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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA



New Series, Volume XXXIX, Special Number

Antonio Bocarro's Ceylon

*The object of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Language, Literature, Arts,
Sciences and Social Conditions of the present and
former peoples of the Island of Sri Lanka and
connected cultures*

PUBLISHED BY THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

COLOMBO

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New Series, Volume XXXIX, Special Number

Antonio Bocarro's Description of Ceylon
Translated into English

by

T B H Abeyasinghe

Honorary Editor
G P S H de Silva

PUBLISHED BY THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
COLOMBO

1996

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in Memory of the Late
Sir. KANDIAN VAITHIANATHAN
& **MAHEN VAITHIANATHAN**

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Donated to the Jaffna Library
 In Memory of the Late
Sir. KANDIAH VAITHIANATHAN
& MAHEN VAITHIANATHAN
 JUNE 2002

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FOREWORD

The publication of the copy of Antonio Bocarro's 'Livro das Plantas' at the National Archives of Sri Lanka was initiated in 1983, when the then Director, National Archives, Mr Haris de Silva requested Prof T B H Abeyasinghe, to translate it for publication.

Prof Tikiri Abeyasinghe, an authority on the Portuguese period of Sri Lankan history meticulously studied it and compared it with the other copies of the manuscript found at Evora in Portugal, the National Library in Paris and at the British Library in London, to edit and translate it.

The untimely death of Prof Abeyasinghe in 1985, prevented his completing the work, and also halted its publication for a period of nine years, as the translation was seemed to be lost or misplaced.

Mrs Wimala Abeyasinghe had been requested to search for the translation done by her late husband, and I am glad that she had found it at home.

Prof C R de Silva, another eminent Sri Lankan historian of the Portuguese period, who had perused the typed copy had found that Prof Abeyasinghe's translation was excellent. I am happy that he has been associated with the edited version to put the final touches for its publication.

The publication will be welcomed by all scholars not only in Asia but also in other parts of the Western world as a work of erudite scholarship and as a glowing tribute to the late Prof Abeyasinghe, who dedicated his whole career to research the history of the Portuguese period in Sri Lanka.

I also like to thank Prof de Silva for his contribution to the publication of the translation and Mr de Silva for his efforts to get this once lost manuscript published for the benefit of scholars and the general reader interested in the Portuguese period of Sri Lankan history.

Dr K D G Wimalaratne
Director, National Archives

Department of National Archives
Colombo, Sri Lanka
13th June 1995

PREFACE

The project to translate and publish the section containing a description of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in Antonio Bocarro's work entitled *O Livro das plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e povações do Estado da India Oriental*, commenced 13 years back.

On the 10th of August 1983, I officially invited Tikiri Abeyasinghe to do an 'authoritative translation of the section pertaining to Sri Lanka'. It had been agreed earlier, that to do such a translation it would also be necessary to consult three other manuscript copies available elsewhere, namely in London, Paris and Evora, but the understanding was, that the National Archives would not be able to fund the travel required for such purpose, and it would have to be found from elsewhere.

Thus, to find the necessary funds for travel abroad and subsistence Tikiri sought assistance from the British Council in Colombo and the Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon.

In his letter dated 6/4/1984 to the British Council seeking financial assistance for the projected work, he also provided an overview of the manuscript. Therein, he said:

'The project is to translate into English the section relating to Sri Lanka in a seventeenth century Portuguese manuscript with the title "Livro do Estado da India Oriental" (i.e. the Book of the State of the East Indies) by Pedro Barreto de Resende and Antonio Bocarro, of which manuscript the Sri Lanka Archives has a copy, probably prepared in the 19th century (sic).

In this work, the sections relating to Sri Lanka describe the territories the Portuguese held there, the ports, the depth of the roadsteads (including the type of naval craft that could be accommodated), the nature of the fortifications (including the number of bastions, and bulwarks), the strength of the garrisons and the sources of revenue and items of expenditure. There are some maps and plans of the fortifications too. The Sri Lanka section of the manuscript runs into 60 large-size folios and is encyclopaedic in scope. The information it provides is not found in any other source.

The English translation will, it is hoped, be published with an introduction giving bio-bibliographical data on the two compilers, their reasons for undertaking this work, the sources they used, the degree of reliability of the work and its usefulness for the study of the island's history.

Three contemporary copies are known to exist.

1. Sloane Ms. No. 197 in the British Library in London
2. A copy at the Library and District Archives in Evora, Portugal.
3. A copy in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.

My experience with 17th century Portuguese manuscripts is that no two copies are alike, and one copy might contain information not given in another, (Incidentally, the three copies referred to above carry three titles.) The information the three works contain has to be collected and the best text chosen. For these reasons, and also because the information necessary for the introduction has to be gathered in the libraries of Portugal and U.K., a visit to London, Paris, Lisbon and Evora has to be undertaken...'

Both institutions responded positively to his requests. The British Council agreed to meet the subsistence for 42 days, and the Gulbenkian Foundation provided funds for travel to all the countries he had to visit and back to Colombo. On the strength of these grants, the University of Colombo approved vacation leave for him on full pay for the period he was to be out of the island.

Thereafter, Tikiri, sought a clarification from me as to whether the best manuscript copy -out of the four- should be translated and prepared for publication, or whether we insisted in publishing the copy at the Sri Lanka National Archives. I replied stating that we wished to publish 'our' copy, after comparing it with the others.

Having settled that issue, we provided him with a microfilm copy of the section on Sri Lanka in the SLNA manuscript. At the same time I wrote to my friend Mr B C Bloomfield, the then Director of the India Office Library in London, requesting that Tikiri be provided with an enlarged plain-paper copy from the microfilm he was bringing to London. Mr Bloomfield very kindly agreed to the request, and Tikiri used the copies provided by the IOL for his translation and notes (vide reproduced colour photographic prints)

On 20 9 1984, Tikiri, writing to me said,

'While there I shall also gather material for an introduction discussing among other things, bibliographic particulars of the authors other surveys on similar lines undertaken by Portuguese officials, and the development of Portuguese cartographic techniques until mid-17th century'.

He also said, 'Within about 3 months of my return to the island, (i.e. mid February 1985) I hope to hand over the final draft of the translation and the introduction to you...'

Tikiri saw me often after his return to the island, and we discussed many points regarding the translation and the introduction. The last he saw me in my office was on 23/8/1985, that was a Friday. On Saturday, we met at an annual get-together of Ramanathan Hall alumni, held at the Police Park in Havelock Town, Colombo. The next morning we heard the shocking news that he had gone, never to return. A diary entry of mine reminds me that I had seen him last around 4 pm on that 24th Saturday.

With Tikiri's demise, the manuscript translation too went into hiding. I had not the courage to ask his family about it immediately after his death: and when we made inquiries some months later, it was not traceable. Months and years passed by with inquiries made now and again with the family as well as with others who had purchased some of his books: still no information was forthcoming on the translation.

In the meantime I had taken premature retirement at the end of February, 1990. Then almost 4 years later, on 13th January, 1994, Mrs Wimala Abeyasinghe rang me to inform that she had found the manuscript in the house itself, and she would send it to me to see what I could do with it. I was overjoyed to hear the good news, that, after all, Tikiri's manuscript translation was available.

Now there was a problem. At the time -and even today- Sri Lanka, had/s no historian proficient in 17th century Portuguese and the history of that period. The only other notable historian, other than Tikiri, was in the United States. Thus, on the 16th, I wrote to Father V Perniola, who was very proficient in Portuguese, and very much consulted by Tikiri, and sought his assistance to get the manuscript translation into printable form. Father Perniola replied by return of post agreeing to undertake it, and also said that he would provide a computer print-out.

That ready response could have come only from another eminent scholar, for it was to be an unenviable task. One had to read Tikiri's translation written in pencil, on the left side folio, compare it with the text and annotations written in three colours on the right side folio, check the translation and notes, and get it ready in the format that would be acceptable to a printer.

Thus during 1994, between Father Perniola and myself, the translation was put in order. Herein, I must say that my contribution was minimal; I only answered certain queries raised by Father Perniola,

either on the correctness of a sentence when put into English or on a historical point pertaining to the text or on an explanatory note. Thus the task of bringing the manuscript to print form, was in its entirety a labour of love of Father Perniola.

Still, the question of the Historical Introduction remained unsettled. On this subject, I wrote to Prof. C R de Silva - the only other notable historian I had mentioned earlier - giving him a history of the project and requesting him to write the Introduction. Prof de Silva too readily agreed to the request, and on his own, offered to go through the computer print-out of the translation and to provide it on a diskette to facilitate printing.

At that point of time, we had Tikiri's translation checked and brought into print form with the assistance of Father Perniola, and we were to have it checked once again and final copy made for printing, with an Historical Introduction by Prof C R de Silva. The latter work was done between July 1994 and June 1995.

During this period I had also requested assistance from the President's Fund to print and publish the text. With the kind intervention of the then Secretary to the President Mr K H J Wijeyadasa, and the Additional Secretary Mr Siri Hatthotuwegama, who processed the application, the Fund provided a sum of Rs. 45,000/- as part contribution of printing costs.

Dr K D G Wimalaratna, my successor at the National Archives, too had intimated to me that the National Archives could publish it. However, being fully aware of government requirements with regard to printing works of this nature, its printing policies, and sale and distribution procedures, I, in consultation with Mrs Abeyasinghe, decided to offer the work to the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.

At the RASSL, its President Mr A Denis N Fernando, with the concurrence of its Publications Board and the Council, accepted the offer made, agreed to provide the balance funds needed to print it, and also decided to issue it as a Special Number of the Society's Journal.

That decision of the RASSL, admirably met my objectives too in offering the work to the RASSL, namely to get it printed as early as possible, and to see that it would get a wide currency among those interested in the subject as well as amongst the reading public in general.

Having given a resume of the project, now, I would only have to state that Prof de Silva, apart from re-checking the translation, has

eminently filled the vacuum left by Tikiri, in writing the Historical Introduction, with his usual high profile scholarship. What remains to be done in the future is to get a critical edition of the Portuguese text from the annotated manuscript of Tikiri.

Before I conclude, I must also say to the extent known to me, that if Tikiri had made his acknowledgements, he would no doubt have expressed his thanks to The Gulbenkian Foundation in Lisbon, The British Council in Colombo and London, The Vice Chancellor of the University of Colombo, Mr B C Bloomfield, the then Director of the India Office Library in London, the Staff at the British Library, at the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, at the District Archives in Evora, Portugal, and at the National Archives in Sri Lanka, Prof Tom Barron of the Department of History, University of Edinburgh, Prof Eric Meyer, Father V Perniola, and his beloved wife Mrs Wimala Abeyasinghe. This list is not exhaustive, but as said earlier, its limited to the information available to me.

On my part, I must also say thank you to:

Mr Barry Bloomfield, for providing the plain-paper copies from the microfilm.

Father V Perniola, for readily agreeing to prepare the manuscript for printing.

Dr U Pethiyagoda, friend and neighbour, currently Sri Lanka's Ambassador in Rome, for taking the large manuscript volume to Kandy for Father Perniola.

Prof C R de Silva for writing the Historical Introduction, checking the translation and providing it on a diskette.

Messers K H J Wijeyadasa and Siri Hatthotuwegama, Secretary and Additional Secretary respectively to H E the President for recommending and processing the application for funds, and the then

President of Sri Lanka, H. E., D B Wijetunga, for approving the grant of a part-payment for printing.

The President and the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, for agreeing to print it and their decision to bring it out as a Special Number of the Journal.

Dr K D G Wimalaratna, Director, National Archives for permission to reproduce the plans in the manuscript copy at the Sri Lanka National Archives.

Mr H A I Goonetilleke, for advice on the Title page,

and last but not least to Mrs Wimala Abeyasinghe, for informing me of the 'discovery' of the manuscript and giving it to me 'to do whatever I wished to do with it'.

As a final remark, I must say that Tikiri as a person was very prompt, and very demanding in his work. He gave his best to whatever he did. Thus, when he commenced translation, he had written 'Translation begun 12/01/85, 10.50 hrs' and on completion (ඉවරයි) (finished) 20.15, 21/07/85'; thereafter he had written 'Revision begun 26/07/85, 21.25' but he could not complete that task. There is no doubt that if he had lived a couple of more months he would have given me the Introduction and the Translation ready for printing: but that was not to be.

And now, though grieved, that his work is coming only as a posthumous publication of his, yet, I am happy that it is finally seeing the light of day.

The good that men do, lives after them.

G P S H de Silva
43/91, Poorwarama Mawata
Colombo 5
18 3 1996

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

by
Chandra R de Silva

During the last few years of his life, Professor Tikiri Abeyasinghe worked on a translation from the Portuguese to English of the sections relating to Sri Lanka in António Bocarro's seventeenth century work entitled, *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental*, and the text which follows this introduction is essentially his work, although I have made a few minor corrections and amended a few footnotes. This historical introduction, which I was invited to write after Tikiri Abeyasinghe's untimely demise, will provide background information on António Bocarro and his work, assess the value of the sections which have been translated by Professor Abeyasinghe and provide a brief appreciation of the historical writings of Abeyasinghe himself.

The *Livro das Plantas* of António Bocarro was composed in response to an order made in 1632 by King Philip II of Spain. In that year, King Philip, in his less well known role as king of Portugal, requested, D. Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, for a description of all the lands, ports and fortifications of his Portuguese empire in the East.¹ De Noronha himself had been sent out as the Portuguese Viceroy of India in 1629 to reorganize and strengthen the Portuguese empire in the East in the face of the growing challenges.

These challenges included the military and economic assaults mounted by other European naval powers (principally the Dutch and the English), the rise of hostile Asian rulers and the need to arrest the decline in the revenues from the Portuguese Asian Empire. By the early 1630s, the Dutch had seized control of the Moluccas and the Banda Islands and with them, the trade in cloves and nutmeg. They had established a trading settlement at Pulicat on the Coromandel Coast of India, set up Fort Zeelandia in northern Formosa and were gathering strength for an attack on Portuguese Malacca. The English were well established as traders in the port of Surat and on the Persian Gulf. Even the Danes had established trading stations on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal.²

By 1630, the challenges to the Portuguese empire from Asian rulers had also become significant. The rising Safavid empire of Persia had utilized English assistance to capture the island of Ormuz from the Portuguese in 1622. The Mughal empire was now seen by the Portuguese as a potential threat and while the Mughal conquest of Hughli dealt but a temporary blow to Portuguese trade with Bengal, the Portuguese documents of the period show clearly that they feared the growth of Mughal power, particularly in the Deccan peninsula. While trade with Japan remained prosperous, there already were indications that the policies of Tokugawa

Iemitsu (1623-1651) were less friendly towards the Iberian empire than those of his predecessor. In Sri Lanka itself, the Portuguese were reeling from a defeat by the army of the king of Kandy at the battle of Randeniwela in 1630.³

Then again, there was the problem of declining revenue to the Crown. Up to the late sixteenth century, the *Estado da Índia* had brought in much needed funds to the Portuguese royal coffers. By the first decade of the seventeenth century, the steep fall of the price of pepper in Europe and increased costs of defending the Eastern empire reduced profits sharply. As significant was the increasing incidence of the loss of ships on the voyage between Asia to Europe. In the 1620s about a third of the ships leaving for the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope did not reach their destinations and this translated into major losses of revenue for the state.⁴

The appointment of D. Miguel de Noronha thus marked a further effort at defending the beleaguered Portuguese Empire in the East. De Noronha had some aspirations towards carrying the battle to the enemy and he was clearly instructed to look closely at means of enhancing revenue. The Portuguese were ready to learn from their rivals. Just a year before de Noronha's arrival in India, Portuguese trade with Asia had been handed over to a *Companhia do Comércio da Índia*, designed in imitation of the successful Dutch and English East India Companies. While this Portuguese East India Company failed within a few years,⁵ this move illustrated that the king's advisors were desperate enough to try new approaches to resolve a worsening crisis. What the decision makers needed most of all was information and the king's request of 1632 was partly intended to obtain data which would give administrators in Lisbon a better idea of the strengths and weaknesses of the Portuguese military and economic position in the East.

Viceroy de Noronha's reply to his king dated January 2, 1633 stated that the work of preparing the information asked for had been entrusted to António Bocarro, the chronicler of the *Estado da Índia* and that it would be sent in the ships departing in the next monsoon (i.e. between December 1633 and March 1634).⁶ If the king was satisfied, he certainly did not let the matter rest but sent a reminder on the subject dated December 24, 1633. This letter would have reached the Viceroy in 1634. Bocarro evidently gave the task high priority. He must have finished the text sometime in the calendar year of 1634 because his letter accompanying the two copies of the manuscript is dated February 17, 1635. The manuscript, like many others in the seventeenth century had a long descriptive title: *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações da India Oriental com as descrições da altura em que estao, e de tudo que ha nellas, Atrilharia, Presidio, gente de Armas, e Vassallos, rendimento, e despeza, fundos, e baxos das Barras, Reis da terra dentro, o poder que tem, e a paz, e guerra, que guardão, e tudo que esta debaxo da Coroa de Espanha*. While the text itself is known to be Bocarro's work, it is generally accepted

that the plans of the forts and harbours which accompanied the original text were drawn by Pedro Barreto de Resende, Secretary to the Viceroy.⁷

About António Bocarro himself we know a great deal.⁸ He was born in 1594 either in Abrantes or in Lisbon and was son of Fernão Bocarro, physician and his wife Guiomar Nunes. António's parents were *christaos novos* or converted Jews and António himself was baptized a Roman Catholic and studied at the Colégio dos Jesuitas de Santo Antão in Lisbon. However, the influence of the faith of his forefathers was not far removed. In 1610, his elder brother, Manuel Bocarro Francês who was to later become a well known physician, astrologer and mathematician converted to Judaism in secret. After some hesitation and vacillation, António followed suit.⁹ However, Portugal in the early seventeenth century was not a safe place for a relapsed Christian. The Inquisition was much too active. Bocarro evidently heard of the flourishing Jewish community of Cochin, India and in April 1615, he left for India where in he hoped to have greater freedom of worship.

António Bocarro served in Cochin for a time as a soldier and eventually married Isabel Viera. However, in 1621 or 1622, he began to have doubts about Judaism, possibly after reading the *Symbolo de la Fe* by Fr. Luis de Granada, and he returned to the Christian faith. After full confession, he received absolution from the Inquisition in February 1624. Thereafter, from about 1626, Bocarro served in the Portuguese fleet and in Cranganor, on the Malabar coast. On 9 May of 1631, he was appointed chronicler of Portuguese India and guardian of the state archives. This appointment was made by Viceroy de Noronha on the recommendation of the chancellor, Dr. Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca.¹⁰ Bocarro held this appointment till he died in 1642 or 1643. Apart from the *Livro das Plantas*, Bocarro is known for *Decada 13 da História da Índia*, which was first published in 1876. *Decada 13*, which runs to 800 printed pages is a detailed treatment of the Portuguese in the East during the Viceroyalty of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, 1612-1617. Bocarro is also said to have written three other works which have apparently been lost, *Da Reforma do Estado da Índia*, *Livro dos Feitos de Gonçalo Pereira*, and *Crónica dos Feitos de Sancho de Vasconcelhos*.¹¹ The Crown did recognize his services and rewarded his descendants in March 1643 by promising anyone who married one of his daughters the post of secretary of the customs house at Muscat. In August 1643, the post of archivist in Goa was offered to any qualified person who married his eldest daughter.¹²

As will be evident from the text, Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* consists of a description of the lands, fortifications, revenues and expenditures of the various captaincies of the Portuguese empire in the East, illustrated by plans of forts and anchorages held by the Portuguese. As Isabel Cid points out, in terms of providing plans and vistas of the Portuguese forts and settlements, Bocarro's work was preceded by Gaspar Corrêa's *Lendas da India*¹³ and Lizuarte de Abreu's *Livro*.¹⁴ In terms of descriptions of

revenues and expenditures it was preceded by works such as *Orçamento do Estado da Índia (1574) feito por mandado de Diogo Velho, Vedor da Fazenda da Índia*.¹⁵ However, the closest model that can be found for Bocarro's work is a 1582 manuscript at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid entitled *Livro das Cidades e Fortalezas q a Coroa tem nas partes da Índia, e das Capitanias, e mais cargos que nelas ha e de importancia delles*, which was published by Fernão Mendez da Luz in *Boletim da Biblioteca de Universidade de Coimbra* XXI, 1952.¹⁶ Despite earlier examples of works of this genre, however, there is no question that Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* was the best and most comprehensive of all the descriptions of the Portuguese empire in Asia.

Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* was sent to Lisbon in duplicate. One of these copies is definitely identified as that in the Biblioteca Pública e Arquivo Distrital de Évora. This manuscript has been the basis of the two published Portuguese editions of the work, both of which will be discussed later on in this introduction. Armando Cortesão stated that the second copy was sold in 1960 by the bookseller A. Rosenthal but it cannot be traced today.¹⁷ Cortesão has identified three seventeenth century copies made from one or the other of the originals. In all three of these cases Bocarro's text has been copied (with a few alterations, additions and/or deletions) but obviously the plans are copies of other artists and differ somewhat from those of Resende in the Évora manuscript. The three copies are:

- 1) Copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid dated c. 1635 with 52 plans by an anonymous copyist.¹⁸
- 2) Copy at the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon dated 1639 with 48 (originally 52) plans by António de Mariz Carneiro entitled *Descripçam da Fortaleza de Sofala, e mais da Índia*.¹⁹
- 3) Copy at the Sri Lanka National Archives, Colombo, dated seventeenth century with 52 plans by an anonymous copyist.²⁰

Since the Sri Lanka National Archives (hereafter SLNA) manuscript was the starting point for Professor Abeyasinghe's translation, it might be worth elaborating on how this manuscript came to Sri Lanka. According to Armando Cortesão, it had belonged to J. M. Nepomuceno and the Count do Ameal. Charles Boxer states that the manuscript was offered for sale by Maggs Brothers, London, in 1924. It was offered for sale again in 1957 by Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, a London bookseller and purchased by what was then the Ceylon Government Archives. The manuscript is bound in leather and has 219 numbered leaves with 52 uncoloured pen drawings, 450x580 mm in size.

However, the material for a critical edition of Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* does not end here and to explain this we need to return to the man who drew the plans for Bocarro's book, Pedro Barreto de Resende. Resende was a native of Paiva, Portugal. He was in Goa between 1629-1636 and died in Lisbon in 1651. Resende himself used much of Bocarro's text in his own book, the *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental repartido em tres*

partes, a primeira contem todos os retratos dos Vizo-Reis que tem auido no dito Estado athe o anno de 634 com descripçois de seus governos. A segunda parte conthem as plantas das Fortalezas que há do Cabo de Esperança athe a Fortaleza de Chaul e com larga descripção do tudo ho que há em cada hua das dittas fortalezas, rendimento e gasto que tem, e tudo o mais que lhe toca. A terceira conthem as plantas de todas as fortalezas que ha de Goa athe a China, com descripção da mesma forma e vão juntamente plantas das fortalezas que não são do Estado que por estarem nas mesmas costas se puzerão por curiosidade.

There are two manuscripts identified as Resende's *Livro do Estado da Índia Oriental* which are of great value in any critical edition of Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas*. They are:

- 1) Copy of c. 1636 at Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris with 70 plans by an anonymous copyist.
- 2) Copy of 1646 in the British Library with 66 plans by Pedro Barreto de Resende, 9 maps of Pedro Berthelot (of 1635) and one map by an unknown cartographer.²¹

The first of the two published versions of Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* was printed in 1937-38 as "Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações da India Oriental por António Bocarro" in Tomo IV, Volume II, Partes I & II of *Arquivo Português Oriental, nova edição*. The text covers all 438 pages of Parte I and 64 pages of Parte II and is followed by 600 pages of notes by the editor, António Bernardo de Bragança Pereira. While the text was copied from the Évora manuscript, the plans published in this edition are from the Resende manuscript at Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, referred to above. Charles Ralph Boxer, who used the Évora manuscript to translate Bocarro's description of Macao²² was very critical of this edition: "Unfortunately this edition leaves a great deal to be desired, and is, in some respects, worse than useless. The proofs were evidently corrected very carelessly or not at all, so that the text teems with misprints and misreadings. Moreover the notes provided by the editor make no attempt to clarify or illuminate the text, but consist of a mass of miscellaneous documents (or extracts from documents) ranging from the early 16th to the early 19th century, uncritically selected, and printed without any order or system."²³

Isabel Cid, who published the second edition of Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas*, has been equally critical. Apart from a number of transcription errors such as copying 'nesta camara' (in this chamber) when the manuscript says 'neste Canara' (in this [region of] Canara) and copying confusions between 'l' and 's', Isabel Cid points out that the printed text has phrases which do not exist in the manuscript. Moreover, numerals depicting quantities have been altered without any indication and some pages and paragraphs of the manuscript have been omitted.²⁴

The second edition, published in 1992, after Tikiri Abeyasinghe completed his work, is a much more scholarly publication. It is a three

volume work. The first volume made up of an introduction which discusses Bocarro's life and the different manuscript copies of his *Livro das Plantas*. It also provides an excellent analysis of the paleography and the paper and ink of the Évora manuscript and has indexes of place names. The second volume is a careful transcription of the Évora codice. The third volume consists of reproductions of the 48 plans of Resende which are bound with the Évora manuscript.²⁵ As a transcription of the Évora manuscript, this publication will surely be a definitive edition. However, Isabel Cid's unfamiliarity with the geography of Portuguese Asia has led to a number of misidentifications of places. For example, in Volume I page 131 she incorrectly identifies Bulatgama as Atulugala in south Sri Lanka and on page 135 of the same volume she misidentifies Gampa (Gampaha) 'as possibly Gampla (Gampola) in the Central Province of Sri Lanka'.²⁶

Tikiri Abeyasinghe's translation, of course, covers only the portions of Bocarro's work which relate to Sri Lanka. In terms of size, it consists of just over ten per cent of the whole text. However, unlike in the case of the two editions discussed above, both of which base their texts solely on the Évora codice, Abeyasinghe has compiled a critical edition by comparing the manuscript at Évora with the SLNA copy in Colombo as well as the two Resende manuscripts at Paris and London. He has carefully noted the variations in the different versions and has thus come up with some information which is not in the Évora manuscript. Moreover, the publication of this English translation will provide access to Bocarro's description of Sri Lanka to those who are not fluent in Portuguese.

The pen drawings in ink found in the SLNA manuscript are clearly inferior in artistic value to the coloured plans drawn by Resende found in the Évora codice. Moreover, while the SLNA copies are generally faithful to the originals, they sometimes omit some details. For example, the fish market outside the fort of Galle, graphically illustrated in the Évora codice is missing in the SNLA copy.²⁷ Nevertheless, the printing of these pen drawings will complement the two versions of the Resende plans published in the Bragança Pereira and Cid editions. Furthermore, the SLNA codice has a plan of Colombo fort which is missing from both the Paris and the Évora codices.

Bocarro's description of Portuguese possessions in Sri Lanka has already been used by several historians²⁸ but there is a wealth of evidence in this document which will be of use to future historians as well. For instance, Bocarro's account gives us a picture of the colonial ruler's perennial suspicion of the subject peoples. This might have been particularly strong in the 1630s in Sri Lanka in view of the widespread uprisings which followed the Portuguese defeat at Randeniwela in 1630. Bocarro was evidently appalled at the "Sinhalese Christian subjects and inhabitants of our territories who regard rebellions, which they call *perlins*, as quite casual a thing during which they cross over to the enemy and later, nonchalantly leave him to join us. There is one difference however: [even] when on our

side, they are ever ready for any treachery against us, whatever might be their obligations [to us] for benefits received from the Portuguese. So steady are they in their hatred towards us and so strongly do they resent subjection to us that even those who show their loyalty to us and offer their lives [in our service] admit that even in death they will not give up the hatred in which they were brought up towards us.”²⁹

A little later on Bocarro admits that there were good reasons for disaffection. “This is not to deny, however, that much of the hatred that the Sinhalese bear towards the Portuguese is born of the oppressive conduct of those who rule over them, from the captain general down to the lowest official, not the least among them being the lords of the villages who squeeze not only the milk but their very blood as well, and who use their daughters and wives.” Nevertheless, he concludes that “All Sinhalese are also by nature treacherous, fickle and, if any profit could be gained by doing so, will kill their own fathers.”

For Bocarro, at least, such a conclusion had policy implications. “It is considered a reason of the greatest concern that the *kanakapulles*, who serve in the camp and the garrisons of that island, are Sinhalese and [therefore] that all possible attempts should be made to appoint [to these forts] Canarin or people of other races whom there is no reason to distrust as experience has taught us to be on guard against the Sinhalese.”³⁰

For him as for many other Portuguese, it also translated into distrust of the Sinhalese King of Kandy. “The enemy we have in the island of Ceylon is none other but the king of Kandy with whom we are always at variance, for though he has made himself a vassal of His Majesty with a tribute of two elephants; nevertheless, he does not observe the terms of the peace treaty except so long as they afford him a chance to contrive his treacheries and rebellions and machinations without keeping faith or promises, or observing loyalty to anyone.”³¹ Bocarro held that the only solution to the problem was to eliminate the kingdom of Kandy: “. . .so long as he remains unconquered, there can be no peace in that island, for he offers asylum and refuge to all those who have fallen foul of us. . .”³²

Bocarro's own work gives us evidence that the ‘treachery’ which he accused the Sinhalese of, was not unknown to the Portuguese themselves. He himself advocates secretly assisting the rebel Maravas against the Nayak of Madura while feigning friendship with the Nayak. The justification for such devious conduct was that Bocarro suspected the Nayak of assisting the ruler of Kandy.³³

Bocarro gives us indications that the old Sri Lankan capital of Anuradhapura remained in the memories of the people of Sri Lanka. Bocarro had heard that it was once an enormous city. For him, it was an exotic one as well: “It is also said that there is a bridge here of [built on] 900 marble columns which a laundress ordered to be made so that her son could go to school without getting his feet wet.”³⁴ But like many Portuguese he would not believe that the great edifices at Anuradhapura were the work of the

people of Sri Lanka. If there were great ancient edifices, like in Portugal, they must have been constructed by the Romans.³⁵

The *Livro das Plantas* also gives us important information about some political and military developments in seventeenth century Sri Lanka. This is in spite of the fact that often, as Tikiri Abeyasinghe has noted, specific dates in the text are inaccurate. A good example of the value of the document is seen in the data it provides on the expansion of the Kandyan kingdom to the eastern coast of Sri Lanka. The evidence is found in Bocarro's comments on the Kandyan-Portuguese Treaty of 1617.

The background to the treaty of 1617 was as follows. Since 1594, the Portuguese had been at war with Kandy and had made continual efforts to conquer the kingdom from Vimaladharmasuriya I (1594-1604) and his brother and successor Senarath (1604-1634). In 1616, however, the Portuguese were faced with a formidable rebellion in the Seven Korales led by an imposter who called himself Nikapitiye Bandara and another in Sabaragamuwa led by Kuruwita Rala. Both rebels were initially supported by Senarath. However, by early 1617, Nikapitiye Bandara's pretensions to be the supreme ruler of Lanka began to alarm Senarath, who not only withdrew his support from him, but also decided to seek peace with the Portuguese. Senarath's new peace policy alienated his former ally, Kuruwita Rala who promptly mounted a formidable rebellion against the Kandyan king while continuing his own military campaign against the Portuguese. The Portuguese themselves were ready for a compromise with Kandy in the wake of the Anglo-Dutch threat to their position in India and Southeast Asia. With the failure of the joint Luso-Spanish assault on the Dutch in the East Indies it was clear that resources had to be conserved, and in Lisbon, Dom João Coutinho, the outgoing Portuguese Viceroy of India was instructed to 'dissimulate' with the rulers of Sri Lanka.³⁶

By the treaty of 1617, Senarath agreed to be a vassal of Portugal and pay an annual tribute of two elephants a year, to return all Portuguese prisoners of war and to return all lands conquered from the Portuguese by withdrawing to the traditional western frontier of Kotte. In return, the Portuguese acknowledged Senarath as the ruler of Kandy and dropped their claim to Batticaloa on the east coast of Lanka. While some writers have characterized Senarath's negotiation of the treaty as 'peace with honour',³⁷ generally, Senarath has been seen as a weaker monarch than his predecessor, Vimaladharmasuriya, who had successfully maintained Kandyan independence.

What Bocarro's *Livro das Plantas* reveals is that up to 1617, Batticaloa had been paying tribute to the Portuguese. In a book published in 1974, Tikiri Abeyasinghe pointed out that the chieftains of both Batticaloa and Trincomalee had paid tribute to the Portuguese as early as 1582.³⁸ What was not known was when these regions came under the sovereignty of Kandy. In a work on the Kandyan kingdom published in 1977, Abeyasinghe speculated that Kandyan expansion to the east coast must have occurred in

the time of either Vimaladharmasuriya or Senarath, possibly the latter.³⁹ Bocarro also makes it clear that Senerath gained control of Batticaloa due to the treaty: "The district of Batticaloa has extensive areas of land producing much rice. It has four provinces called Eravur, Palugama, Sammanturai and Taluira ruled by three chiefs called Vanniyars. Those lands, until the treaty concluded by Dom Nunalvares Pereira as general of Ceylon in 1616 [sic], used to pay as tribute to the fort of Mannar five hundred candils of paddy, which, has been said, is rice in the husk. This gives half the amount or a little more when it is husked. However, with the husk on, the rice keeps much longer. After the peace was made, these territories came under the king of Kandy, and in the peace that the count of Linhares made with that king in 1633 [sic] there remained to that fort the lands within reach of our artillery shot, this always comes to be equal to a league."⁴⁰

The Sinhalese poem, the *Mandārapurapuwatha*, confirms that, in the time of Senarath, Kandyan authority extended to Batticaloa.⁴¹ In light of the information in Bocarro, the peace of 1617 begins to look more than 'peace with honour'. The treaty recognized Kandyan control over much of Sri Lanka's eastern seaboard. Senarath's reputation as a negotiator emerges enhanced.

Bocarro's account provides us with a good picture of the military strength of the Portuguese in Sri Lanka on the eve of the Dutch assault on the island which commenced in 1636 though it is important to remember that the figures of the numbers of soldiers he gives relates merely to the 'approved' garrison. In reality, Portuguese forces in Sri Lanka often fell short of this figure due to transfers, death and (more rarely) desertion. The *Livro das Plantas*, however, makes it clear that the Portuguese soldiers were only the core of the force which defended colonial rule in Sri Lanka. They were well supported by armed Portuguese married settlers, 350 of whom lived in Colombo alone with another 70 in Galle and smaller numbers in other forts. Then there were the slaves brought in by the Portuguese from many parts of Asia and Africa. Bocarro mentions that 1500 slaves who were capable of carrying arms lived in Colombo alone. In addition, there were the local Christian converts, and Bocarro believed that the (Tamil) Christian converts in Mannar and Jaffna were more loyal to the Portuguese than the Sinhalese.

Bocarro also provides us with a good picture of the territorial organization of the administration, consisting of *disāvas* (provinces) and *kōrales* (districts). As he explains it "each *kōrale* has two or three *pattus* and each *pattu* is the same as an area which has a magistrate for itself, [such magistrates being called] *atukōrales*. The *disāvas* appoint the *atukōrales* or remove them, or make other arrangements, depending on their good or bad conduct. The *vidānes* and the *atukōrales* are the chiefs of the lands of the native people and are persons of the higher ranks. The *Vidānes* are men appointed by the *disāvas* in the lands which they administer, to give an account of what is entrusted to them."⁴² His accounts

also make it clear that the ports were not part of the territorial administration and were separately administered.⁴³

Bocarro's account confirms that both the Portuguese and the people of Sri Lanka saw a close link between Portuguese political domination and Roman Catholicism. As he puts it, "In our lands are the four mendicant religious orders and many churches, as can be seen from the same standing orders, and a large number of souls are already converted as well as being converted every hour. The only problem in regard to this matter arises from the *perlins* or rebellions. When they deny obedience and loyalty to His Majesty and the faith, they also cease to render obedience to God and his ministers, and proceed to join the enemies of the faith where the very name of Christ is loathed. This is necessarily a great set-back to the faith and for this reason ought not to be allowed to happen. It was sufficient, i.e. we ought to have restrained them and prevented them from profaning the churches and holy images, destroying and putting everything to fire and the sword along with the priests every time there is a rebellion in such a manner that things and sacred places appear to have been subjected to a great upheaval. Thus some rebels relapsing from the faith and joining the enemies have been greater enemies of God and of His Majesty than those whom the waters of Holy Baptism have never touched."⁴⁴

The *Livro das Plantas* gives us specific details on how each of the four Roman Catholic religious orders in Sri Lanka were supported in terms of allowances for monks, church officials organists and singers. It also makes it clear that there were clashes of interest between the Portuguese administration and the various religious orders.⁴⁵

Since enhancement of revenue was one of the objectives of the King of Portugal in ordering the compilation of this descriptive work, Bocarro's account is full of details regarding economic matters; especially trade. It provides some evidence on how the needs of the colonial power often distorts the economy of the subject land. In the 1630s, there was a shortage of saltpetre, an ingredient used in the manufacture of gunpowder and King Philip had ordered that all ships leaving India for Europe should be loaded with the greatest quantity of saltpetre. After Viceroy de Noronha arrived in India, he concluded a treaty with the Nayak of Madura by which the Nayak promised to give all the saltpetre produced in his country in exchange for Sri Lankan elephants. The price of both the saltpetre and the elephants was fixed by treaty.⁴⁶ The Portuguese had secured a supply of saltpetre. However, the treaty immediately disrupted trade between Sri Lanka and ports such as Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast. Traders who had brought cloth and other goods and had taken away elephants in exchange began to arrive less frequently.⁴⁷ This decline in trade with the Coromandel also coincided with a temporary decline in Sri Lankan trade with Bengal, partly due to the hostilities between the Portuguese and the Mughals at Hughli in 1631-1632.

There is much valuable information in Bocarro's work about prices, weights, measures and currency used in Portuguese Lanka in the 1630'. There is also evidence which supports the picture of depopulation in the south west lowlands which can be deduced from the Portuguese *tombo* (land and revenue register) of Kotte of 1614. However, in calculating state revenues and expenditures, one of the purposes it was designed to serve, it is a somewhat defective instrument. Bocarro's estimates of both revenue and expenditure were based on the assumption of peace. Except for a brief two year period between 1634 and 1636, the Portuguese in Sri Lanka in the 1630s were embroiled in war, first against Kandy and then against a combination of Kandy and the Dutch.⁴⁸

On Sri Lankan society, Bocarro provides us with some gleanings. We learn that the local inhabitants of Negombo were largely *karāvas* and that they served as sailors, fishermen and soldiers. In Mannar, there were both *vellālas* and *karāvas* but such information is also available from other sources. More intriguing is mention of 280 Kaffirs (Africans) serving in Sri Lanka as soldiers.⁴⁹ The separate assessment of a tax on people from the Kanara indicates that a number of Indians from the vicinity of Goa might have migrated to Sri Lanka in the seventeenth century.⁵⁰ However, all the other evidence we have suggests that Bocarro's estimates of the local population under Portuguese rule in Lanka is a gross underestimate.

In sum, Bocarro's account of Sri Lanka is a mine of information for critical historians and anthropologists and we should all be grateful to the late Professor Tikiri Abeyasinghe for his painstaking translation and editing of this valuable document.

During the two decades after the completion of his Ph. D in History at the University of London, Tikiri Abeyasinghe was the foremost scholar on Portuguese Lanka. His thesis, published in 1966 in both English and in Sinhala translation was a model for my own work. His two other works in Sinhala⁵¹ combined his great knowledge of archival material and his facility with his mother tongue to bring contemporary scholarship to the Sinhala reading public. Indeed, one of his major achievements was to continue to engage in new archival research while making sure that his scholarly work was also available to the wider public. Thus, while his *Portuguese Regimentos on Ceylon* (1974) was addressed to a more restricted group of professional historians his *Jaffna under the Portuguese* (1986)⁵² had a wider readership in view. The publication of this work, a decade after his death, will be one more tribute to him.

