquisitor who came to India, by name Aleyxo Dias Falcaõ, for which appointment | the petitions of St. Francis Xavier from India and the instance of St. Ignatius in Rome, greatly aided. There came also the first Archbishop of Goa, D. Frey Gaspar, Religious of St. Francis. The Viceroy opened the mail (*vias*)<sup>1</sup> which in part relieved his grief and immediately he sent them to Cochim.

<sup>1</sup> The royal letters coming from Portugal were called *vias* because they were sent in quadruplicate, one set or *via* in each ship.

Before we accompany the Viceroy in his entry into the Island of Manâr, it would be good by way of explanation of his intentions, to give an account of the reasons why he tried to bring to Jafanapatao the few settlers of S. Thome, beginning with a short account of the Kings and Kingdom of Bisnagâ. This Kingdom was one of the most famous in the East, both in extent and riches, as it is the depository of eastern diamonds, the ever fertile mines of which exist even today in the Kingdom of Golcondâ, for those of Ceylon, as we have said, are rare, a point in which the erudition of Lope da Veiga Carpio erred. It is called Bisnagâ from the name of its capital.<sup>1</sup> In the Bay of Bengal it has a coast line of 200 leagues, from the Cape Comori to the Kingdom of Orixâ, landwards it extends as far as the Kingdom of Decan and the rest, bordering on the Indian Sea, as far as Malavar

P 308 | Bisnagâ was a city five leagues in circuit at the foot of a hill abounding in good quarries of columns and sumptuous edifices uncommon in these lands, with a river which flows along the flank of the mountain amidst gardens and verdure. In it there were so many people of so diverse nations that one could scarcely cross the streets. Its King styled himself Emperor and had a guard of 10,000 Rajûs. He married the daughters of the Grandees who according to their custom were burnt along with him when he died, though they were so numerous, a barbarous tyranny of jealousy and a cruelty introduced through an amorous fable on the tyrannical orders of the Devil. It had sumptuous palaces of only one storey, a style of Indian architecture, large halls, broad courts, cool tanks and gardens. Even after the Kingdoms of Decan, Balagate, and Canarâ rebelled against him on this coast, and that of Golcondâ in the interior, he had a revenue from the lands of the Crown of 84 lakhs of pagodes, and the Nayques of Madurê, Tanjaor, Ginja paid him 12 millions a year [viz.] Madurê five, Tanjaor four, Ginja three. And he of Madurê put on the field 300 elephants, six thousand horse and many thousand Lascarins: Tanjaor 190 elephants, four thousand horse and 10,000 Lascarins; Ginja as much as Madurê. Without these Bisnagâ arms 200,000 infantry, 2,000 elephants and 2,000 horse, wherewith at the time we set foot in India it still overshadowed Industan, the King of Bisnagâ at the time being Narcinga Deva Ray, whence our Historians gave

the King's name to the Kingdom. He it was | who sent F 170v. an embassy to D. Francisco d'Almeyda through Friar Luis, a Friar Minor. As he had no sons, he was succeeded by his favourite Ixa Ara Nayque, a Tulual by birth, one of those who use a white shield and consider themselves Cavaliers. He reigned 21 years and was succeeded by his son Nariâ, who governed for 12 years, and as his son Achuta was negligent, in order to secure the Throne to him and prevent another bastard son of greater valour from being acclaimed by the people, he put out the latter's eyes. But as the precautions of the Father did not give him wisdom, and as he lacked this as well as strength for government, the people raised the blind Chrisnâ [to the throne], who was as prudent and valiant as Cisca of Bohemia. He banished the Brother and falling upon the rebel Idalxa, he destroyed him, capturing 4,000 Arab horse, 100 elephants, 400 bombards, and making himself Lord of the territories of this Concao and the neighbouring peninsulas, which he gave over to the Captain Ruy de Melo in the absence of the Governor Diogo Lopes de Siqueyra in recognition [of the fact] that the King of Portugal remained his friend at a time when his vassals revolted against him.

He had only a daughter, at whose request he ordered the nobility of the Realm to assemble, to chose a husband out of them. Among others there came an old man with three sons, of whom the Princess chose Maha Rajû the eldest, to whom the father-in-law entrusted the government of the Kingdom, to

P 309 | Tirimula, the second Brother, | the command of the troops, and to the last Chrisnâ, a suitable revenue. But as the blind Chrisnâ thought that to finish up with greater renown he should reinstate the Brother banished from the Kingdom, he ordered his son-in-law, Maha Rajû, to restore the power to him and administer justice jointly with him. Achuta was pleased by this courtesy, and ordered his son Satarayua to continue the same on his death, from which he never deviated, Maha Rajû being better recognised as King than the natural one, a penalty which all pay to favouritism.