References & Notes

- 1ⁿ The letter of the King to the Viceroy dated December 24, 1633 which recounts this information is published in the Introduction to António Bocarro's *Decada 13 da História da Índia*, Lisboa, Typografia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1876, p. xvi.
2. For an assessment of the situation see Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700: A Political and Economic History*. London, Longman, 1993, esp. pp. 151-172
3. See Donald F. Lach and Edwin J. van Kley, *Asia in the Making of Europe: Volume III: A Century of Advance: Book One*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1993, pp. 11-23
4. Thus, only 39 of the 60 ships which left Portugal reached Asia and only 19 of the 38 which left Asia reached Portugal in the period 1621-1630. In contrast in the period 1571-1580, 48 of the 50 ships which left Portugal and 39 of the 42 which left Asia reached their destinations. See Bentley T. Duncan, *Navigation between Portugal and Asia in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, Asia and the West: Encounters and Exchanges From the Age of Explorations*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1986, p. 22. See also James C. Boyajian, *Portuguese Trade in Asia under the Habsburgs, 1580-1640*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993.
5. See Chandra R. de Silva, *The Portuguese East India Company, 1628-1633*, *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. XI (2), Winter 1974, pp. 152-205, Anthony R. Disney, *The first Portuguese East India Company*, *Economic History Review*, Second Series, XXX(2), May 1977, pp 242-258, and Anthony R. Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire: Portuguese Trade in Southwest India in the Early Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1978.
6. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*. ed. Armando Cortesão, Lisboa, 1960, Vol.V, p. 60.
7. António Bernardo de Bragança Pereira, *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações da Índia Oriental por António Bocarro*, *Arquivo Português Oriental*, nova edição, Tomo 4, Parte 1, Bastora, 1937, pp ii-iii.
8. The best sources on Bocarro's life are C. R. Boxer, António Bocarro and the 'Livro de Estado da Índia Oriental' A bio-bibliographical note, *Garcia da Orta, Número Especial*, 1956, pp. 203-219; Pedro de

- Azevedo, O Bocarro Francês e os Judeos de Cocim e Hamburgo, *Arquivo Histórico Português*, Vol. VIII, 1910, pp. 15-20, 185-198. See also Israel Salvator Révah, Le retour au catholicisme d'António Bocarro, *Colóquio: Revista de Artes e Letras*, Vol. X, 1960, pp. 58-60 and Pedro Augusto de S. Bartolomeu Azevedo, O Cronista Bocarro, *Academia das Sciencias da Lisboa, Boletim da Segunda Classe*, Vol. IV, 1911, pp. 424-437.
9. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*, op. cit.. Vol. V p. 61
 10. *Arquivo Nacional do Torre do Tombo, Livros das Moncoes*, Livro 29, f. 89, Viceroy to King, August 19, 1631
 11. António Bocarro *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da India Oriental*. Volume I: *Estudo histórico, codicológico paleográfico e Indices de Isabel Cid*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1992, p. 29
 12. *Arquivo Histórico do Estado da Índia, Cartas, Patentes e Alvaras*, Livro 22, 1643, f. 110 published in Germano da Silva Correa's *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia*, Vol. IV, 1952, pp. 416-417.
 13. Gaspar Corrêa, *Lendas da India*, ed. Rodrogo José de Lima Felner. Lisboa, Academia Real das Sciencias, 1858-1866. 4 vols.
 14. See António Bocarro, *Livro das Plantas*. Vol. I, op. cit. p. 35
 15. Edited by Aguedo Oliveira, Lisboa, 1960. See *Portugaliae op. cit.* Vol. V, p. 79
 16. There was a facsimile edition in *Studia*, 6, 1960 which was also separately published as a single volume under the same title, Lisboa, Centro dos Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos, 1960. [13], 107 leaves. See Daya de Silva, *The Portuguese in Asia: An annotated Bibliography of Studies on Portuguese Colonial History in Asia, 1498-c.1800*. Zug, International Documentation Company, 1987, p. 110. Armando Cortesão and Isabel Cid also mention the *Relação das Plantas & descrições de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades, e Povoações que os Portuguezes tem no Estado da India Oriental*. published by Costa Veiga in 1936. (*Portugaliae*. Vol. V op. cit. p. 80; Bocarro op. cit.. Vol. I, p. 35) I have not been able to see this work.
 17. *Portugaliae*. Vol. V, op. cit. p. 62.
 18. *Portugaliae*. Vol. V, op. cit. p. 63.

19. *Portugaliae*. Vol. V, *op. cit.* p. 64.
20. *Portugaliae*. Vol. V, *op. cit.* p. 65.
21. *Portugaliae*. Vol. V, *op. cit.* p. 66-67.
22. C. R. Boxer, Macao, three hundred years ago. As described by António Bocarro in 1635 and now translated with an introduction and notes, *T'ien Hsia* Vol. VI(4), April 1938, pp. 281-316.
23. C. R. Boxer, Antonio Bocarro *op. cit.* p. 210
24. António Bocarro, *O Livro das Plantas*. Vol. I, *op. cit.* pp. 87-88. Isabel Cid points out for example that all of folio 2 v is missing and that there are paragraphs missing from folios 63, 63v and 65v.
25. The full title of the work is as follows: António Bocarro, *O Livro das Plantas de Todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoações do Estado da India Oriental*. Volume I: *Estudo histórico, codicológico paleográfico e Indices de Isabel Cid*. Volume II: *Transcrição de Isabel Cid*. Volume III: *Estampas*. Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional, 1992. 170 +280 [6]+xlvi p.
26. Incidentally, no part of the present day Central Province of Sri Lanka was ever under direct Portuguese rule.
27. G.P.S.H. de Silva, former Director, Sri Lanka National Archives kindly sent me photocopies of the plans found in the Professor Abeyasinghe's copy of the SNLA codice to enable me to make the comparison.
28. See, for instance, C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1618-1638*. Colombo, H. W. Cave & Co., 1972, pp. 229-232.
29. See *folio* 156r in text.
30. See *folio* 164v.
31. See *folio* 156r.
32. See *folio* 156r. Bocarro, however, also furnishes us with a good reason why the Sinhalese subjects of the Portuguese fled to Kandy. He points out that they have a better livelihood under the Kandyan king.
33. See *folios* 149r,150v.
34. See *folio* 155v.

35. *Ibid.*
36. C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon. op. cit.* pp. 22-32.
37. O. M. da Silva, *Fidalgos in the Kingdom of Kotte, Sri Lanka (1505-1656)*. Colombo, Harwoods, 1990, p. 193.
38. T. Abeyasinghe (editor and trans.), *Portuguese Regimentos on Sri Lanka at the Goa Archives*. Colombo, Department of National Archives, [1974] pp. 9-10.
39. T. Abeyasinghe, S. Dewaraja and G. P. V. Somaratna, *Udaraṭa Rājadhāniya, 1470-1818*. Colombo, Lake House, 1977, p. 34.
40. See *folio* 175r.
41. Labugama Lankananda (ed.), *Mandārapurapuwatha*. Colombo, Anula Press, 1958, *stanza* 303.
42. See *folio* 155r.
43. *Ibid.*
44. See *folio* 157v.
45. See below *folios* 163r-163v on disputes relating to villages granted to the Jesuits.
46. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Regimentos. op cit.* p. 11
47. See *folio* 158r
48. For details see K. W. Goonewardena, *The Foundations of Dutch Power in Ceylon*. Amsterdam, Djambarten, 1958.
49. See *folio* 159v.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Pruthugeeseen hā Lankāwa, 1597-1658*. Colombo, Lake House, 1966 and *Udaraṭa Rājadhāniya, 1470-1818. op. cit.*
52. Colombo, Lake House, 1986.

Tabulated information on the various codices
[extracted from the Historical Introduction]

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Bocarro Ms
Livro das Plantas

Date	Loc	S	Text	P	Plans	S	By	P	Ref
1635	Evora	O	Bocarro	Y1 Y2	48	O	Resende	Y2	p. XV
1635	NK	O	Bocarro		-	-	-	-	p. XV
c.1635	Madrid	C	From one of the OO	N	52	C	Anon	-	p. XV
c.1639	Lisbon	C	do	N	48	O	Carneiro	-	p. XV
17th c	SLNA	C	do	Y3	52	C	Anon	Y3	p. XV

Resende Ms
Livro do Estado da India

c.1636	BNP	O	Used much of B's text	N	70	C	Anon	Y1	p.XVI
1646	BL	O	do	N	66 9 1	O O O	Resende Pedro Berthelot Anon	- - -	p.XVI

Abbreviations: **Anon** = Anonymous; **B's** = Bocarro's; **BL** = British Library, London; **BNP** = Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris; **C** = copy; **c** = Circa **Loc** = Location; **N** = No; **NK** = Not known; **O** = Original; **P** = Published; **Ref** - Reference to page in the Historical Introduction; **S** = Status; **SLNA** = Sri Lanka National Archives; **Y** = yes;

Y1 = 1937-38 by Antonio Bernardo de Braganca Pereira [In Portuguese; p.XVI]

Y2 = 1992 by Isabel Cid [In Portuguese; p.XVI]

Y3 = 1996 by Tikiri Abeyasinghe [Only the section on Sri Lanka: English translation]

Tratado das plantas de to- das as fortalezas, Cida- des, e povoações do Estado da Índia Oriental e

Com todas as descripções da altura em que estão e
tudo o q ha nellas, Artelharia, Prizidio, Sentinella
de armas, e Vassallos, Rendimento, e despesa,
Fundos, e baixos das barras, Reys da terra
dentro, o poder q tem, a paz, e guerra, q guardão
e tudo o q está debaixo da Coroa de Hespanha
Feita por Antonio Bocarro Guarda-mor da Torre do
Tombo, e Coronista do Estado

Dedicado a Serenissima
Magesdade del Rey Phellippe o 4.
das Hespanhas, e 3.^o de Portugal
Rey e Senhor nro.

Description
of

CEYLON

in the
Book of the Plans of all the Fortresses
Cities and towns of the State of Oriental India
by

ANTONIO BOCARRO

Keeper of the Torre de Tombo
and
Chronicler of the State

Dedicated to the Most Serene Royal Majesty Philip IV
of the Spains and III of Portugal
our Lord the King

February 17, 1635

With Plans and Fortresses
by
Pedro Barreto de Resende

*

Translated into English
and provided with Notes
by

T B H Abeyasinghe

—

Colombo
1996

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Description of the fort of Mannar

[148r] The fort at Mannar is situated in an island on the west coast of Ceylon at the latitude of nine degrees north. It was built by Lopo Soares de Albergaria in the year 1518¹ and is square shaped, as can be seen in the plan. The stretches of rampart² which run from one bastion to another between the three bastions with which this fort is equipped are of little importance, being less than two fathoms in height, but with the parapets and the thickness of wall being six spans and each stretch of rampart being eight fathoms long and each of the two sheltered bastions being taller³ than the rampart and the bastion on the bay side being still lower than that facing the mainland.⁴

The ammunition magazine is within the fort. Attached to one stretch of rampart of the fort are some three one-floor buildings which serve for whatever purpose they are put and attached to the other section of the said rampart are other buildings with upper floors where the factors usually live. But as the fort was at one time very wealthy and earned much revenue from the seed pearl fishery that used to be held within the area coming under it,⁵ this has been ended, and though the fort remains, what now exists is only a relic of its old grandeur.

The captain of this fort does not live within the fort, because there is no water either for drinking or for other needs. He lives some 200 paces away from the fort in some crumbling but spacious buildings, which have upper floors and belong to His Majesty, and which are enclosed like a house garden. In a sense, these buildings are also part of the fort, because the captains install in them some of the few artillery pieces that are available in Mannar. These artillery are three pieces [148v] breech-loading iron guns taking eight and ten pounds iron cannon-balls, two [guns] of metal also breech-loading and of the same calibre, seven metal falcons⁶ of which one has burst; one *berço*⁷ two *half-berços*, all of them discharging their chambers. For these artillery pieces there are 30 falcons and *berços* and ammunition and gun-powder in sufficient quantity for the artillery as well as for the inhabitants.

The officials and functionaries in this fort of Mannar, with what each one is paid as salary are as follows:

The captain of the fort earns four hundred *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 1333-1-40

The factor who also serves as *almoxarife*,⁸ one hundred *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 333-1-40⁹

The judge who serves also in the same capacity in Jaffnapatam, one hundred *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 333-1-40¹⁰

The secretary to the factory, forty *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 133-1-40

One bailiff with six porters, thirty *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 100-0-00

One master gunner, twenty-four *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 80-0-00

Three gunners: salaries and maintenance allowance thirty-six *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 120-0-00¹¹

The church treasurer,¹² his maintenance allowance six *milres*,

i.e. *xer.* 20-0-00

A parish priest, twenty-four *milres*

i.e. *xer.* 80-0-00

For the expenses of the sacristy, twenty thousand three hundred and sixty

i.e. *xer.* 67-4-20

The hospital, three hundred gold *pardaos*

i.e. *xer.* 360-0-00

To thirty men forming the bodyguard of the captain at the rate of one *pardao* to each for each month.

i.e. *xer.* 360-0-00

A physician who serves in the hospital for many people assigned to that fort [his salary] and maintenance allowance of four *pardaos* a month together amount to

xer. 64-0-00

One person who has charge of the hospital three *pardaos* each month and two quarters a year, for a person who cares for the sick, paid in the same manner; all together amounts to

xer. 104-0-00

To four singers of the church at the same rate to each one making up

xer. 208-0-00

To the two hundred men assigned to reside in that fort including the twenty men assigned to the captain [i. e.. as personal servants] to whom are paid each year two quarters each of eight *pardaos* and two *pardaos* a month as maintenance allowance, making

xer. 6400-0-00

To five parishes of the lands of Mantota are paid to each parish priest who are friars of St. Francis one hundred *xerafins* per year

xer. 500-0-00

To the Franciscan friars residing in the convent of the same fort, a payment of two *pardaos* and one *candy* ¹³ of rice per person.

[149r] These are the items of expenditure which are according to the standing orders incurred by this fort of Mannar. In addition much expenditure is incurred on six vessels of the armada which routinely patrol the shoals to safeguard the pearl fishery as well as to prevent the passage of unauthorized vessels which at one time were considerable in number and even now there are not lacking [vessels coming] from the other coast for trade between the Nayak of Madura and the King of Kandy and from whom this King takes counsel to plan rebellions against the Portuguese. By this route dealings

are held [also] with the Hollanders. [The additional expenditure] is of such magnitude that Mannar has incurred in three years 150 V¹⁴

However, the great riches derived from the said fishery are exhausted and no more is spent in this fort than what it has in revenue which are the following:

The rent of the island and of *urraquas*¹⁵ give an income of one hundred and eighty *pardaos* in Mannar currency which is ten *fanams* to the *pardao*, and also equals five *larins*. This income is set apart for the expenses of the hospital run by the Brothers of Mercy¹⁶ and if there is a surplus in any year, it is added to the following year.

The ferry between the island and the lands of Mantota is rented out each year for eighty seven *pardaos* of the said money [i. e. of Mannar], of which a sum of forty is granted for the expenses of the sacristy and the balance is paid the beneficed parish priest of the main church and the treasurer being a small part of their stipends, the reminder having to be met [from other sources].

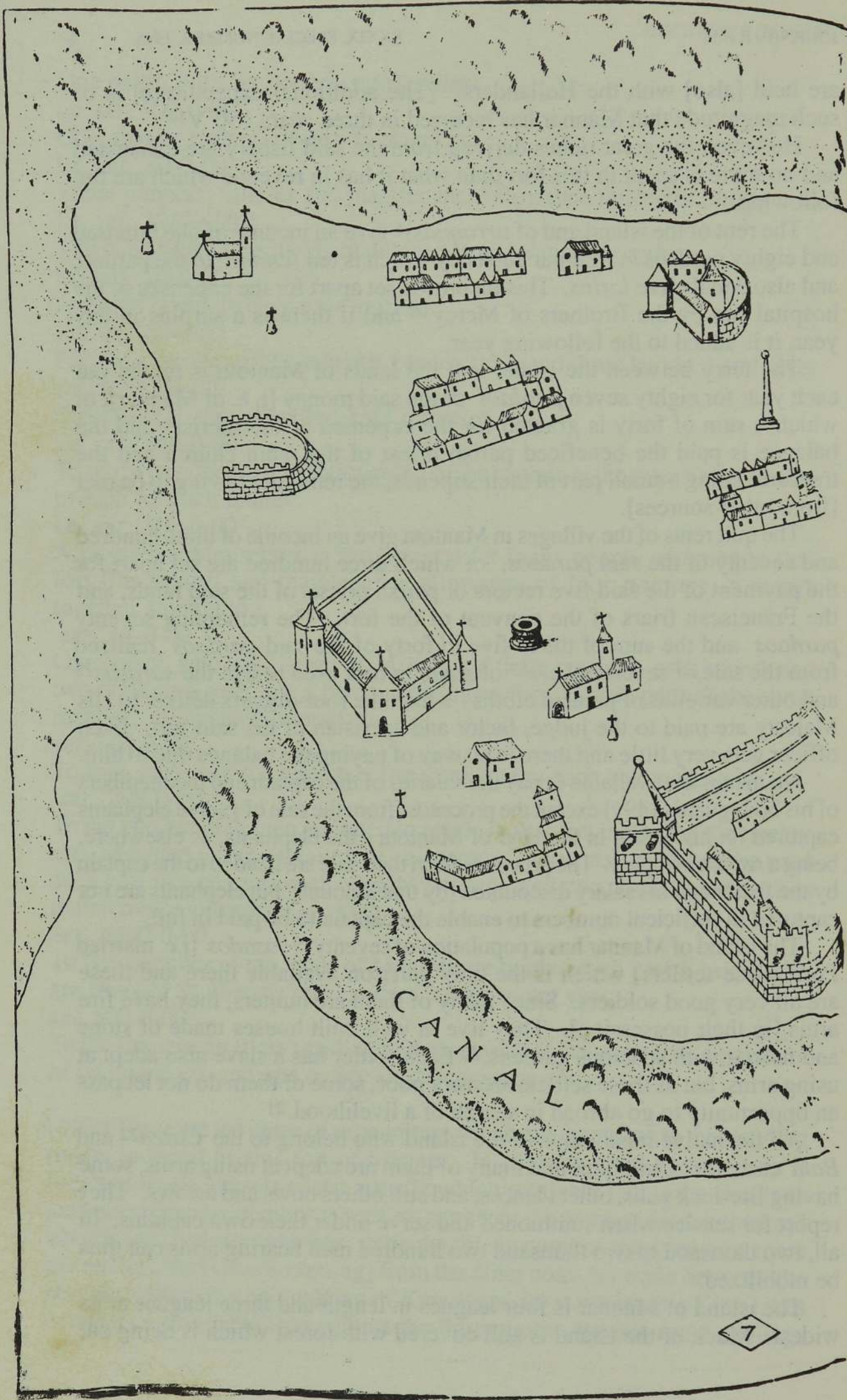
The quit rents of the villages in Mantota give an income of three hundred and seventy of the said *pardaos*, of which three hundred are set apart for the payment of the said five rectors or parish priests of the said lands, and the Franciscan friars of the convent of the fort. The remaining seventy *pardaos* and the sum of thirty-five to forty of the said *pardaos* realized from the sale of seven *bahars*¹⁷ of *xaya*, a root used to dye the *saraças*¹⁸ and other varieties of painted cloths - which the root-diggers deliver to His Majesty are paid to the judge, factor and sacristan of the said fort. Each officer gets very little and there is no way of paying the balance due to him.

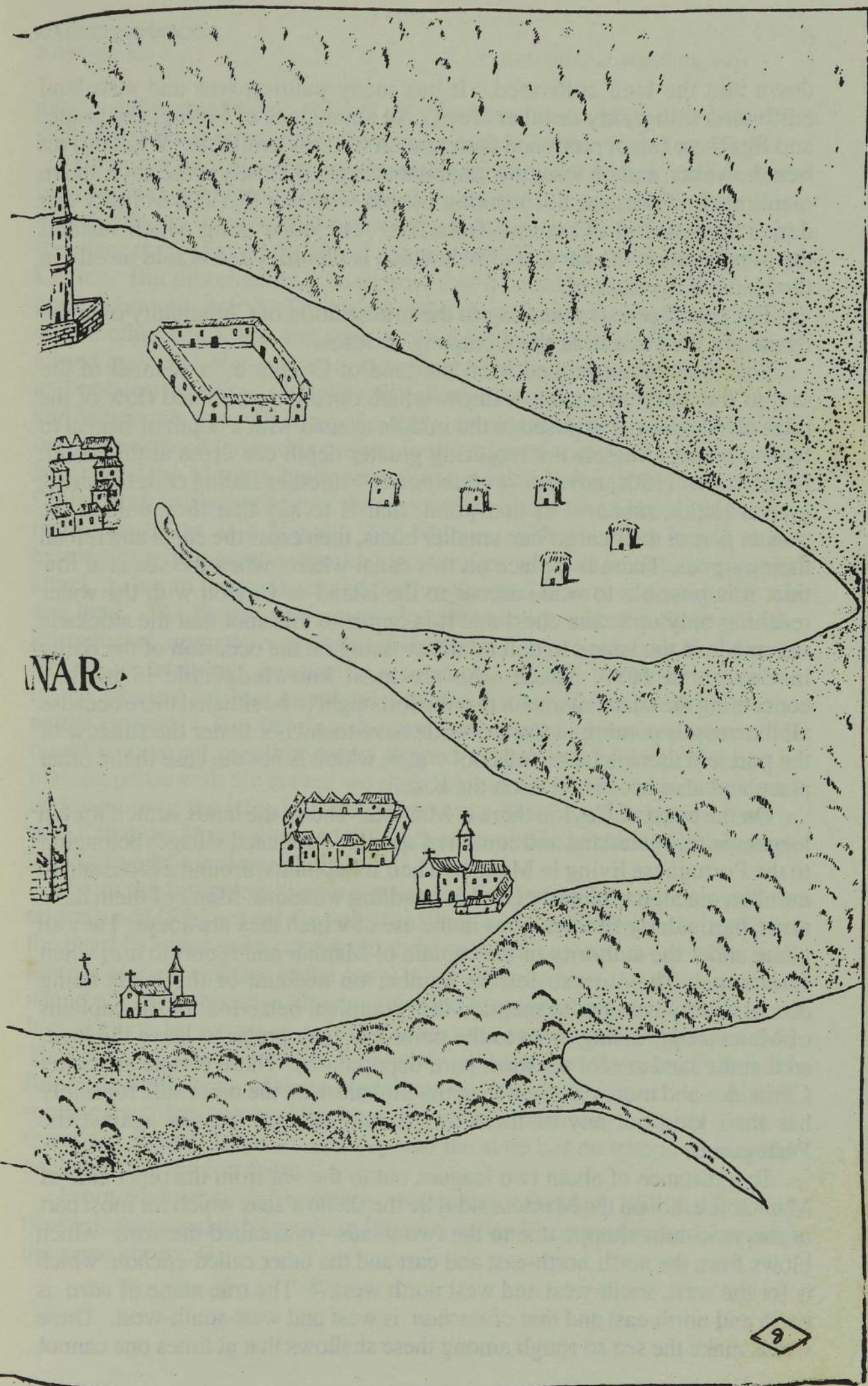
No means are available to pay the salaries of the captain and the members of his bodyguard [149v] except the proceeds [from the sale of] some elephants captured on his orders in the land of Mantota - the elephants, as elsewhere, being a royal monopoly. The proceeds from their sale are handed to the captain by the factor and his salary discounted [by that amount]: but elephants are not captured in sufficient numbers to enable the captain to be paid in full.

The island of Mannar has a population of seventy¹⁹ *casados* [i.e. married Portuguese settlers] which is the only garrison available there and these are all very good soldiers. Since many of them are hunters, they have fire arms [in their possession]. They live in well built houses made of stone and mortar with spacious gardens.²⁰ Each settler has a slave also adept at using arms, but as these settlers are very poor, some of them do not let pass an opportunity to go abroad in search of a livelihood.²¹

All the native inhabitants of the island who belong to the *Carea*²² and *Bala* castes are Christians and many of them are adept at using arms, some having fire-lock guns, others lances, and still others bows and arrows. They report for service when summoned and serve under their own captains. In all, two thousand to two thousand two hundred men bearing arms can thus be mobilized.

The island of Mannar is four leagues in length and three leagues at its widest. Much of the island is still covered with forest which is being cut





down and the land cultivated. It has many palm-groves and also land cultivated with paddy or other crops. An abundance of Portuguese grapes and figs²³ are [also] produced there; much water is available. What thrives best, however, and on what the inhabitants depend mostly is the xaya above mentioned. There are not wanting people who say that His Majesty can derive a great deal of revenue from this. The other thing which sustains the inhabitants is the harvest of fish which is plentiful and is sold mostly in the lands of the interior.

The parish priests attending to the ministration of Christianity over the island are the Fathers of the Company of Jesus.

This island is separated from the land of Ceylon by a channel of the sea, of the width of a stone's throw which during the ebb and flow of the tides always leaves exposed in the middle a canal with a depth of fifteen to twenty spans. Vessels not requiring greater depth can cross at this point. *Pataxos*²⁴ or [150r] *navetas*,²⁵ *champanas*²⁶ or other sailing craft requiring greater depth, *tancar*²⁷ at that point, that is to say that they unload the greater part of their cargo into smaller boats, then cross the canal and reload their cargoes. There is a place on this canal where, when the sea is at low tide, it is possible to wade across to the island of Ceylon with the water reaching only up to the chest and it is opposite this spot that the stockade was made in the island to defend the crossing on the occasion of the rising in Ceylon in 1630. Those who are most knowledgeable in matters concerning the island maintain that the fort ought to be situated there because all the vessels coming in from outside have to anchor under the shadow of the port and there is fresh and cool water, which is not the case in the other place and also because it is on the beach.

On the coast of Ceylon there is Mantota. There, the lands stretch for ten leagues in the hinterland and consist of sparsely populated villages belonging to the Portuguese living in Mannar. Their inhabitants, around a thousand in number, are all particularly good at handling weapons. Many of them have arms, particularly firelock guns in the use of which they are adept. They all come under the authority of the captain of Mannar and report to him when summoned. They are so few in number on account of the lands being devastated by war, not to mention the tyrannical behaviour of the captains of Mannar oppressing them to the point that they prefer to leave the land, so that the land are for the most part, depopulated. These people are better Christians and more obedient than the Sinhalese on the other side for rarely has their king got any of them to rise and commit treason against the Portuguese.

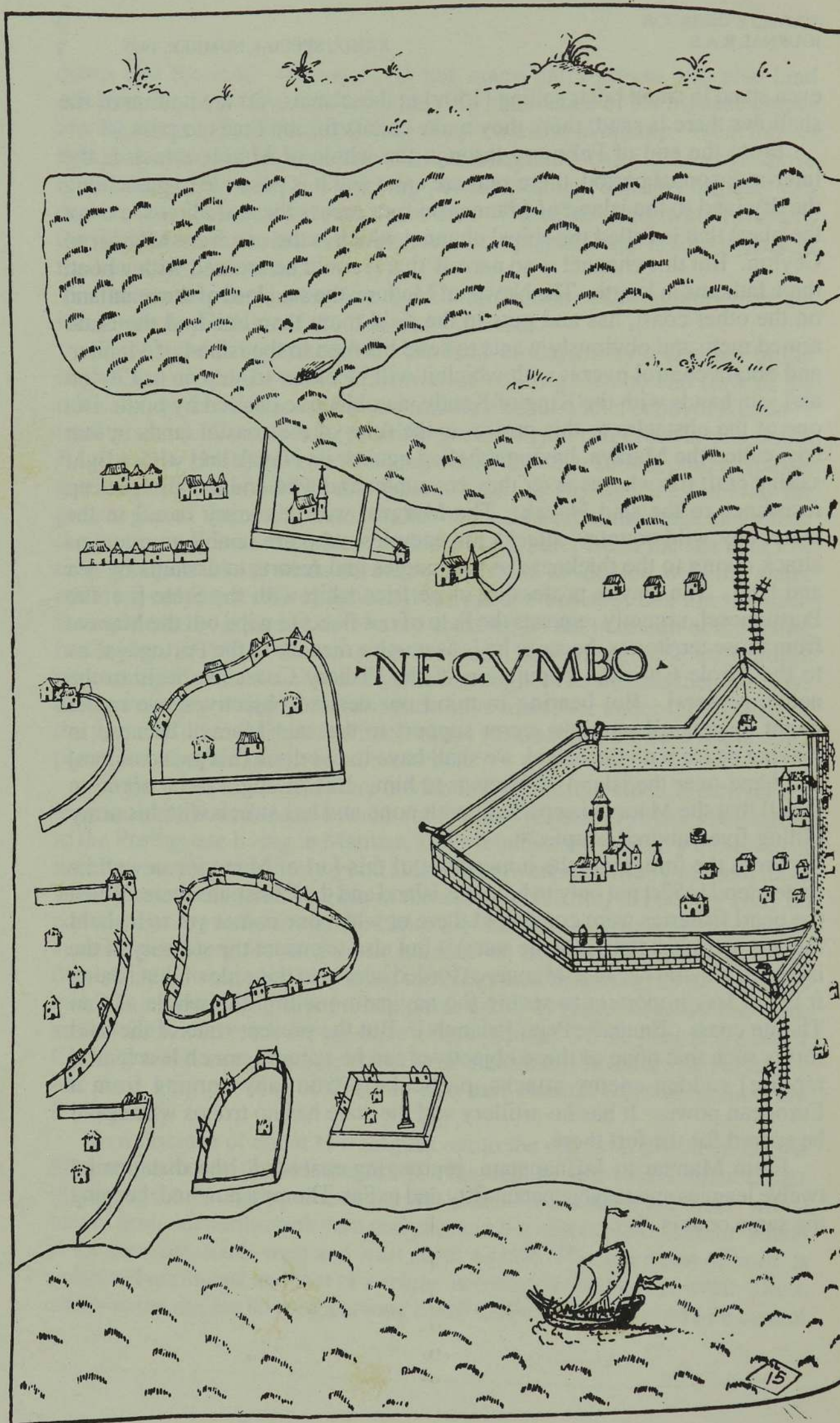
To a distance of about two leagues out to the sea from the other side of Mannar [i.e. not on the Mantota side] lie the shallow seas which for most part of the year turn choppy due to the two winds - one called the *vara* which blows from the north-north-east and east and the other called *cachan* which is for the west, south-west and west north west.²⁸ The true name of *vara* is north and north-east and that of *cachan* is west and west-south-west. These winds make the sea so rough among these shallows that at times one cannot

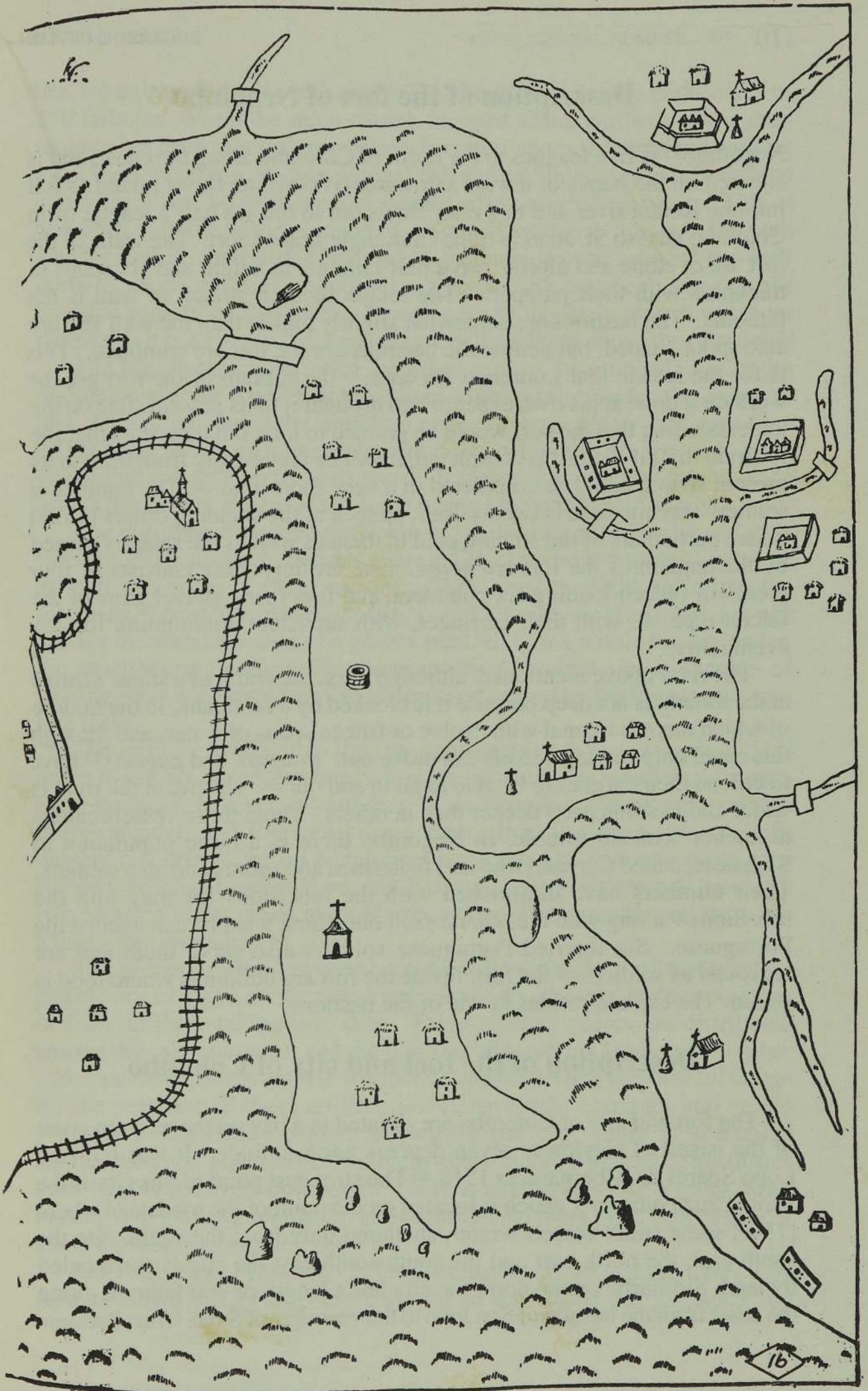
even stand in small boats sailing [150v] in these areas. At the bottom of the shallows there is sand; there they make canals for the boats to pass.²⁹

From the end of February through the whole of March, which is the inter-monsoonal period, these seas are calm and it is possible to pass along the dry land to the island of Mannar on foot across these shallows, except the place that is called the ships' channel which is the one from Mannar to Ceylon. But this channel is so narrow that it could be crossed with a boat, three fathoms in length. The Nayak of Madura, the said lord of the mainland on the other coast, has and puts in the field more than hundred thousand armed men, and obviously wants to send his men to the island of Mannar, and obtain control over it with which it will be easier to step on to Ceylon and join hands with the King of Kandy, an objective desired by both. But one of the obstacles to this project is the ruler of the coastal lands in that bay, called the Marava, having rebelled against its Nayak and whose light sailing craft rob whomsoever they encounter and who on land also puts up resistance to the said Nayak. The Marava, with his army based in the extremely wild country, attacks his enemies, who are unable to counter-attack owing to the thickness of the jungles and resorts to assaults by sea and land. The Nayak professing close friendship with the State [i.e. the Portuguese], urgently requests the help of our fleets to wipe out the Marava from those territories, because he is as much a menace to the Portuguese as to the whole Christian population of the Fishery Coast [as he is to the native powers]. But bearing in mind our desired objectives, we rather ought to give all possible secret support to the said Marava because in making peace with the Nayak we shall have to overlook [his past conduct] and hand over the island of Mannar to him. But [it ought to be borne in mind] that the Marava keeps faith with none and has struck with his army killing five hundred people.³⁰

From the foregoing, the importance of this fort of Mannar can well be understood [152r] not only to hold this island and the Christians there (When the pearl fisheries were conducted there or when one comes yet to be held there is no richer station in the state)³¹ but also to ensure the security of the island of Ceylon because Mannar afforded access to this side of that island. It is not less important to secure the navigation within the whole of San Thome coast - Bengal - Pegu [triangle]. But the present state of the said fort is such that none of these objectives can be secured, much less [can it repulse] sudden enemy attacks, particularly from any coming from a European power. It has no artillery and the state has no troops who could be spared for the fort there.

From Mannar to Jaffnapatam, journeying eastward, [the distance is] twelve leagues and to Negapatam fifty and to San Thome a hundred, keeping the same course.³²





Description of the fort of Negombo

Negombo³³ is five leagues to the north of Colombo along the coast, and is situated on the banks of a wide salt water river which flows inland to fall into the Kelani river and this river flows out to the sea half a league from Colombo next to St. Joao.³⁴ It has a triangle shaped fort. The walls of the fort are of stone and mortar two a half fathoms in height and six spans in thickness with their parapets. The length of each stretch of wall is ten fathoms. The bastions are somewhat slightly higher than the wall and are also spike-shaped, but neither the bastions nor the fort are complete. This is for the reason that Lourenço Teixeira,³⁵ the captain of the fort got the work on it done at his own expense and brought it to its present state on the understanding that the port would be granted to him, but it appears that [he is afraid that] if the fort is completed, it will be taken away from him; in its present state it could be completed in a very short time.³⁶ The number of soldiers serving there is twenty-four, as seen in the standing orders [152v] where particulars of the amount paid to them as well as the salaries earned by the captain of the fort are given. The artillery there consists of four pieces of breech-loading six pounders, and five firing swivel guns of the falcon type, all with their carriages, with sufficient ammunition for any eventuality.

The river above mentioned, although it has the width of a stone's throw at the mouth, is not deep because it is blocked by a sandbank, in the middle of which there is a canal with twelve or fifteen spans of water, and through this canal only rowing vessels can move out. *Pataxos* and *pagueis*³⁷ have to unload their cargoes to be able to go in and out.³⁸ Upstream the river is wider and in some parts deeper than in others. There those vessels can lie at anchor with no trouble. In Negombo there is a large population of Sinhalese, called Careas, [who are] fishermen and sailors and also soldiers. Their numbers have diminished with the rebellions for they join the rebellions³⁹ along with the others, each one doing what he can against the Portuguese. Six married Portuguese soldiers also serve there and are reckoned as soldiers of the fort. Inside the fort are buildings where food is stored. The captain resides in one of the bastions.

Description of the fort and city of Colombo

The fort and city of Colombo are situated in a bay on the western coast of the island of Ceylon at seven degrees north latitude. It was built by Lopo Soares de Albergaria in 1518.⁴⁰ The strongest point of this city is the Santa Cruz *couraça*⁴¹ which is located on the point of the roadstead where [154r] some small vessels winter, sheltered only from the south. On the south-east, the north-east and the south-south-east the city is surrounded by land. Similarly, on the north the city has a length of 700 fathoms along the coast from the bastion of San Joao to the *couraça* of Santa Cruz; between

the two extremes the breadth is of 200 fathoms while in the middle it is of 150 fathoms. From the main church forward to the northern side a mud rampart has been raised along the beach, twenty spans in height and without a parapet, more for defence against the native Sinhalese than European enemies; it has no artillery and cannot offer much resistance. This is equipped with the bastions made of stone and mortar as shown in the plan and located at appropriate intervals for convenient defence of the wall curtains which are in the middle [i.e. between the bastions]. And on the bay that runs from Santa Cruz breastworks to the main church it has no rampart as it is all rocks. All bastions are half a fathom above the rampart.⁴²

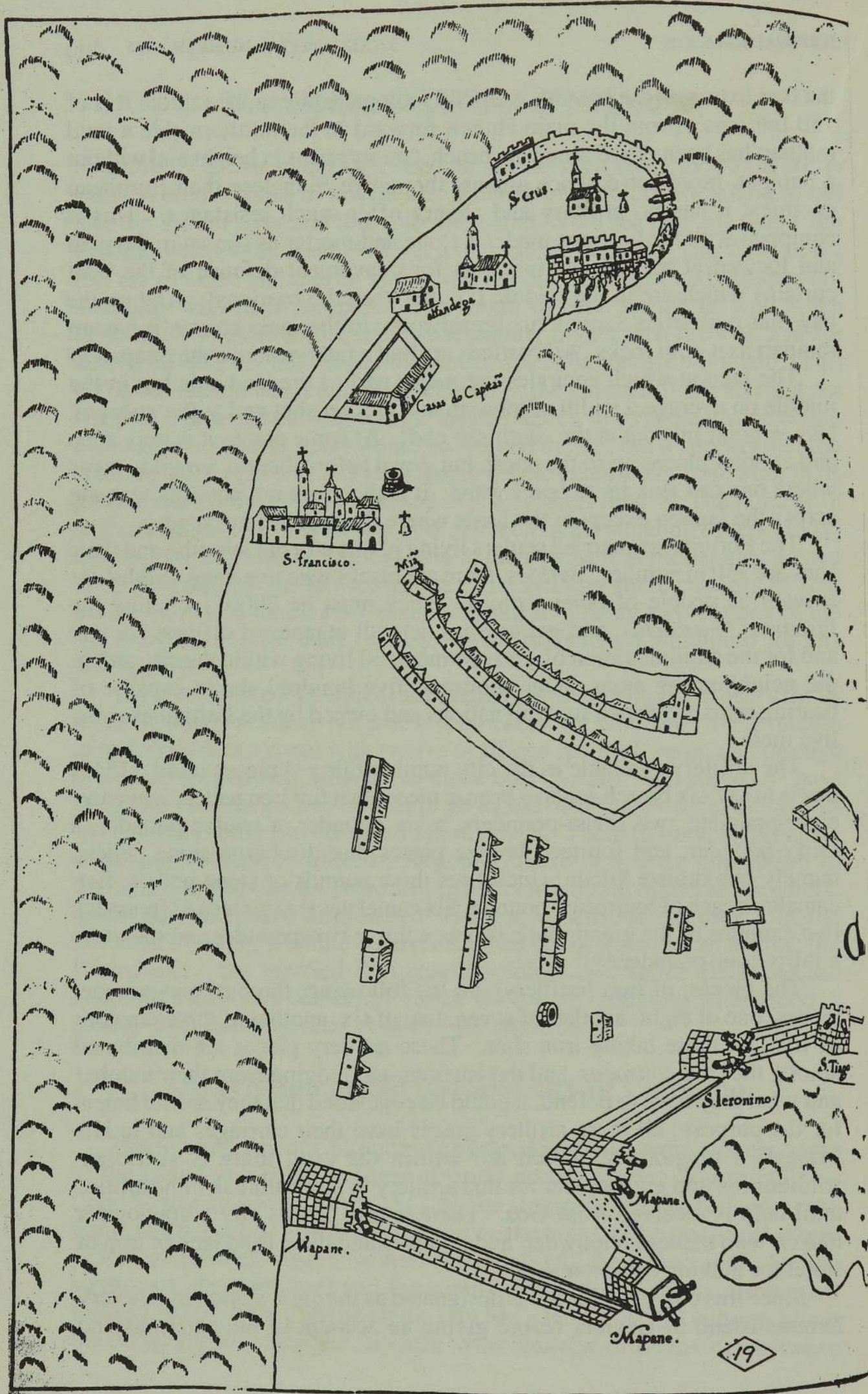
The lagoon which encircles the major part of the land side has in the middle on average a width of more than a musket shot and at the *cabeças*, less. A point juts out at the south[ern end]. At some places it is very deep and at other places up to the chest, but down below there is a muddy layer where one can sink up to one's waist. It is therefore not possible to wade across the lagoon except at the fords where the bottoms are sandy.