He was the first to descend with an armed force upon Meliapor<sup>1</sup> (a small and abortive town, where lived some Portuguese come from Paleacati at the request of the Queen D. Catharina who wished thus to do honour to the Apostle

Cf. p. 92, n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Meliapor. Mylapore, near modern San Thome, Madras. The bishopric of San Thome of Mylapore was erected in 1606.

St. Thomas). They say [he was] moved thereto by false reports against the Portuguese, and [he came] with a very large force, for it would seem, that those few persons even from inside their houses caused him fear. Some wanted to resist, but as this was impossible, they agreed to the opinion of the others, [viz.] to show that they were unaware of the object of the expedition. Dressed in gala attire they set out to meet him, celebrating the visit as if it were one of peace. He entered the town as a friend and gave his men permission to sack it, only ordering that none should profane the church of St. Thomas. So did Alexander in Thebes and in Tyre and the Persians in Deos [*sic*], not sparing any living thing <sup>F 171</sup> but respecting the temple of Apollo. But as Acuta reserved this spoil for himself, he robbed some relics of St. Thomas and soon paid for his impudence, for he was defeated by Niza Maluco, Cota Maluco Melique, and Idalxa, lost his city, and the vassal Princes rebelled against him. And as punishment extends to all who are guilty, Maha Rajû was not spared from it, for his brother Tiramula usurped the rest of the Kingdom. The latter was succeeded by Vangati who laid siege to the city of S. Thome which had walls already in the year 1611, with 20,200 men, and was defeated by Manoel de Frias Captain of that praça, and to complete his disgrace, his Queen during his absence had a son reputed to be of another which did not make him lose his love, nor prevent him from giving it to another, the daughter of Ocal Rajû, one of the greatest Captains of his Kingdom, the good fortune of the unworthy and stroke of luck to the reckless.

The Mother doubted whether her son would be recognized as King and persuaded him to renounce the Kingdom to a nephew, Chica Ray, son of Rama Rajû. He did so, giving a ring before his death as a token of coronation. This pagan was a man of prudence, and as he had been declared heir to the Kingdom and had been in banishment in the territories of Tanjaor, from the Nayque of which he received many favours, and as such things inspire generosity in the minds of the well born, when he became King he accommodated in his Kingdom many Belalas who formerly lived in this Kingdom <sup>F 310</sup> because he of Jafanapatao was a tributary | of Tanjaor. He gave them honourable offices in the government, and the natives were displeased at having strangers to govern them. For this reason they rebelled against Chica Ray and introduced in his place an adulterine grandson of Narapâ instead of the son of King Vangaty. On obtaining possession of the

government, he divided his revenues and gave a moiety to the deposed one and treated him with great respect. But Chica Ray supposing that the kindness was due to fear, tried to rebel and gave cause for a rigorous imprisonment, from which he sent a son to his friend the Nayque of Tanjaor, so that with the latter's help he might make war on his nephew. He reached Tanjaor in the garb of a Washerman, whom they call *mynato*, but before he could return in arms Chica Ray, his children and wife were killed in Bisnagâ by the hand of the King himself, for which deaths, the King who had killed his own Father, exacted revenge. He seized the State and rewarded those who had favoured him. They call him King Maynato because of the event related. Bisnagâ had all these revolutions in punishment for the sacrilege of the robbery of the relics of St. Thomas. All the might of these Kingdoms came to an end, after they began to destroy each other, and the Great Mogol made them all tributaries. The lands of Bisnagâ are now in the hands of Sambagi, a Rebel, who makes war on us. For these reasons and because of the scanty force which | that town had in those days, D. Constantino <sup>F 171a</sup> wished, after first informing Portugal, to remove the people to Jafanapatao, and the relics that remained with the Christians of the Serra<sup>1</sup> to Goa, erecting there in the plain of St. Thomas a sumptuous church which he left unfinished and which today forms part of the ruins of Goa, and the transfer of the Christians never took place. And it has ever been a ground for complaint, that though the divine cult was frequent and pompous in India, there were no demonstrations in honour of the Holy Apostle thereof, and that it was D. Joaô de Castro alone who invoked him in battle, and the favour of Heaven which he experienced did not suffice to make him imitated in this. There can be no doubt that he who died from lance wounds would grasp the lance well, and that if Christ made his hand a key to open Heaven and the treasures of the Divinity, he would do no less, if, to open the doors of India and its riches, we had had recourse to his arm, and invoked his protection to dispense the treasures of Divine grace. I greatly fear that this neglect retarded the one and the other conquest, and that this country has passed into the hands of the Moors because of the omission of the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> 'Serra' means mountain. The Christians of the Siryo-Malabar rite were called by the Portuguese Christians of the Serra or mountains (of Malabar) or St. Thomas' Christians. The Archbishop of Cranganor, under whose jurisdiction they were, was also called Archbishop of the Serra.