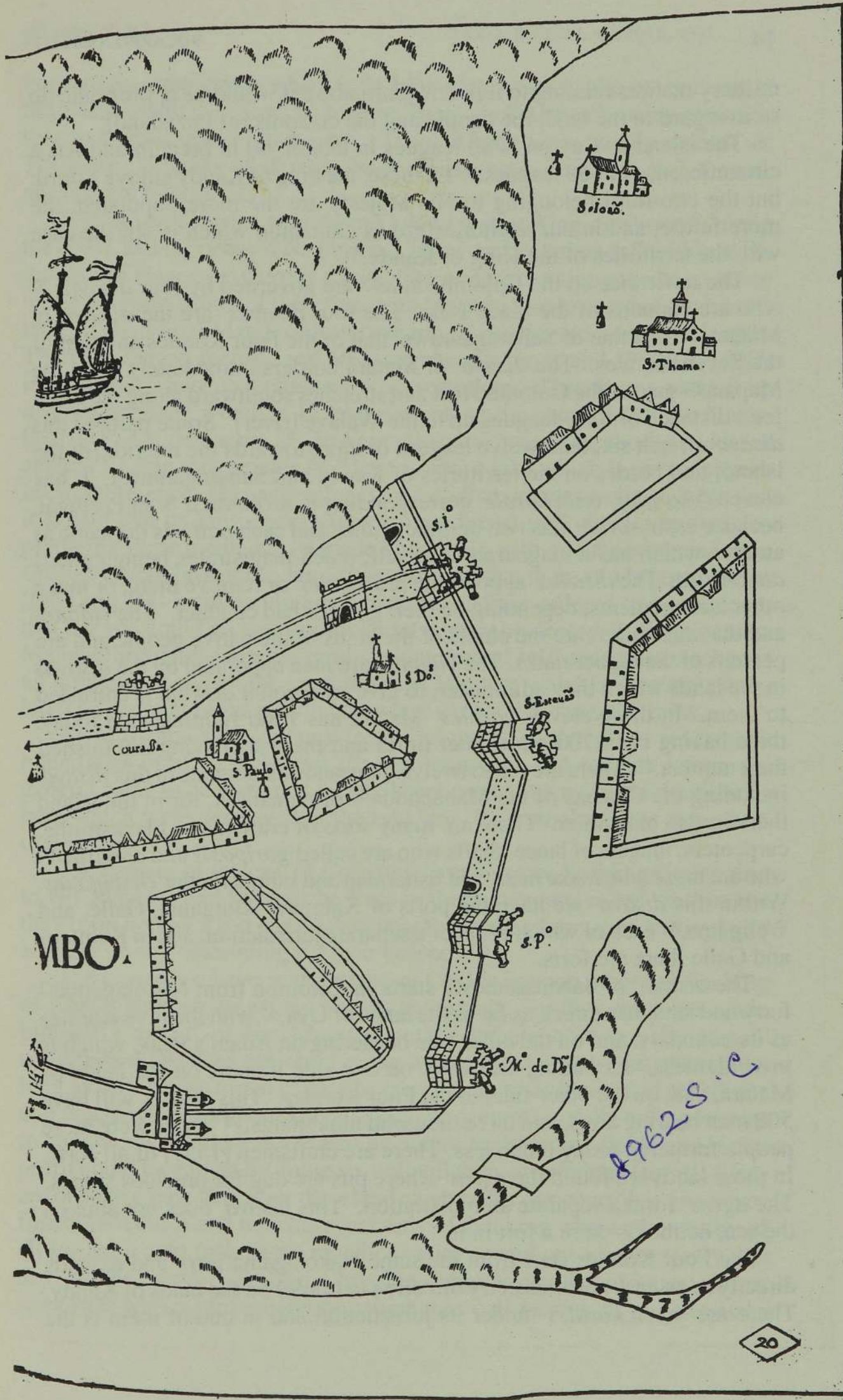
The Portuguese married settlers living in this city of Colombo and their sons are 350 in number. Besides, there are blacks who live there - Sinhalese as well as people of other nations. They must be 2000, including the *lascarins*,⁴³ *aratchis* and *mudaliyars* and all manner of officers for war and for the administration of a government, all living within the city and in the neighbouring areas. One thousand five hundred slaves capable of bearing arms are drawn from all nations and owned by the Portuguese also live there.

The artillery available in the city number thirty⁴⁴ pieces in all, [154v] that is to say, six breech-loading bronze pieces that fire iron pellets, a twenty-eight-pounder, two seven-pounders, a six pounder, a twelve-pounder, a thirty-pounder, and fourteen bronze pieces that discharge stone pellets, namely one bronze falcon which fires three pounds of stone pellets, five camaletes each of fourteen⁴⁵ pounds. Six cameletes⁴⁶ of sixteen.⁴⁷ [pounds], two camelos of the grand mark,⁴⁸ one, a thirty-two-pounder and the other a thirty four-pounder.⁴⁹

The pieces, of iron [artillery] are the following; three of our-pounder pieces, one of eight, another of seven, two of six, another of three, another of five, all these taking iron shot. These artillery pieces are distributed among the said *couraças* and the bastions and judging from their number and what they have to defend, it could be concluded that they are sufficient for the purpose; all these artillery pieces have their carriages and in His Majesty's magazines, which are within the city, there is sufficient ammunition and gun powder for this artillery in any outbreak of hostilities until help is received from Goa. There is also in this city a gunpowder maker, who makes gunpowder, and in this island there is no lack of iron or stone for making common shot.

Since this city of Colombo is designated as the chief station in this very famous island of Ceylon, before giving an account of the garrisons and





military matters relating to it [i.e. in Colombo], it would be appropriate do so in regard to the land, the people and the customs [of the island].

The island of Ceylon is 80 leagues in length, 60 in breadth and has a circumference of 160 leagues.⁵⁰ Of these, the king of Kandy enjoys a third; but the two-third belonging to His Majesty are the more populated, the more fertile, and in our territories grows cinnamon which is not the case with the territories of the King of Kandy.⁵¹

The territories on the Colombo side⁵² are governed by four *disavas* ⁵³ who are captains of the black folk. The four *disavas* are the *disava* of Matara, [155r] that of Sabaragamuwa, that of the Four Korales and that of the Seven Korales. The *disava* of Matara borders immediately upon the Mapane⁵⁴ gate of the Colombo fort and stretches southward along the coast for a distance of forty leagues up to the Walave [river]. Some parts of this *disava* stretch six, ten, twelve leagues or more towards the interior [of the island] and border on the territories of Kandy and Sabaragamuwa. It has eleven⁵⁵ *korales*, each *korale* corresponding to a *comarca* ⁵⁶ in Portugal, because each *korale* has two or three *pattus* and each *pattu* is the same as an area which has a magistrate for itself, [such magistrates being called] *atukorales*. The *disavas* appoint the *atukorales* or remove them, or make other arrangements, depending on their good or bad conduct. The *vidanes* and the *atukorales* are the chiefs of the lands of the native people and are persons of the higher ranks. The *vidanes* are men appointed by the *disavas* in the lands which they administer, to give an account of what is entrusted to them. In these eleven *korales* Matara has 1600 fighting men today, there having been 7000 in former times and the wars having diminished their number.⁵⁷ There are ten to twelve thousands inhabitants in this *disava*, including the Chaleas of the Mahabadda⁵⁸ of cinnamon, for in the island there is also cinnamon. There are many sorts of craftsmen - blacksmiths, carpenters, makers of lance-shafts who are called *goripos*⁵⁹ and *canarias*⁶⁰ who are those who make mats, and fisherman and sailors for the *champanas*. Within this *disava* we have the ports of Kalutara, Alutgama, Galle, and Weligama,⁶¹ each of which is under a separate jurisdiction, and in Kalutara and Galle there are forts.

The *disava* of Sabaragamuwa starts in Colombo from Nakolagama⁶² ferry and stretches direct, as far as the lands of Uva,⁶³ with the Five Korales as its boundary, and on the other side bordering on Adam's Peak, which is in wilderness. Extending eastward, on one side it abuts on the lands of Matara, and, on the other side, of the Four Korales. This *disava* will have 500 men bearing arms, and three thousand inhabitants.⁶⁴ There were more people formerly, today much less. There are craftsmen [155v] of all sorts. In these lands are found the *agras* where pits are dug for precious stones. The *agras* form a separate administration. This *disava* does not abut on the sea, neither is there a fort in it.

The Four Korales start from the same Nakolagama ferry and extends directly in an east-north-easterly direction to border on the lands of Kandy. There are seven *korales* under its jurisdiction and in one of them is the

Portuguese army-camp which is in Menikkadawara,⁶⁵ the other being at Malwana where the Generals reside. There are 800 men bearing arms and four to five thousand inhabitants. They all bear arms, chiefly against us. There are craftsman of all sorts there. This *disava* does not reach the sea, nor is there a fort in it.

The Seven Korales start from Colombo stretching northwards along the coast, and the ports of Negombo, Chilaw and Puttalam fall within it. In the port of Negombo there is a fort. Fifteen leagues along the coast come under the jurisdiction of this *disava* and twenty five leagues of the hinterland. It abuts on the lands of Kandy sharing a frontier ten leagues in length. There are eleven *korales* and 1600 men bearing arms and 15000 to 16000 inhabitants. There are craftsmen of all sorts there. This *disava* reaches up to Pomparippu⁶⁶ which is 17 leagues⁶⁷ along the coast and in the hinterland up to Anuradhapura.⁶⁸ [In Anuradhapura] are some pagodas and large ancient Roman monuments.⁶⁹ There is here a lake which is seven leagues in circumference. [In ancient times] Anuradhapura was a city so large that it is said that its king once wanting some breast milk from a mother for preparing some medicine, he made known his wish one morning and nine *Caloes*⁷⁰ were brought to him. It is also said that there is a bridge here of [built on] 900 marble columns which a laundress ordered to be made so that her son could go to school without getting his feet wet. From here to Mannar through the interior until the kingdom of Jaffnapatam is reached is all wilderness, except the coastal belt at Mantota which is sparsely populated on account of there being no water except that from the rains.

At Malwana two leagues from Colombo, is the place where the boundaries of all [156r] these *disavas* converge and for this reason the general came to be stationed there. There used to be more solid buildings here which were destroyed in the rebellion.⁷¹ A stockade has been built there now.

The captain of the city of Colombo lives in some buildings belonging to His Majesty, and because he lives in there, they are called the fort but they form neither a fort nor do they bear the shape of one, nor do they have artillery or any other thing for their defence.⁷²

The enemy we have in the island of Ceylon is none other but the king of Kandy with whom we are always at variance, for though he has made himself a vassal of His Majesty with a tribute of two elephants;⁷³ nevertheless, he does not observe the terms of the peace treaty except so long as they afford him a chance to contrive his treacheries and rebellions and machinations without keeping faith or promises, or observing loyalty to anyone. All Sinhalese are also by nature treacherous, fickle and if any profit could be gained by doing so, will kill their own fathers [for it]. They are of such a type that, after the island came under our control, it was never free of rebellions and treachery not only of that king who as the enemy of all [of us] would foment the rebellions with or without a peace treaty, but also of the same Sinhalese Christian subjects and inhabitants of our territories who regard rebellions, which they call *perlins*, as quite casual a

thing during which they cross over to the enemy and later, nonchalantly leave him to join us.⁷⁴ There is one difference however: [even] when on our side they are ever ready for any treachery against us, whatever might be their obligations [to us] for benefits received from the Portuguese. So steady are they in their hatred towards us and so strongly do they resent subjection to us that even those who show their loyalty to us and offer their lives [in our service] admit that even in death they will not give up the hatred in which they were brought up towards us. And as they have [156v] in the king of Kandy⁷⁵ they always have one who instigates them and [espouses] their causes, though he ought not to be allowed to remain free, it has always been impossible to bring him under our control; and so long as he remains unconquered, there can be no peace in that island, for he offers asylum and refuge to all those who have fallen foul of us, welcoming them, accommodating them better in his kingdom, and even proving their sustenance as enemies of the Portuguese. Thus the best soldiers we used to have in our lands are in Kandy today with large *paravenias*⁷⁶ which are the same as riches. But the difficulties⁷⁷ facing this state are so many and on so many points that there is no possibility of finishing, once for all, this business of the conquest of Ceylon, being the most important thing we have there. [This is because] the country is one in which we can and ought to stand our ground, for in food production it is the most fertile [and] in climate the most salubrious. [It is also] rich in timber for as many ships as one wishes to build. [In it are] a large number of the best elephants in the East. [It has] a great abundance of the best cinnamon in the entire East, precious stones, crystal mines, some gold, an abundance of coconuts, excellent arecanuts, abundant water, as many types of fruit as there are in India as well as some grown in Portugal, as good oranges and grapes. [It has] many facilities for navigation to all the parts of the East, with six months of summer on the western side and six months on the eastern side making navigation possible all the year round, now on one side and now on the other. Finally from the tilling and cultivation of the land alone it is permissible to maintain very comfortably as many Portuguese as there are in India and many from Portugal too. If we had had firm roots and a regular food supply⁷⁸ from our territories, without having had to depend on those of our enemies, it should have been easier for us to make ourselves masters of the sea-borne trade, for he who has no conveniently situated territorial stations with assured food supplies cannot have [the mastery over] sea or land, ports and bays.[157r]

We shall later describe the ports, the bays, the rivers with their depths to the best of our ability.⁷⁹

His Majesty's captains, garrisons, clergy and officers in this city of Colombo are paid their salaries out of the royal exchequer, which get its income from the revenue of the entire island,⁸⁰ except from cinnamon,⁸¹ which, as a monopoly, is sent to Goa, all of which would be seen very clearly and item by item from the standing orders given below, which in the present year 1634 the Viceroy the Count de Linhares prepared for the

island. [These standing orders had to be prepared] because of the numerous problems that arose from that monopoly each hour of the day and from the other things that were requisitioned for the maintenance of the army. It should be mentioned in this connection that the only element of uncertainty in the context of the standing orders could be the price of rice, because these prices rise and fall with the harvest. All other revenues given there assume that all His Majesty's territories are at peace and, that even if there is a war on, the crops could be gathered. This, however, would appear to present great difficulties without the help of Sinhalese. This is so because the total number of the Portuguese in the island, including the soldiers and married settlers, do not reach 1500 and the Sinhalese are more than 40,000 consisting of those in our territories as well those of the king of Kandy. [It should also be borne in mind that] though when it comes to military service on our side we have no more than the numbers referred to earlier, yet during the rebellions against us everyone takes arms and fights against us, as experience has shown.

This is not to deny, however, that much of the hatred that the Sinhalese bear towards the Portuguese is born of the oppressive conduct of those who rule over them, from the captain general down to the lowest official, not the least among them being the lords of the villages who squeeze out not only the milk but their [i.e. the subjects] very blood as well, and who [ill-] use their daughters and wives [a mode of conduct] so unworthy of Christians. It must also be admitted that although the desire for a native king and an indigenous government is a natural thing among the nations of the world, nevertheless, when we come to govern them [157v] according to commutative and distributive justice,⁸² they will never fail to prefer peace and tranquillity, because these are more loved than war, they will be forced to acknowledge Portuguese sovereignty over them, and fear will make them obedient.

The Christian population in that island is distributed throughout the island, not only in the territories of His Majesty, but extends to the capital of the king of Kandy, where there is a priest to hear the confession of the Portuguese, for one of the conditions in the peace treaty is that no obstacle will be placed before Christianity. But the king does the very opposite, as he does with all the other terms of the treaty.

In our lands are the four mendicant religious orders and many churches, as can be seen from the same standing orders, and a large number of souls are already converted as well as being converted every hour. The only problem in regard to this matter arises from the *perlins* or rebellions. When they deny obedience and loyalty to His Majesty and the faith, they also cease to render obedience to God and his ministers, and proceed to join the enemies of the faith where the very name of Christ is loathed. This is necessarily a great set-back to the faith and for this reason ought not to be allowed to happen. It was sufficient, i.e. we ought to have restrained them and prevented them from profaning the churches and holy images, destroying and putting everything to fire and the sword along with the

priests every time there is a rebellion in such a manner that things and sacred places appear to have been subjected to a great upheaval. Thus some rebels relapsing from the faith and joining the enemies have been greater enemies of God and of His Majesty than those whom the waters of Holy Baptism have never touched.

The city⁸³ of Colombo's share of shipping and seaborne commerce is very limited as it has a roadstead and no port offering anchorage to ships. Nevertheless some *champanas* sail [from Colombo] to the Coromandel and Fishery Coasts carrying arecanut which is the principal article and coconut and bringing back from there textiles of the Kachchi⁸⁴ type, rice and salt, which [last] is the most valued item in this island. The question of making salt a [royal] monopoly ought to be considered. What these *champanas* carry most of all are elephants [158r] which the kings of the other [i.e. Indian] coast buy, as has already been said. However, the viceroy made the elephants also a monopoly so that none may export them, except on the king's treasury account.⁸⁵

Some ships from Masulipatam also visit this city of Colombo with cloth and many other things available in that kingdom and what they come to fetch are *alias* which are female elephants, and of course, elephants, but these ships now call less frequently as elephants are not allowed to be exported [except on government account].

From Bengal,⁸⁶ when independent, some large ships used to come to this bay of Colombo, but today the Portuguese have trade only with the port of Orissa. Now no ships [from Bengal] call [over here], though when they used to call, they brought in a lot of necessary food stuff.

The coast on which this city of Colombo is situated runs north, and to the south up to the point of Galle. The winds and monsoons there are the same as those we have spoken of in connection with the Mannar fort, *cacha* and *vara* ; six months of the one and six months of the other. The *vara* usually begins with great fury with sudden gusts that drive all ships at sea shoreward. The depth of the bay on the outside is seven to eight fathoms and affords no shelter [from bad weather], but, as one approaches land the depth is reduced to three fathoms and there are neither shallows nor sandbars against which one has to be on guard, the only obstacle being those that could be seen with the eyes.

List of expenditure of the Island of Ceylon incurred in salaries, allowances and for other things

No. 1. To the camp of Menikkadawara⁸⁷, thirteen companies of 28 soldiers in each [with the usual complements] of captains, ensigns and sergeants. Fifteen additional soldiers attached to the captain-major, all of these adding up to four hundred and five persons, excluding the thirteen captains⁸⁸
405 persons

No. 2. For the garrison of Sabaragamuwa,⁸⁹ two companies are necessary

each of thirty soldiers, [with] ensigns and sergeants, all adding up to sixty-four persons, excluding the captains

64 persons

[158v]

No. 3. For the garrison at Malwana,⁹⁰ a company of sixty soldiers is necessary, who together with ensigns and sergeants make up sixty-two persons in number. In this number are included the *vidane*⁹¹ of the *padda*⁹² boats, the gun-powder maker and the three keepers serving at the gates of the city of Colombo. These gate keepers perform their duties at the gates and the city provides them with accommodation

62 persons

No. 4. For the stockade of Kalutara⁹³ are necessary twenty-five soldiers including a bailiff

25 persons

No. 5. For the fort of Negombo twenty-five soldiers are necessary in which are included a bailiff, a clerk, a gate keeper and chief gunner

25 persons

No. 6. The soldiers of the fifteen companies at Menikkadawara and Sabaragamuwa and those of the three garrisons at Malwana, Kalutara and Negombo, add up to five hundred and eighty-one. In this number are included sixteen ensigns and a similar number of sergeants, who, as they are paid double rations are equivalent to an additional thirty-two. Together the number comes to six hundred and thirteen

613 persons

No. 7. For six hundred and sixty-three persons of five garrisons, each month a food allowance of five hundred and ninety-six *xerafins*, three *tangas*, thirty *res* is necessary. For five hundred and sixty three soldiers and officers an expenditure at the rate of three *larins* per person per month is incurred for rice. The fifty soldiers at Kalutara and Negombo are not given rice and each of them, therefore is given a combined allowance of 6 *larins* per month as food allowance and in lieu of rice and this comes to ninety *xer*. The above mentioned sum of five hundred and ninety-six *xer.*, three *tgs.* thirty *res* per month amounts in a year to seven thousand one hundred and sixty-three *xer.*, two *tgs.* The rice ration of five hundred and sixty three soldiers at the rate of two measures of rice a day per person, in which is included the double ration [for sergeants and ensigns] adds up annually to nine hundred and sixty-three *candils*, 11 *paras* six and half measures of rice at the price of seven *xer.* a candy, the price works out in Goa *xer.* to four thousand three hundred and seventy *xer.*, four *tgs.*, fifty *res.* which together with the food allowance, all add up to *xer.*

1153-1-50

No. 8. To two *quarterages*⁹⁴ a year paid to the six hundred and thirteen persons referred above, in which are included the double allowances [159r] for the ensigns and sergeants, a sum of eleven thousand and thirty four *xer.* at the rate of nine *xer.* per *quarterage* is necessary

11034-0-00

No. 9. The usual allowances of the captains of the fifteen companies at one hundred and eighty *xer.* a year amount to two thousand seven hundred *xer.*

2700-0-00

No. 10. To the captain of the field⁹⁵ nine hundred *xer.* per year [are paid]. Additionally, the same captain-major is allowed two *paras* of rice a day from the *pattayama*⁹⁶ of the camp [for those performing] watch-duty at the frontier post,⁹⁷ messenger-services,⁹⁸ drum and fife players,⁹⁹ washerman and the *arachchi*¹⁰⁰ of his guard, with the stipulation that the above service-personnel shall not draw any victuals from the royal treasury and the rice above mentioned alone shall suffice for them. The two *paras* per day will add up to fifty-two candies, four *paras* per year, and at the rate of seven Ceylon *xer.* a candy will amount to three hundred and twenty-nine *xer.* two *tgs.* of Goa currency. If the above personnel happen not to be in service, the two *paras* shall not be allotted.

1229-2-00

No. 11. To the clergyman attached to the camp ninety *xer.* per year

90-0-00

No. 12. To the captain-general are paid four thousand *xer.*

4000-0-00

No. 13. To the captain of the bodyguard of the general are allocated four measures of rice a day, which in a year amounts to two candils six *paras*, twenty-one measures, and, at the rate of seven Ceylon *xer.* a candy, will amount to Goa *xer.* fifteen, two *tgs.*, thirty-two *res.* Additionally at six *larins* per month as curry allowance in a year, these will amount to twenty-one *xer.* three *tgs.* and the total is thirty-seven *xer.* thirty-four *res.*

37-0-34

No. 14. To each of thirty lascarins serving under this captain as the bodyguard of the captain is allowed one measure of rice per day, and this add up to eighteen candils six *paras* thirty-three measures a year, which at the rate of seven *xer.* of Ceylon money amount in Goa *xer.* to one hundred and sixteen *xer.* six *tgs.* Additionally at three *larins* per month as curry allowance to each lascarin amounts in a year to three hundred and twenty-four *xer.* Together the two amounts total up to four hundred and forty-eight *xer.* two *tgs.*

440-2-00

No. 15. The interpreter and *banneka*¹⁰¹ are allocated rice at the rate of two measures a day and this comes to two candils six *paras* twenty-one and half measures a year and at the rate of seven Ceylon *xer.* a candy, the cost in Goa *xer.* is fifteen *xer.* two *tgs.* thirty-three *res.*; and the curry allowance of six *larins* per month to each one, amounting in a year to [159v] forty-three *xer.* one *tg.*, and the two items add up to fifty-eight *xer.* three *tgs.* thirty *res.*

58-3-30

No. 16. To each of the four torch bearers of the captain-general are given two measures of rice a day and the total adds up four candies twelve *paras*

thirty-five measures and at the rate of seven Ceylon *xer.* per candy, the cost amount in Goa *xerafins* to thirty *xer.* four *tgs.* forty-five *res.* The curry allowance of three *larins* per month and fifteen *larins* paid for oil for the same torch bearers¹⁰² together add up to ninety-seven *xer.* one *tg.* All the items, taken together, total one hundred and twenty-eight *xer.* forty-five *res*
128-0-45

No. 17. To the bailiff of the conquest are given two rations¹⁰³ of rice a day, which makes two candies six *paras* seventeen and half measures of rice [a year], and at the rate of seven *xer.*, currency of Ceylon, their cost amounts in currency of Goa to fifteen *xer.* two *tgs.* twenty-two and half *res.* His curry allowance of twelve *larins* per month work out to forty-three *xer.* one *tg.* a year. Together the two amounts total up to fifty-eight *xer.* three *tgs.* twenty-two *res*
58-3-22¹⁰⁴

No. 18. The 280 Kaffirs¹⁰⁵ who was serving in that inland according to the information furnished by Dom Jorge da Almeyda¹⁰⁶ are allowed two measures of rice a day and this works out to three hundred and forty-five candils, thirty measures [a year] at the price of seven Ceylon *xerafins* each candy, the cost of the rice amounts in Goa *xerafins* to two thousand one hundred and seventy-three *xer.* four *tgs.* The curry allowance of one *fanam* per day per person works out annually to one thousand five hundred and thirty-seven *xer.* one *tg.* in Goa currency and the two items together total up to three thousand seven hundred and eleven *xer.*
3711-0-00

No. 19. The messenger and *paniviras* who carry messages to and from Malwana are allotted 60 candils of rice from the *pattayama* on the orders of the captain-general. At the price of seven *xerafins* of Ceylon currency per candy, this works out in Goa currency to three hundred and seventy-eight *xer.*
378-0-00

No. 20. The two surgeons, one in the camp at Menikkadawara and the other in Sabaragamuwa have to be allotted two rations of rice per day and this works out in a year to four candils twelve *paras* thirty-five measures. At the rate of seven Ceylon *xerafins* a candy the cost of the rice amounts in Goa currency to thirty *xer.* [160r] four *tgs.* forty-five *res.* The curry allowance of six *larins* paid to these surgeons per month amounts in a year to forty-three *xer.* one *tg.* and the two double *quarterages* paid to each per year amount to seventy-two *xer.* Together the total expenditure is one hundred and forty-six *xer.* forty-five *res*
146-0-45

No. 21. To each of the three gunners, one at Menikkadawara, another at Malwana, and a third at Sabaragamuwa, is given two rations of rice per day as subsistence, and that amounts to seven candils five *paras* twenty-two measures per year, and at the price of seven *xerafins* of Ceylon currency a candy, this will cost in Goa currency forty-six *xer.* one *tg.* and six *res.* The curry allowance of three *larins* per person per month works out annually

to thirty-two *xer.* two *tgs.* And the quarterages of eighteen *xer.* per year to each gunner together with the curry allowance add up to eighty-six *xer.* two *tgs.* All these items together add up to a total of one hundred and thirty-two *xer.* three *tgs.* six *res*

132-3-06

No. 22. For three *kanakapulles* and two measures¹⁰⁷ who serve in the three garrisons of Menikkadawara, Malwana and Sabaragamuwa at two rations of rice per day to each *kanakapulle* and one measure of rice required in a year is eight candils eight *paras* thirty-two and half measures, and at the price of seven *xerafins* of Ceylon currency a candil converts to Goa currency to fifty-four *xer* one *tg.* three *res.*

108-1-36¹⁰⁸

No. 23. The boat¹⁰⁹ which serves to transport rice to Malwana during winter and in summer¹¹⁰ and performs guard duty at the loading and unloading of ships at the bay is assigned twenty sailors and two masters, who get double rations. Their rice rations together come to twenty-nine candils, eight *paras*, three measures per year, at the [usual] rate of two measures per day per person and at double rations to the masters. At the rate of seven *xer.*, currency of Ceylon, a candil, the cost of the rice amounts in Goa currency to one hundred and eighty-six *xer.* one *tg.* three *res.* The curry allowance at one *fanam* per month per sailor and at double allowance for the masters, amount yearly to one hundred and thirty-one *xer.* three *tgs.* forty-eight *res.* A sum of twenty-eight *xer.* four *tgs* is spent on two sets of clothing¹¹¹ which amount to twenty-four *kachchis* are bought¹¹² at four *larins* each, and all of them together work out to three hundred and forty-six *xer.* four *tgs.* twenty-five *res.*

346-4-25

[160v]

No. 24. For the expenses of the coolies¹¹³ who carry the chest of cash, for the factor, the clerk and the officers twice a year when they go to make payment to the troops in the camp and the garrisons, for the portorage charges and the expenses on the food given to those people on their outward and return journeys two hundred and seventy-two *xer.* two *tgs.* as is the custom to pay those coolies. It is not to be ignored that this expenditure is for the convenience of the factor and the officials and it is not just that it should be incurred, since it is possible to go to the camp at Malwana for the payment, and this is more appropriate since the general resides there

272-2-00

No. 25. For the care of the sick at the king's hospital are set apart four thousand *xerafins*, although it is certain that this entire amount is not spent in a year. Thus the unspent balance in any one year is carried over to the succeeding year, because this amount is raised from a village which is allotted to it [i.e. to the hospital] four thousand *xer.*

4000-0-00

No. 26. The victuals of fifteen captains of the fifteen companies at five measures per person per day work out to forty-six *candils* three *paras* per

year. At the price of seven Ceylon *xerafins* a *candil*, in Goa currency this amounts to two hundred and ninety-one *xer.* one *tanga*. Their curry allowances at nine *larins* per month per person amount annually to four hundred and eighty-six *xer.* and added on to the price of rice totals seven hundred and seventy-seven *xer.* one *tanga*

777-1-00

No. 27. To the captain of the Colombo fort two thousand *xer.*

2000-0-00

No. 28. The thirty lascarins of the bodyguard attached to the captain of Colombo are each paid four *larins* per month and to the *arachchi* [who is their captain] nine *larins* per month. [The two amounts] add up to five hundred and eighteen *xer.* two *tgs.* a year

518-2-00

No. 29. To the superintendent of revenue two thousand six hundred and sixty-six *xer.* three *tgs.* twenty *res*

2666-3-20

No. 30. The superintendent of revenue is also given fourteen reams of paper a year and at the rate of eight *xer.* a ream this works out to one hundred and twelve *xer.*

112-0-00

No. 31. The personnel attached to the superintendent of revenue for the service, namely the torch-bearers, the washerman, [161r] the umbrella bearer, and other attendants are paid twenty-eight *xer.* six *tgs.* fifteen *res* a month which works out to three hundred and forty-three *xer.* four *tgs.* per year

343-4-00

No. 32. An *arachchi* and twenty lascarins serve as messengers and also attend to the work connected with collecting the king's revenues in the interior, on the orders of the superintendent of revenue. Each lascarin [is paid] four and half *larins* a month, the *arachchi* nine *larins*, and annually together their payments amount to three hundred and fifty-six *xer.* two *tgs.*

356-2-00

No. 33. The treasury clerk has a salary of two hundred *milres* per year equivalent to six hundred and sixty-six *xer.* three *tgs.* twenty *res*

666-3-20

No. 34. Additionally the treasury clerk is given eight reams of paper. At the rate of eight *xer.* this comes to sixty-four *xer.*

64-0-00

No. 35. To the factor at Colombo one hundred and twenty *milres* per year which is equal to four thousand *xer.*

400-0-00

No. 36. For four reams of papers, ink, pens and one table cloth for the table of the customs house, standing orders set apart a sum of forty-four *xer.* for the paper at the rate of eight *xer.* a ream, six *xer.* per pens and ink, and 6 *xer.* and 4 *larins* for the purchase of table cloth, of which add up to forty-four *xer.* three *tgs.*

44-3-00

No. 37. To the factory clerk one hundred *xer.* of Goa currency.

100-0-00

No. 38. To the bailiff of the treasury and of the customs house a salary of thirty *milres* per annum equivalent to one hundred *xer.*

100-0-00

No. 39. The bailiff's clerk is paid twenty-six *xer.* as maintenance and curry allowance per year with no additional allowance from the royal treasury

26-0-00

No. 40. The accountant attached to the customs house [is paid] fifty-four *xer.* a year, at the rate of fifteen *larins* per month with no other allowance from the treasury

26-0-00

No. 41. The eight peons, who attend on the bailiff of the treasury and of the customs house, are paid at the rate of four *larins* per person per month, which amount to one hundred and fifteen *xer.* one *tanga* per year

115-1-00

[161v]

No. 42. The superintendent of the docks is paid sixty-three *xer.* per annum with no other allowances

63-0-00

No. 43. The master gunner at Colombo is paid ninety *xer.* per year, without any other allowance, and each of the two gunners gets two rations of rice which amount in a year to four *candils*, twelve *paras*, thirty-five measures. At the rate of seven Ceylon *xerafins* a *candy*, in Goa currency the cost of the rice amounts to thirty-four *xer.* one *tanga* forty-five *res.* The curry allowance of six *larins* a month paid to both [gunners] and the sum of thirty-six *xer.* paid to them each year as the two quarterages at the rate of eighteen *xer.* to each, together totalling to one hundred and seventy-eight *xer.* two *tangas* forty-five *res*

178-2-45

No. 44. To the crown judge at Colombo one hundred *milres* per year making three hundred and thirty-three *xer.* one *tg.* forty *res*

333-1-40

No. 45. The four peons who attend on the crown judge's bailiff are each paid four *larins* per month which amounts each year to fifty-seven *xer.* three *tgs.* and they are not entitled to any additional food allowance

57-3-00

No. 46. The captain of Kalutara is paid two hundred *xer.* per annum

200-0-00

No. 47. To the captain of Negombo [is paid] as salary one hundred and twenty *milres* per year equivalent to four hundred *xer.*

400-0-00

No. 48. The same captain has in addition an allowance of twelve *milres* [which goes] with the knighthood of St James.¹¹⁴ [This amount] equals forty *xer.* a year

40-0-00

No. 49. The captain of Chilaw has a salary of sixty *milres* which is equal to two hundred *xer.* a year. There are [under him] additionally ten lascarins for watch post duty at the river¹¹⁵ [who are paid] at a *xerafin* per person per month without rice, making one hundred and twenty *xer.* a year. There is also a bailiff who is a Portuguese and a clerk, who are both paid two quarterages of forty *xer.* [a year]. They are also paid forty-eight *xer.* a year as curry allowance at the rate of twenty-four *xer.* each and get no rice. To the *kanakapulles* [are paid] five *larins* per month equivalent to eighteen *xer.* a year, and he too gets no rice. All these items total up to four hundred and twenty-six *xer.* in the currency of this city¹¹⁶

426-0-00

No. 50. The captain of Puttalam gets a salary of sixty *milres* per year equivalent to two hundred *xer.*

200-0-00

[162r]

No. 51. The collector at Negombo is entitled to seventy-three *xer.* a year in the currency of Goa as his maintenance allowance, and a *kanakapulle* who assists him in the revenue collection gets eighteen *xer.* per year, at the rate of five *larins* per month. The shroff¹¹⁷ who examines the coins gets ten *xer.* four *tgs.* a year at the rate of three *larins* per month, and the three lascarins who serve in the collectorate [are paid] three *larins* each per month, the total coming to thirty-four *xer.*¹¹⁸ a year. All items together add up to one hundred and twenty-five *xer.* four *tgs.*

125-4-00¹¹⁹

No. 52. The collector at Chilaw and Puttalam earn an allowance of seventy-two *xer.* per year, and each of the two *kanakapulles* [is paid] three *larins* per month, making it twenty-one *xer.* three *tgs.* for both. The total of all items is ninety-three *xer.* three *tgs.*

93-3-00

No. 53. For the purchase of one thousand five hundred and fifty-two *amunas* of arecanut on behalf of the king each year at the rate of four *larins* per *kachchi*¹²⁰ amounting to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three *xer.*

1863-0-00

No. 54. For the [purchase of] mats and rope for one thousand three hundred and fifty *bahars* of cinnamon¹²¹ received as *badda* and rent of the village of Gampaha made up of as follows: 600 *bahars* being the *badda* of ancient times,¹²² three hundred and fifty *bahars* which Manoel Gonsalves on the order of the general Dom Jorge da Almeyda¹²³ added to the dues from the Chaleas of the mahabadda and hulambadda¹²⁴ the 400 *bahars* from which the superintendent of revenue Amaro Roiz rented out the village of Gampaha; [and the payment] of clothing allowance of the two hundred and eighty Kaffirs, six hundred and thirty-seven *xer.* per year. Should His Majesty need more cinnamon, funds will be remitted for their expenses.¹²⁵

637-0-00

No. 55. The rent paid for eight warehouses in which the rice, the paddy the

arecanut, the salt and the cinnamon belonging to the king are stored at the rate of twelve larins per month per warehouse totalling an expenditure of three hundred and forty-five *xer.* three tgs. per annum

345-3-00

No. 56. The gunpowder maker is paid his usual quarterages and maintenance allowance at the Malwana garrison. He has also been granted a first rate village, in addition to what the city [of Colombo] has to provide him for the manufacture of gunpowder. Twenty condemned men and vagrants serve there, and each of them is allowed one measure of rice a day which in a year comes to twelve *candils*, four *paras*, two and a half measures. At the rate of seven Ceylon *xerafins* a [162v] *candil*, this amounts, in Goa currency to seventy *xer.* one *tg.* fifty two *res* and the curry allowance of one *fanam* per day per person amounts yearly to one hundred and nine *xer.* four *tgs.* Together the total comes to one hundred eighty seven *xer.* fifty two *res.*¹²⁶

187-0-52

No. 57. For the expenses of the smithy at Malwana [the work force consists of] eight master craftsmen, eighty eight blacksmiths, eleven *goripos*,¹²⁷ *coronheiros*,¹²⁸ sawyers, turners, thirty eight labourers to hammer the iron [into shape], one *kangani*, a supervisor for all these workmen, one *kanakapulle* who is in charge of the [stock of] iron, steel, and the arms, the total labour force numbering one hundred and forty seven. [They are allotted] at the rate of one measure of rice per day [except] the eight master craftsmen, the *kanakapulle* and the *kangani*, ten persons in all who get double that portion, being two measures per person per day. The total quantity of rice issued during the year amounts to ninety six *candils*, ten *paras*, fourteen measures, which at the rate of seven Ceylon *xerafins* per *candy* amounts in Goa currency to six hundred and nine *xer.* two *tgs.*, thirty four *res.* The items together all total up to one thousand four hundred and fifty eight *xer.* four *res.* And the curry allowance at one *fanam* per person per day and double that to the eight master craftsmen, the *kanakapulle* and the *kangani* amounts to eight hundred and forty eight *xer.* three *tgs.* thirty *res.* Although this expenditure appears to be on the heavy side, [actually] according to the available information, it has never been incurred out of the funds of the royal treasury. However, it is itemized here in the certainty that the superintendent of revenue will see to it that the expenses will be incurred out of sources hitherto utilized and with due care. It should also be stated that the smithy should not be located in Malwana but in Wattala¹²⁹ where the superintendent of revenue can oversee the work and exercise strict control. It is also desirable that every year a list is sent to this city of the quantities and types of arms turned out. If this expenditure is high, one can then see whether the quantity of arms manufactured justified it.