## CHAPTER 32.

P 311 THE SAME SUBJECT CONTINUED, AND WHAT THE VICEROY  
DID IN MANAR, AND THE PORTUGUESE MEANWHILE IN  
CEYLON

The same Queen D. Catharina, who caused the migration of the Portuguese from Palacate to S. Thome, also gave order to write the following letter, when she saw the proposal made by D. Constantine. 'As for what you tell me about the war which the King of Bisnagâ is waging on the inhabitants of S. Thome, and the scanty reputation of my arms which results in such cases, and seeing that it happens generally without any fault on the part of the Captain of that town, I am pleased that the relics of the Holy Apostle be removed to Goa, where you shall erect on a suitable place a Church, and shall give the Christians a place to live in a manner that they can better themselves; and if the expedition to the Kingdom of Jafanapatao, which you say you intend to conquer, take effect, it will be safer with these people than with the natives in whom there is always room to suspect rebellion. I hope therefore that taking counsel about this matter, in conformity with what time may bring about, you will carry it out so effectively that the increase of Christianity and the satisfaction of my service may result therefrom.'

Basing himself on this letter, when he saw Nelur conquered, he determined | to leave a strong garrison there with the inten- P 172  
tion of populating that Kingdom with Portuguese settlers, so that the native King might give up all hope of ever becoming Lord of it, and through the aforementioned Joao Fernandez Correa and Fernao Gomes Cordouil he despatched the following courteous, affectionate and pious letter to the inhabitants of S. Thome, wherein like a generous and condescending man, he only asked what he might well have commanded: 'Two things move me to ask you to consent to quit your Fatherland. The first is the welfare of the Faith, the second of your own selves; each of these considerations is so powerful that it seems to me unnecessary to urge you to make this change, since I expect greater things from your zeal. If the matter causes you any regret, remember that it is a very small thing to abandon great advantages to spread the Law of God, since all things are gained in exchange for a thing

that is worthless. That your coming here is to His service is quite patent, because of the promise of your example as well as of the security of our Law, by putting vile paganism to shame, by Christian customs, which can be displeasing only to those who are satisfied with deceits. At the same time I must warn you, that it will be scandalous, if when Heaven calls you to cultivate the Gospel, you recoil from so noble an enterprise, from which so many advantages can result, seeing that if by your means the Kingdom of Jafanapatao be freed from the barbarism it observes, and instructed in the highest culture which this earth enjoys, and by its conversion the Devil loses the dominion which he now claims over its natives without any right, | and they come to realize the injustice of his power, they will be ashamed of his deceits and will look up to you as heralds of truth, and will pay you their tribute seeing it is by your means that they are saved from ruin. A sufficient reason, were others wanting, is that of taking satisfaction for the deaths inflicted by that tyrant on so many Christians, whose beginnings gave promise of a glorious end. Be moved not by vengeance, for that belongs to arms, but by the pitiful cry with which heathendom calls out to you to come to its rescue. Let it not be said that Christianity dwindles in these parts, which I consider to be in your midst, and where the natives await you and whither St. Thomas directs you. Perhaps it is for this reason that he chose that place rather than another, in order that after his death there might not be wanting those who would imitate his fervour. Perhaps he thought of the Island of Taprobrana [sic] where he left a foot print, so that your steps might direct you thither to revive the precepts which he taught for the glory of the Lord, and which today are profaned by the Ganezes, ministers of the Devil, with so pestilential a sect, that it is easy to recognize the capital with which Hell entered into it, extinguishing, or at least palliating, those true ceremonies by others so false, that only the ignorant are deceived thereby. Repair this breach which will go on so long as your delay allows it. Remember that flowers appeared in this land, and if they came to naught, it was for want of cultivators. And since the charity of Heaven began it, | we must needs P 172o  
keep it up, unless we wish to have against us at the hour of death the Apostle whose labours should not be lost, but should endure in spite of the ravages of time, laying a third foundation upon the second which St. Thomas laid upon that rock of our redemption, so that the Chingalaz may see that you deserved to be their advocates even before God. I envy you