458-0-00

No. 58. To the parish priest of the main church in Colombo and to the two beneficed clergymen one hundred and eighty *xerafins*

180-0-00

No. 59. To the treasurer of the main church for the upkeep of the church ninety *xer.* a year

90-0-00

[163r]

No. 60. The Father organist of the main church and the three chorister boys are paid forty-five *xer.*

45-0-00

No. 61. To the parish priest of the church of St. Lawrence within the city, ninety *xer.* a year

90-0-00

No. 62. To the parish priest of the church of Our Lady of Life outside the city, ninety *xer.* per annum

90-0-00

No. 63. To the convent of St. Anthony of the city of Colombo four *candils* of rice each month, which in a year will amount to forty-eight *candils*, and at the price of seven Ceylon *xerafins* each, this will cost in Goa currency three hundred and two *xer.* two *tgs.*

302-2-00

No. 64. The Father of the Christians¹³⁰ of the same Order [of St Francis] who resides in St. Thomas' church in Colombo gets ninety *xer.* a year

90-0-00

No. 65. To the Father Rector of the same order [caring] for the Christian community of the church of Negombo ninety *xer.* per year

90-0-00

No. 66. To the Father of the same Order [caring] for the Christian community coming under the church on the other side of Kalutara¹³¹ who also serves as parish priest ninety *xer.* a year

90-0-00

No. 67. To the Father of the same Order who resides in the Negombo fort, in place of the parish priest who was withdrawn, ninety *xer.* a year

90-0-00

No. 68. To the religious of the order of St. Augustine of Colombo is granted one *candy* of rice per month which comes to twelve *candies* a year. At the rate of seven Ceylon *xerafins* a *candy*, the price of the rice amounts in Goa currency to seventy-five *xer.* three *tgs.*¹³² [The convent is also paid] nine *xer.* per month amounting to one hundred and eight per year¹³² and the items add up to one hundred and eighty-three *xer.* three *tgs.*

183-3-00

No. 69. Eleven members of the Order who reside as rectors in churches of Christian communities in this island are paid ninety *xer.* each making in all nine hundred and ninety *xer.*

990-0-00

No. 70. To the religious of the order of St Dominic of Colombo are granted nine *xer.* each month which amount to one hundred and eight for a year. It is also given one *candy* of rice per month which for a year amounts to

twelve. At seven Ceylon *xerafins* a candy, the price of rice works out in Goa currency to seventy-five *xer.* three *tgs.* The items together add up to one hundred and eighty-three *xer.* three *tgs.*

183-3-00

No. 71. To the eight religious of the same order rectors of the churches of Christian communities in the island are paid ninety *xer.* a year, making it seven hundred and twenty *xer.* for all

720-0-00

No. 72. The Fathers of the Company [of Jesus] who serve as rectors in the four Churches of the Christian communities at Kammala, Chilaw, [163v] Madampe and Kalpitiya¹³³ [receive an allowance of] ninety *xer.* per year per person which come to three hundred and sixty *xer.* in all. There are many, including Ambrosio de Freitas da Camara, the former superintendent of revenue of the island, who hold the view that these allowances need not be paid because they [i.e. the Jesuits] enjoy very productive villages on the income on which they can subsist, such villages like Weligampitiya, Bopitiya, Udugampola, Matamana, Munessarama and Kalpitiya,¹³⁴ in addition to those which have now been granted to them in place of Munessarama¹³⁵ which they still keep holding, saying that the revenue of the other villages is less than that of Munessaram. The very officials, who approved the grant of those lands to the Jesuits, have now protested that it is not proper that they [i.e. the Jesuits] should retain Munessarama while holding the villages granted to them in exchange for it

360-0-00¹³⁶

No. 73. The *kanakapulle*, the measurer and the shroff serving in Colombo and the customs houses there [are granted] two measures of rice per day per person, which amounts to three *candies*, nine *paras*, thirty-four measures and at seven Ceylon *xer.* per candy, the price of the rice in Goa currency comes to twenty-three *xer.* one *tg.* forty-two *res.* The curry allowance of three *larins* per month [per person] amounts annually to thirty-two *xer.* two *tgs.* and the total of the items is fifty-five *xer.* three *tgs.* forty-two *res.*

55-3-42

No. 74. The four peons attached to the bailiff of the conquest and who have actually to attend to him are sufficient for ordinary purposes. When the need arises, he will receive additionally assistance from the military. Each of the peons is paid four *larins* per month and in a year the total payment comes to fifty-seven *xer.* three *tgs.*

57-3-00

No. 75. A payment of eighty-six *xer.* two *tgs.* a year [is made] to four native watchers who keep guard to ensure that merchandise is not unloaded except within the designated area, and that all the unloaded merchandise goes through the customs and does not evade the payment of duty. They are not entitled to any order subsistence allowance. It should be mentioned here that the [system] must be enforced effectively because [164r] Dom Jorge de Almeyda says that he never saw these guards while he was in the island.

86-2-00

No. 76. The total expenses of Batticaloa is six thousand *xer*.

6000-0-00

No. 77. Each year, two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven and half *amunas* of arecanut are collected or bought on behalf of the king. Of this amount three hundred and five *amunas* represent the *badda*¹³⁷ of Bulatgama¹³⁸ costing nothing [to the government]; one thousand five hundred and fifty-two and half *amunas* were mentioned previously under No. fifty-three, where particulars of expenditure for their purchase were given. The balance five hundred *amunas* remaining of the total of two thousand three hundred and fifty-seven and half *amunas* cost six hundred *xer*. at the rate of four *larins* an *amuna* or a *kachchi* [of cloth]

688-0-00

No. 78. Three thousand nine hundred and ninety *xer*. for the purchase of 16 tusked elephants which each year have to be sent to Goa on His Majesty's account, or to any other station ordered by him

3990-0-00

No. 79. Four thousand five hundred *xer*. for contingencies and incidental expenses for which no provisions are made in the list

450-0-00

No. 80. Gunpowder, artillery as well as musket shots, arquebuses, matches¹³⁹ and other necessities for arms are sent from Goa in necessary quantities without cost.

No. 81. Although in the list are included the allowances for all rectors and convents of all religious orders, attention should be drawn [to the fact] that the religious of St. Francis draw allowances for rectors that have no churches and that these religious have [received] so many villages and rent in that island from His Majesty that, of the surplus left after the payment [164v] of the allowances to their rectories, it would be possible to pay the rice allowance to the convent of the same order in the city of Colombo, and the allowances to the convent of St. Dominic and to the rectors of the same order of St. Augustine. And yet, according to reliable information, some think that there will still be a balance left. It should also be mentioned that although the allowances to the convent of St. Augustine of Colombo are listed here, they are duplicated inasmuch that the same convent has villages granted by generals and some [received] as inheritance with which it is possible to meet more than what they require as allowances. Then all the expenses itemized in this register in regard to the above mentioned religious orders are excessive for the reasons given.

No. 82. It is considered a reason of the greatest concern that the *kanakapulles*, who serve in the camp and the garrisons of that island, are Sinhalese and [therefore] that all possible attempts should be made to appoint [to these forts] Canarins¹⁴⁰ or people of other races whom there is no reason to distrust as experience has taught us to be on guard against the Sinhalese.

The seventy three items of expenditure given here both in letters as well as in figures add up to 74241 *xer.* 39 *res* which have already been converted to Goa *xerafin* of 300 *res* each in each item of expenditure. It is [hereby] declared that in setting down each day's food and the curry allowance of the personnel declared in this list of expenditure, calculations were done on the basis of 366 days per year.¹⁴¹
[165r]

Register of revenues of the island of Ceylon for a period of one year

The customs revenues at Colombo five thousand nine hundred and fifty *xer.*
5950-0-00

The customs revenues at Negombo two thousand *xer.*
2000-0-00

The customs revenues at Chilaw and Puttalam three hundred *xer.*
300-0-00

From the tithes of the fresh fish at Colombo one hundred and fifty *xer.*
150-0-00

From the padda boat and fishing *dhonies* at Colombo and Mutwal, the customary due called *valefarao*¹⁴² fifteen *xer.* and two *larins*
15-2-00

The rent of the Kalutara ferry one hundred and twenty *xer.*
120-0-00

The tithes of the gardens and properties in Colombo one hundred and eighty-one *xer.*
181-0-00

The sundry small rents from the small shop keepers and other craftsman in Colombo sixty-five *xer.*
65-0-00

The rent of a plantation called Madalavita thirty-three *xer.* one *larin* and 10 *fanams*
33-1-10

From the king's villages in the Two Korales one hundred and fifty *xer.*
150-0-00

The rent from the king's coconut plantation at Kanisture one hundred and seventy *xer.*
170-0-00

For the sale of the precious stones of the agras¹⁴³ three hundred
300-0-00

The proceeds from the sale of 1000 *amunas* of arecanut from the Bulatgama sold at the rate of five *xer.* an *amuna* namely¹⁴⁴ three hundred and ninety-five *amunas* of the king's *badda*, and six hundred and ninety five received in exchange for the same number of *kachchis* or at four *larins* an *amuna*, the number of *kachchis* having been set down in the list of expenditure above five thousand
5000-0-00

The proceeds from the sale of five hundred *amunas* of arecanut which are sold for the same price of five *xer.* which Constantino de Sa¹⁴⁵ began levying in exchange for the same number of *kachchis* against the wishes of the superintendent of revenue.¹⁴⁶ He made only one such levy in these lands. Dom Jorge de Almeyda¹⁴⁷ also caused such a levy to be made. When His Excellency¹⁴⁸ wrote from here that this was the King's arecanut, he desisted forthwith. The expenditure on the *kachchis* which are exchanged for those 500 *amunas* as entered in the list of expenditure of the whole islands two thousand five hundred *xer.*

2500-0-00

The proceeds from the sale of eight hundred and fifty seven and half *amunas* { 165v } of arecanut sold at the same price of five *xer.* an *amuna*, levied¹⁴⁹ in exchange for the same number of *kachchis*, the cost of which is set down in the expenditure register above, namely, in the mahabadda of the Chaleas,¹⁵⁰ two hundred; in the precious stones mining department, two hundred; in Alutkuru *korale* six and a half *amunas*; in Pasdum *korale*, eighty six and a half; in Sabaragamuwa, twenty seven and a half; in Matara, one hundred and forty eight; in the Four Korales, one hundred and fifty two; in the village of the Pannayas,¹⁵¹ twenty five; and the oxen owners¹⁵² of the Seven Korales, twenty

4287-2-30

From the twelve villages which His Majesty ordered to be separated for the service of the army camp,¹⁵³ together with the rents of the villages producing iron which [villages] are much valued in Madampe [which is] in the neighbourhood of Chilaw and Munnesarama twelve thousand *xer.*

12000-0-00

From the sale of sixteen tusked elephants, three thousand nine hundred and ninety *xer.*

3990-0-00

From the quit rents of the villages of the island at present are collected five thousand five hundred and twenty eight *xer.*

5528-0-00

Part of the fines which the crown judge imposes during the year, three hundred *xer.*

300-0-00

From the *dekum*¹⁵⁴ of the mines, one hundred and forty-six *xer.* and one *larin*

146-1-00

From the *dekum* of the mahabadda of the Chaleas, two hundred and thirteen *xer.* one *larin*

213-1-00

From the *dekum* of the Bulatgama, eighty *xer.*

80-0-00

From the *dekum* of the Pannayas, twenty *xer.*

20-0-00

From the *dekum* and *maralas*¹⁵⁵ of the Seven Korales seven hundred and seventy *xer.* eighteen *fanams*

770-0-18

From the *dekum* and *maralas* of the Four Korales one hundred and nine *xer.*

109-0-00

From the *dekum* and *maralas* of the Salpiti, Rayigam, and Hewagam¹⁵⁶ *korales*, sixty four *xer.* one *larin* nine *fanams*

64-1-9

From the *dekum* and *maralas* of Beligal and Siyane¹⁵⁷ *korales*, forty-three *xer.* two *larins* seven *fanams*

43-2-7

[166r]

From the *dekum* and *maralas* of Sabaragamuwa¹⁵⁸ [and] the Two Korales one hundred and sixty-one *xer.* two *larins* thirteen *fanams*

161-2-13

From the *dekum* and *maralas* of Matara six hundred *xer.*

608-0-00

From the *dekum* of the blacksmiths of the island. This amount ought to be much greater than seven *xer.* one *larin*

7-1-00

From the washermen of the island, nine *xer.*

9-0-00

From the *dekum* of the Canarias¹⁵⁹ twelve *xer.* one *larin*, ten *fanams*

12-1-10

From the *dekum* and customary dues of the village of Beruwela¹⁶⁰ ten *xer.* one *larin*

10-1-00

From the *dekum* and customary dues of the village of Maggona¹⁶¹ twenty-three *xer.* fifteen *fanams*

23-0-15

From the *dekum* of Kammala¹⁶² by way of ten great *kachchis* and two *larins* from fish, ten *xer.* two *larins*

10-2-00

From the *dekum* of Chilaw by way of twelve great *kachchis*¹⁶³ and two from fish¹⁶⁴ twelve *xer.*

12-2-00

From¹⁶⁵ the *dekum* of Negombo by way of thirty-three great *kachchis* and one and half *larin* from fish, thirty three *xer.* one *larin* two *fanams*

33-1-2

From the *dekum* of the jewellers of Negumbo two *xer.* one *larin*

2-1-00

The thirty-eight items of revenue which are given in letters as well as figures total forty five thousand two hundred and five *xerafins* and two *fanams* in Ceylon currency which reduced to Goa *xerafins* of three hundred *res* for each *xerafin*, amounts to forty thousand seven hundred and seventy four

xerafins, two *tangas* and thirty-nine *res*
40774-2-29

There is a short fall of thirty-three thousand four hundred and sixty-six *xerafins* and three *tangas* in revenue to balance the expenditure¹⁶⁶
33466-3-00

[166v]

I, Antonio Ventura, revenue accountant, prepared and balanced this account.

Goa, 25 September 1624

Antonio Ventura

Description of the Fort of Kalutara

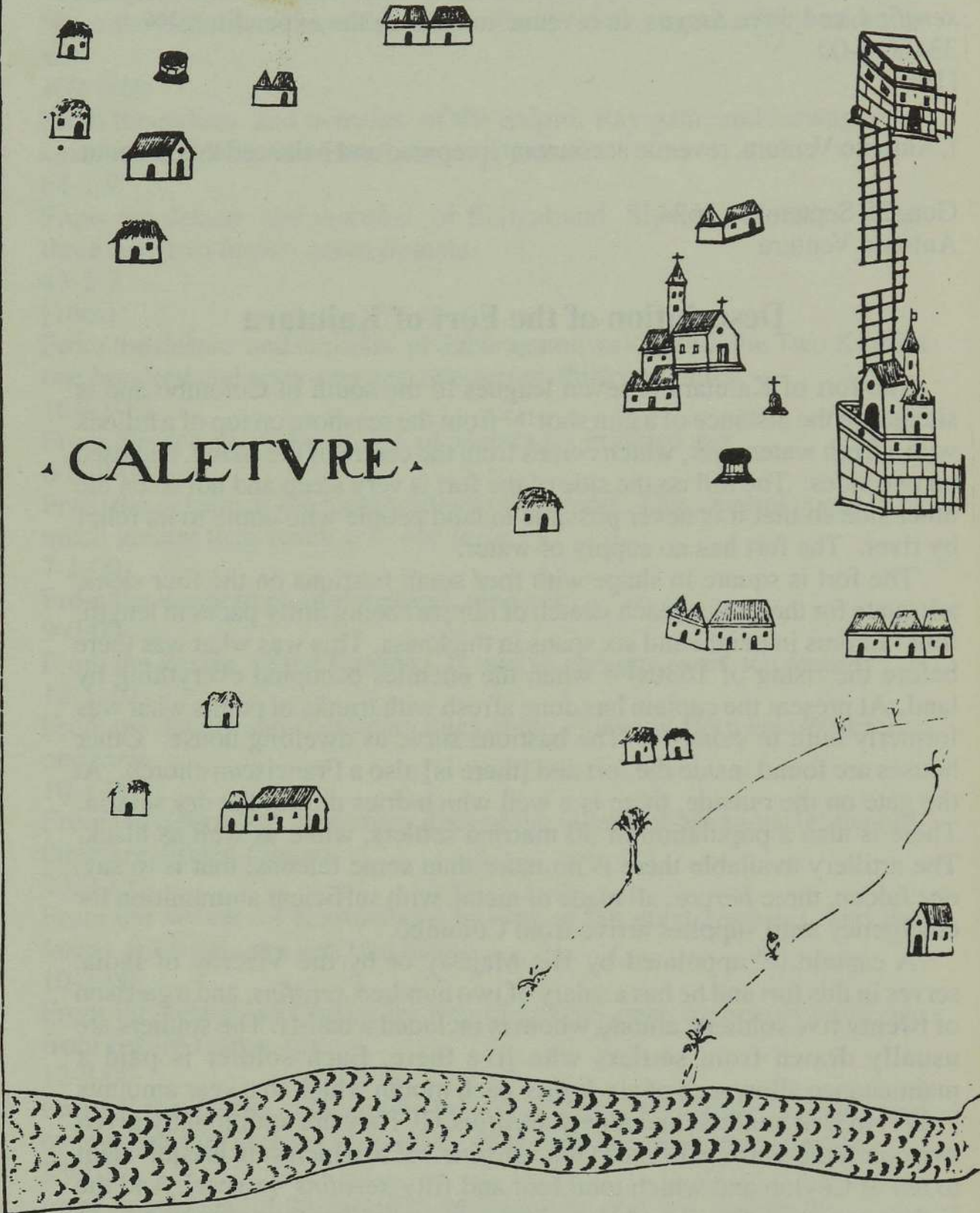
The fort of Kalutara is seven leagues to the south of Colombo and is situated at the distance of a gun shot¹⁶⁷ from the seashore on top of a hillock with a fresh water river, which comes from the centre of the island, enclosed on two sides. The hill on the side of the fort is very steep and not so on the other side so that it is never possible to land people who come to its relief by river. The fort has no supply of water.

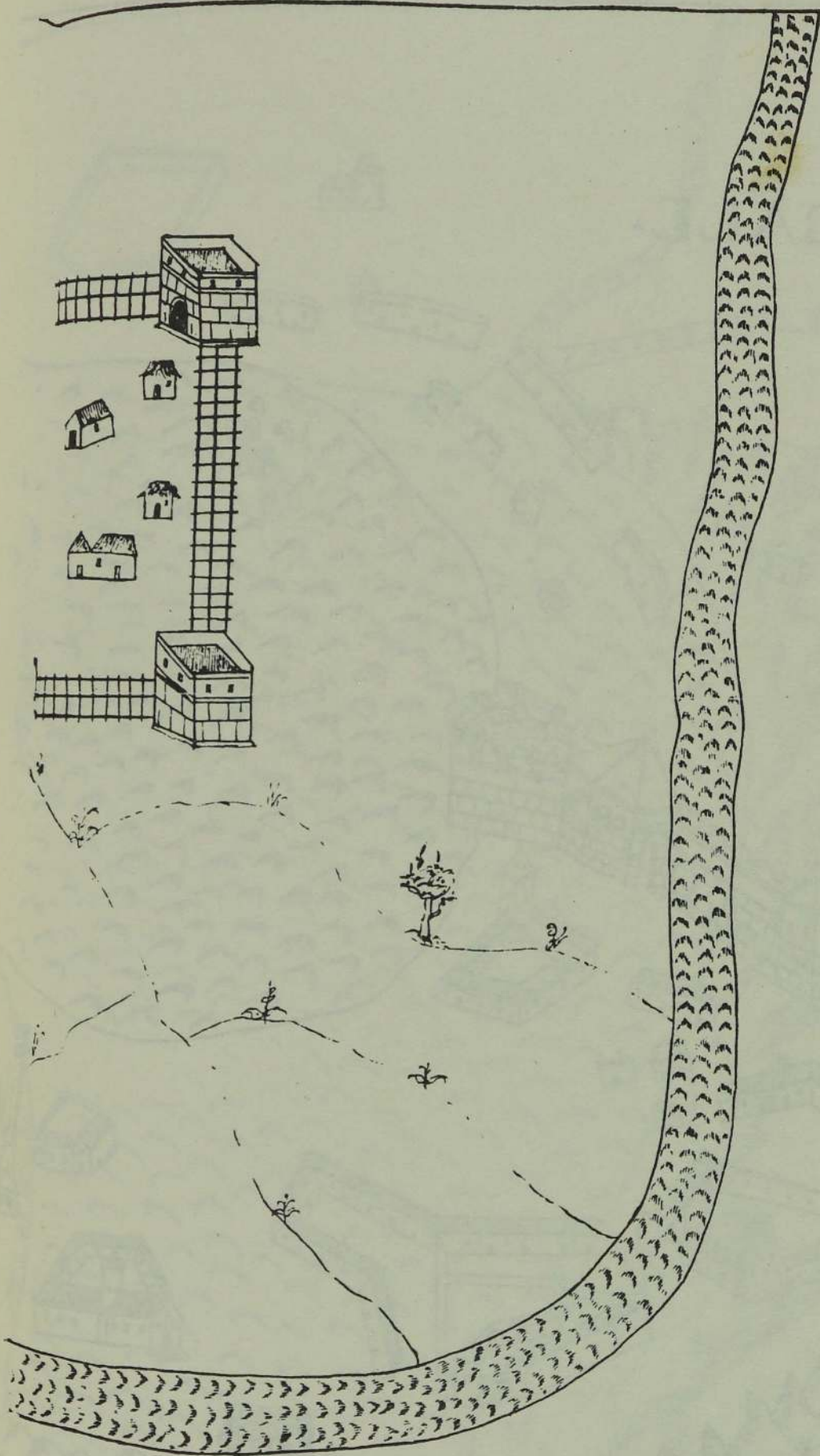
The fort is square in shape with four small bastions on the four sides, adequate for the station, each stretch of rampart being thirty paces in length, four fathoms in height and six spans in thickness. This was what was there before the rising of 1630s¹⁶⁸ when the enemies occupied everything by land. At present the captain has done afresh with trunks of palms what was formerly built in stone¹⁶⁹. The bastions serve as dwelling house. Other houses are found inside the fort and [there is] also a Franciscan church. At the gate on the outside, there is a well which dries during the dry season. There is also a population of 30 married settlers, white as well as black. The artillery available there is no more than some falcons, that is to say, one falcon, three *berços*, all made of metal, with sufficient ammunition for emergency until supplies arrive from Colombo.