your lot, and if my lot had allowed me to keep you company in this migration, I should have considered myself happy ; but since it is denied me to my grief. I consider it a relief that I should have been made use of as the inspirer of your action. Let there not be any who desist from so great an enterprise, and if the chief object which is the spread of the Gospel does not bind some, the advantages of the country are such, that they will be induced to quit their fatherland, even if they had not been so persecuted therein as you are ; which is reason enough to pass over to this Kingdom without loss of credit on the plea of improving their fortunes, and not live in disgraceful misery, which is the second point which I heeded when I took counsel about your transfer ; and as these lands are now under [the protection of] the Portuguese arms, come to possess under that patronage what they secure for you, and I apprise you that you will be Masters of the whole of this Kingdom, without fear of foes or the opposition of friends. What the place is like, you must be aware ; its fertility is well known. Do not be detained by the argument of the poverty in which you live, as this country is enough  
P 313 to quench greater thirst. | If you wish to ennoble your houses, here fortune offers you grandeurs, less hazardous than those which you acquire with such trouble among Moors, the adversaries of the Faith, whose obstinacy permits no other fruit save our complete ruin, which is the goal ever aimed at by the malice of those who inherited this persecution from the Antichrist Mahomet. They do not want to fall away from their paternal doctrines as long as falsehood prevails over truth, and this purpose is well known among them especially in our conquests, the Catholic Kings of which seeing the pertinacity with which they proceed, have ordered those of us who are their members to separate the new plant of Christianity and to plant it in a place of greater security, where their deceits cannot dissuade one from his good intentions. Thus, both because of the risk which your constancy runs, and because of the benefits that you can derive, I advise you for the sake of your salvation to leave that place and set out for this, where I am awaiting you congratulating you in advance on your choice. For it cannot be believed that you will do otherwise, if you do not wish to incur the guilt of ingratitude, knowing that by this means you will be rendering a great service to the King of Portugal, in whose name I promise you favours ever and above those which I will give in my own name. From Jafanapatao.  
10th November of 1560.'

| Fernao Gomes Cordouil read this letter to the inhabitants of S. Thome, and Joao Fernando [sic] Correa then made a speech, in which he pointed out the utility of this change and the delight with which the Viceroy D. Constantine de Braganca was awaiting them all, recalling to their minds the usual injuries of Moors and Pagans owing to the defenceless state of their town, how narrowly they were hemmed in there, the extent of the land which invited them to be its master, and the security with which they could live there ; for it was certain that the Viceroy would not leave before erecting a good fortalice, wherewith to begin the peaceful occupation of that Kingdom. [He said] this in such terms and with such forcible reasoning that they were almost won over, but when they communicated the migration to their wives, sorry counsellors in matters of this kind, in order to insinuate greater difficulties, they asked for four days time, as they did not dare to disappoint them in such a hurry as was required of them, because as they felt bound by the honour [shown them by the] Viceroy, they delayed the longer in taking a resolution. But as they had to reply, they ended by dis-appointing Joao Fernandes Correa, and sent two natives of authority to state their reasons. And Fernao Gomes Cordovil remained as Captain and wrote to the Viceroy blaming them for this decision ; and they excused themselves in the following letter, taking shelter under the Apostle St. Thomas, in whose name the Viceroy had tried his best to urge them. The letter said as follows :

' We know quite well that Your Lordship (now My Lords are Flemings and Excellencies are My Lord, which is all they gave to a son of the Duke of Braganca, whose Father was  
P 314 | sworn King of Portugal) desires only our welfare, and that we have such confidence in you is due to the kindness of heart which you inherited with your Royal Blood. But though we are ready to obey such reasonable commands, in this matter we are excused from it for two reasons. The first is grounded in our desire to increase divine glory, a thing on which Your Lordship based your command to quit the fatherland in which we were born, but which persuades us, as Professors of the Catholic religion, not to abandon (though we are oppressed by the neighbouring heathen and Moor) the sepulchre of the Great Apostle St. Thomas, who when he sought this resting place, desired us to die here, since it is on his account that we live. And peradventure this service is more meritorious in the eyes of one who, like your Lordship, is zealous for the welfare of our Religion, since we despise the self-interest of seeking more advantageous places. Nor do

we think that we can have a greater privilege than that, even though ruined in fortune, of looking after the cult of him who sought us, so as not to abandon it, since he showed in his death that he is the defender of our lives, and he despised the opulent provinces of the South in which he is venerated in order to protect us, not to say that by loving poverty in this place he consecrated it. Do you not think, Sir, | <sup>F 173</sup> that we incur the guilt of rebels, if we give up the cultivation of this little spot honoured by so many sacred footprints, and seek more extensive ones out of ambition? Judge the decision therefore after taking into consideration the reason which moved us thereto, remembering the blood which Thomas shed here while raising a church to Christ the forerunner of the Christianity raised in this place by the Portuguese, who though few in number are perhaps not unacceptable to Heaven, considering the veneration in which the Holy Apostle is held, not only by us, who owe everything to him and attribute to him the success of our petition, but even by the most obstinate pagans, of whose blindness we have sure proof, since they see under their own eyes the admirable miracles whereby he manifests his power, though they are ignorant of the truth; and they are so great that they are admired even by the pagans. What will they say, Sir, when they see our emigration, except that making idols of wordly advantages we valued them more than such a Protector? From whom can we expect excuses, if Your Lordship does not excuse us for these reasons? Shall we desire monstrous results from our conquests? What the result will be in these parts we do not doubt; but as we trust little in ourselves, our security is in the labour for that religion, the doctrine of which shed light on the way to glory, and not the example of the four converts less instructed in this discipline than in malice. This is enough to show Your Lordship the little importance of our journey.

It remains to state the difficulty of the project, the second reason for not carrying out so reasonable an order, by pointing out that the love of country inspires in each one a proportionate degree of affection, which carries with it the will, which is less inclined to other motives, | <sup>P 315</sup> and as it is a stepmother, it does not deserve rebellious stepsons. We do not want to refer to ancient matters, for it would be silly to try to prove what is patent, and if this truth were not admitted on the ground that any land may become one's fatherland, one who considers feminine weakness will find that it is easier to bury them

than to separate them from the place wherein they were born: that since everyone yearns for the place of his birth, even though they do not enjoy good fortune, they are satisfied with little. This reason moves us also to consider ourselves excused for not considering to be wrong, what Your Lordship does not approve as good, and we protest that we shall be ever grateful for the honours more valuable than the riches which we despise. And as any place is good enough for a poor man to die in, we are determined to die at the feet of the Glorious Apostle St. Thomas, and since we are unworthy to follow his footsteps which we venerate so much, we beg him to lead us to what is to the greater service of God.'

With this letter there came to Jafanapatao two envoys of the town. But the Viceroy having been informed by Correa, and having read the letter of Corduil, did not receive the envoys, | who being there during the rebellion referred to, <sup>F 174</sup> died there with the others. When the reasons [given in the letter] are considered (leaving aside the terms), one finds that in every state the argument of convenience is pure hypocrisy. They saw that their presence in Jafanapatao would never be a safe and a profitable one so long as the King lived and the Kingdom was not altogether subjected to Portuguese dominion and free from opposition, and as they had no advantages to put forward similar to those found in that country, for the seculars were not fully masters even of their gardens, and had exchanged the profession of arms for merchandise, they did not like to express these fears, and alleged devotion to St. Thomas, and relying on this they determined to retort with scant ceremony and in ill-chosen terms the very principles of the letter of the Viceroy, like the unrefined people they were, ill able to weigh their words. And one of the most misguided things in India, and one over which Afonso de Albuquerque fell out with the Sicfi, and one of those most prejudicial to the honour of the Portuguese and the welfare of souls, was the multiplication of towns and superfluous praças, for besides exposing the forces of the State in their defence, those of Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, and Martavao destroyed by their license and liberty the feats accomplished by reckless valour. And though that of S. Thome always accepted royal Government, there were so many enmities and parties that it never prospered, and finally it fell and was razed by the Moorish King of Golconda at a time when the State was neither able to help it nor to remove its ruins. This matter also showed that God usually concurs by special illumination with Princes in the disposal of affairs of consequence.

P 316 | The Viceroy thanked Joaõ Fernandez Correa for the zeal he displayed in this expedition both by word and favours. He ordered him to return to Negapataõ to bring more provisions, because by his courtesy and benignity he made himself so loved by all that all were ready to serve him, and this was the greatest reason why more pagans received baptism in his time than in that of any other Viceroy. For besides what Bartoli relates of the conversion of the pagans of Divar and Choraõ, islands in the neighbourhood of Goa, it is known from tradition that when the Pagans of Salcete and Bardez came to hear that he was coming a second time as Viceroy (before D. Luis de Ataide,) they had decided unanimously to receive baptism as soon as he took possession of the State. It is certainly an effect of divine grace which makes use of the kindness of this Prince for such marvels. His generosity towards soldiers and his commiseration was just the same, for he used to say : 'that God alone could reward the labours of war.' But when he saw the disappointing situation of Jafanapataõ, he decided to lay a different yoke on that King by showing him that he did not desist from the enterprise | F 174  
since he left a praça erected within his territory.