A captain,¹⁷⁰ appointed by His Majesty or by the Viceroy of India, serves in this fort and he has a salary of two hundred *xerafins*, and a garrison of twenty five soldiers, among whom is included a bailiff. The soldiers are usually drawn from settlers who live there. Each soldier is paid a maintenance allowance of six *larins* each month which in a year amounts [169v] to five hundred and ninety *xerafins*.¹⁷¹ They are additionally given two quarterages a year of nine Goa *xerafins* each, which sum is equivalent to ten of Ceylon and which total four and fifty *xerafins* [a year]. And the Father rector of the church [in charge of the] Christian community at Kalutara is paid ninety *xerafins*. All this adds up to an expenditure of one thousand one hundred and thirty *xerafins* paid out of the factory at Colombo.

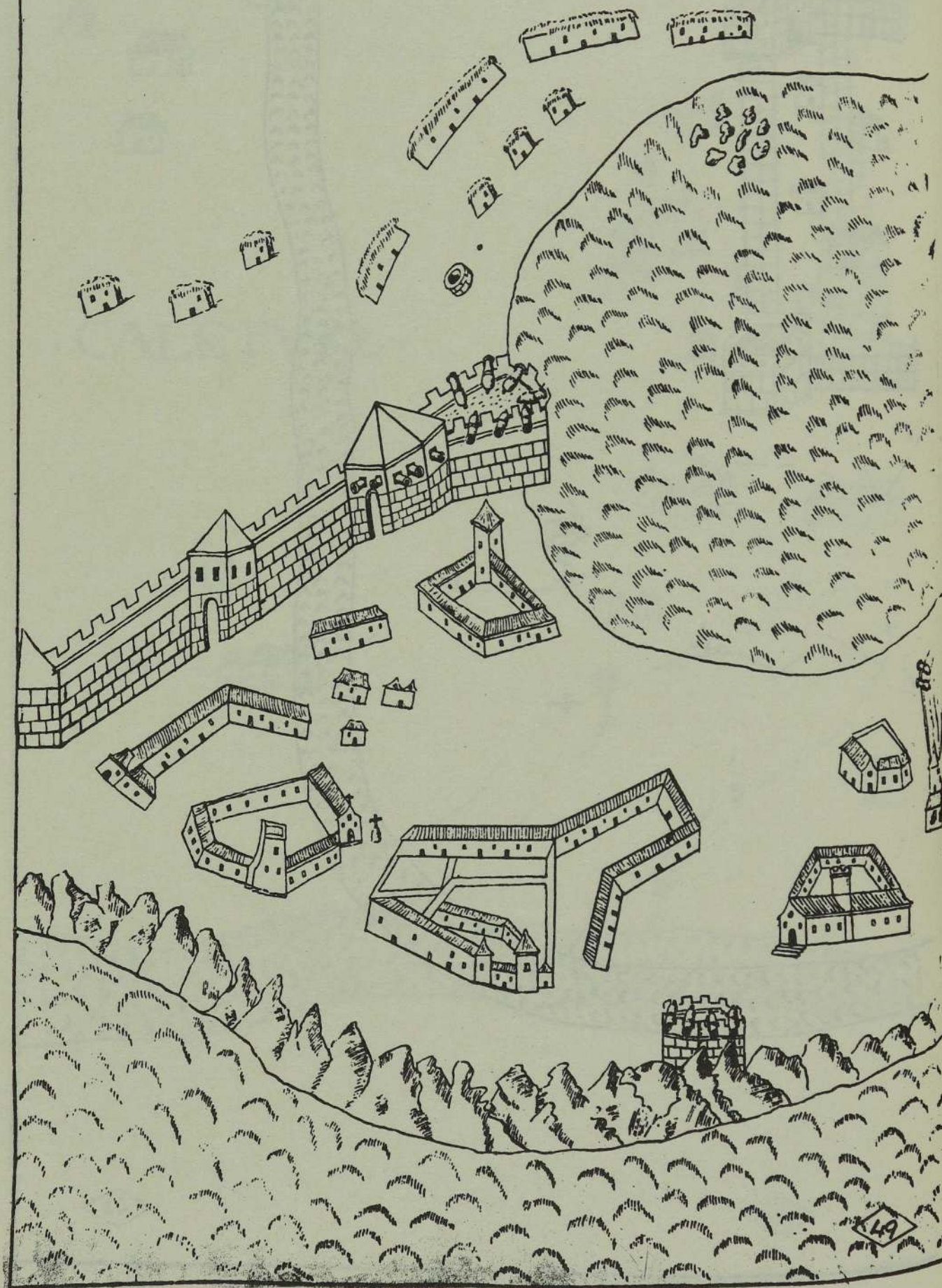
The objective for which this fort of Kalutara was constructed on this spot and for which it is maintained is to secure this side of His Majesty's lands in the *disava* of Matara [and to command] the sandbar formed where

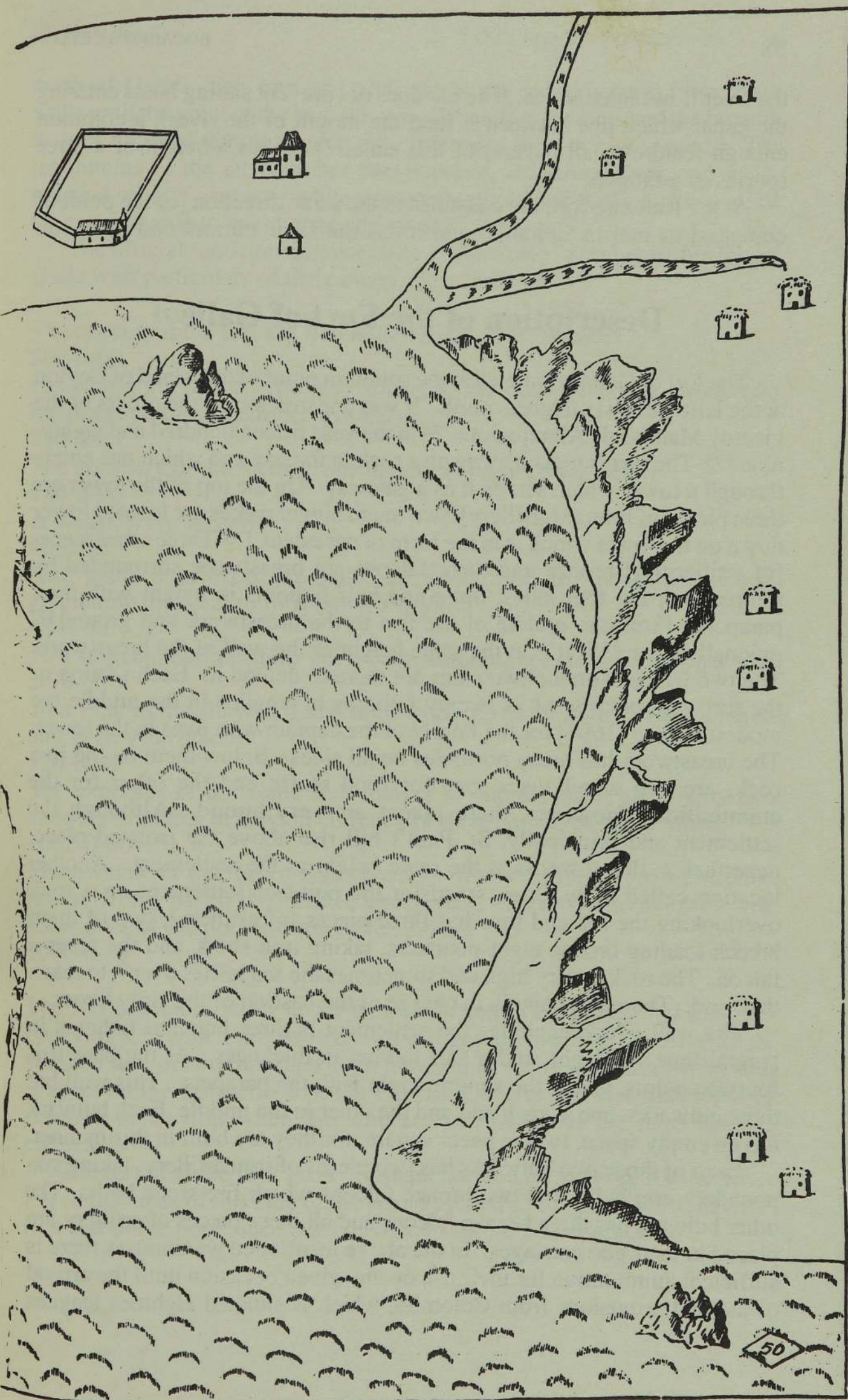
CALETVRE





GALE.





the river flows into the sea. The bar does not prevent sailing boats entering the canal which lies between it [and the mouth of the river], a common enough feature in all [rivers] of this state.¹⁷² It has a height of a three fourths of a fathom.

At the Kalutara fort, the coast lies in the same direction [of the point of compass] as that in Colombo and it has the same current and monsoon winds.

Description of the Fort of Galle¹⁷³

The fort of Galle is situated at the southern point of the island of Ceylon at the latitude of six degrees north. It was constructed on the orders of the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque¹⁷⁴ in the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine.¹⁷⁵ The fort is tucked away on a rock in the bay and which one enters through a tower which serves it as a gateway. On the top of the tower are three pieces of bronze [artillery]; two much bigger pieces are located lower down on the tower which is in the form of casement.¹⁷⁶ Three other pieces [of artillery] of bronze and three falcons are breastwork surrounded by ramparts on the four sides, three and half fathoms in height with their parapets. From the middle of the fort to the breastwork and ground¹⁷⁷ gradually rises until it is at the same height as the wall of the breastwork. The two bastions on the two sides are there to defend it. Each section of the fort with breastwork is twenty fathoms in length. In the middle are modest houses [169v] for the family of the captain who lives in the tower. The breastwork has many portholes on all sides. Below them on the live rock, are two warehouses, one for food stuffs and the other for the ammunition. However, these places are very humid. Although the settlement and principally, St. Paul's hill rise above the isolated place, nevertheless that tower is at the same height as the settlement. Another location called Holy Cross stands at the point of settlement on a rock overlooking the sea and thus has three pieces [of artillery], two of them breech loading bronze eight-pounders, taking iron shots, and the other a falcon. The rock is very high and sometimes the sea lashes over it to reach that land. There is a captain in charge of the bastion of the Holy Cross.

The wall which encircles the settlement is three hundred fathoms in length, four, in height, and a half fathom in thickness. At the base it is fourteen palms, and at the summit eight with the parapets. This wall has three bulwarks, one at each end and the other in the middle. Each bulwark has an empty space, twelve paces square, for they are built in this manner.

Each of those two bulwarks has two pieces of iron artillery, taking six-pounders iron balls, and two bronze falcons which fire stone balls. The other bulwark has three bronze falcons and all these pieces of artillery are placed in their gun carriages. In the above mentioned warehouses there is sufficient ammunition for their use on any given occasion until the arrival of aid and provisions from Colombo, which is situated eighteen leagues

north of Galle. This city of Galle covers the entire ground from those walls until the point of the bay, [that is] six hundred fathoms and the breadth is three hundred fathoms and in circumference three thousand paces. The inhabitants of the city number two hundred, including black and white married settlers - seventy white and one hundred and thirty blacks - all of them being able to wield arms and sword.

The officials and the other servants of the crown - serving in this fort of Galle with particulars of their salary are as follows:

The captain of the fort has five hundred *xerafins* as salary
500-0-00

His Majesty's factor, who also serves as the customs-house judge, two hundred and thirty *xerafins* as salary
230-0-00

The secretary of the factory, one hundred and twenty *xerafins*
120-0-00

A bailiff, forty *xerafins*
40-0-00

Four peons attached to the bailiff at one *xerafin* per month per person, amounting in a year to forty-eight *xerafins*
48-0-00

To a surgeon, two *xerafins* per month, amounting to twenty-four per year
24-0-00

To a vicar as his allowance and for the upkeep of the church, one hundred and twenty *xerafins*
120-0-00

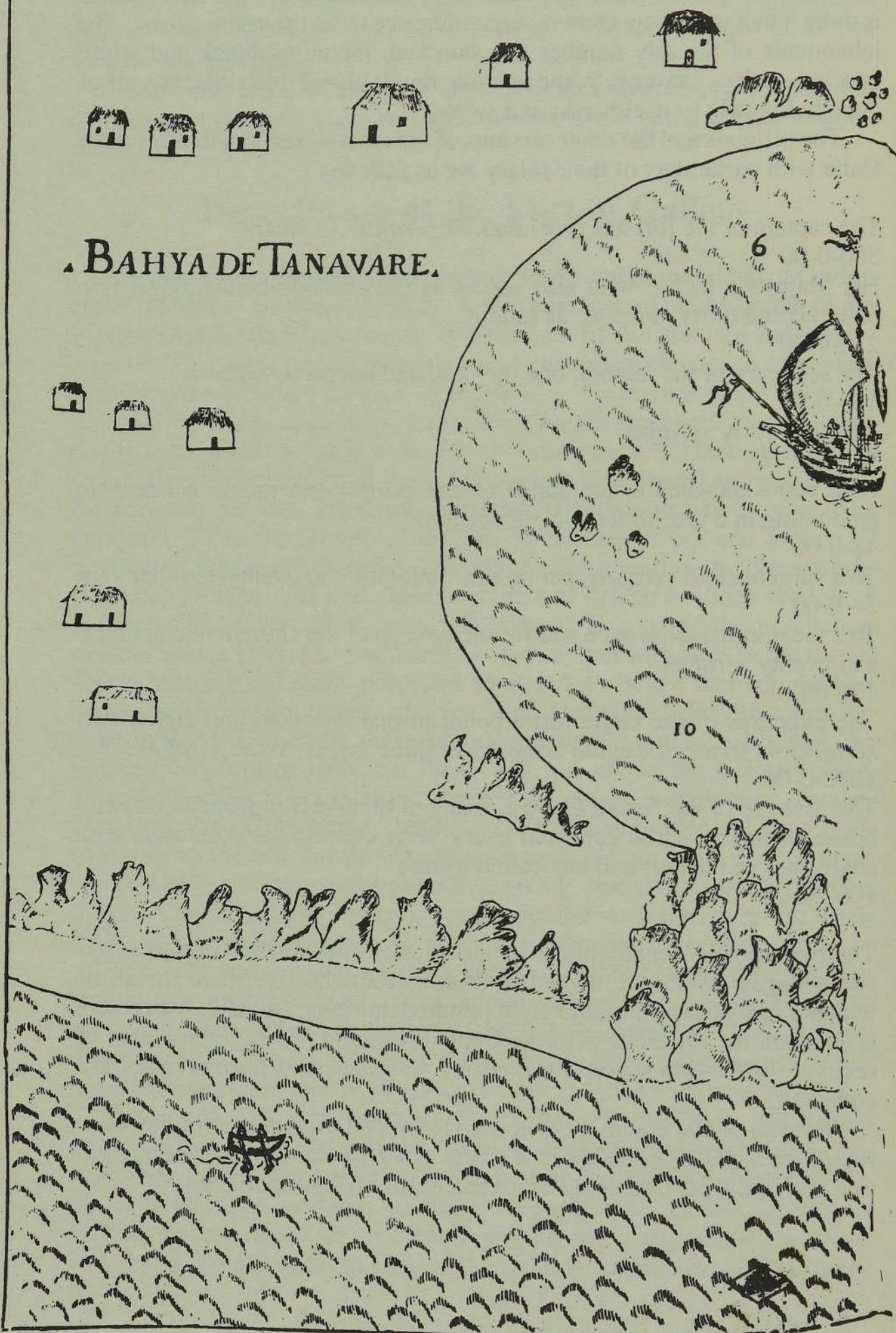
The expenses of the Galle fort amount to one thousand and eighty-two *xerafins* in terms of Ceylon currency of three *larins* to the *xerafins* ¹⁷⁸
1082-0-00

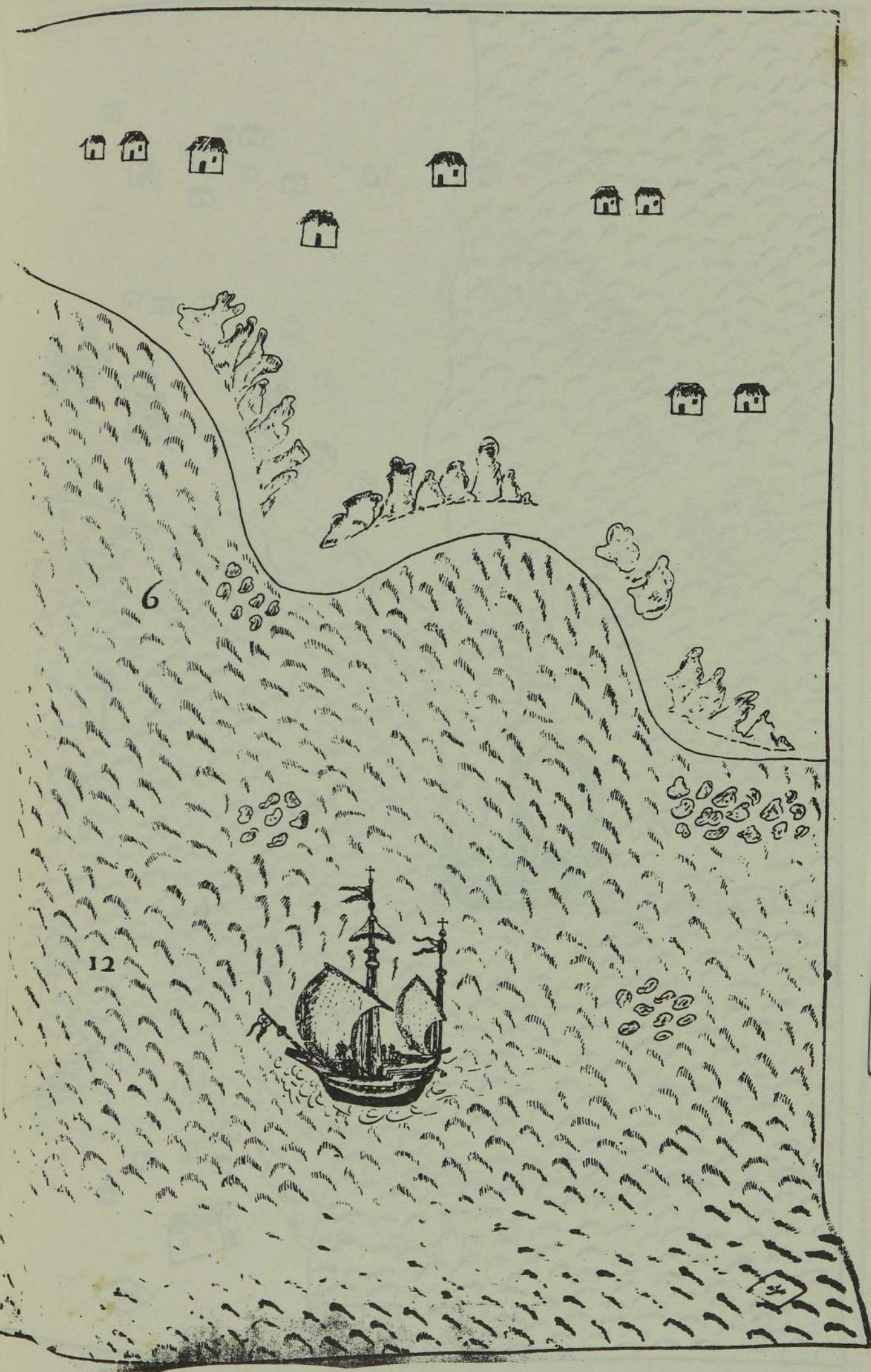
The revenue of the fort of Galle consists of that derived from a customs-house [from] which is collected every year, one thousand *xerafins* with some dues of the port and bay called *dekum*
1000-0-00

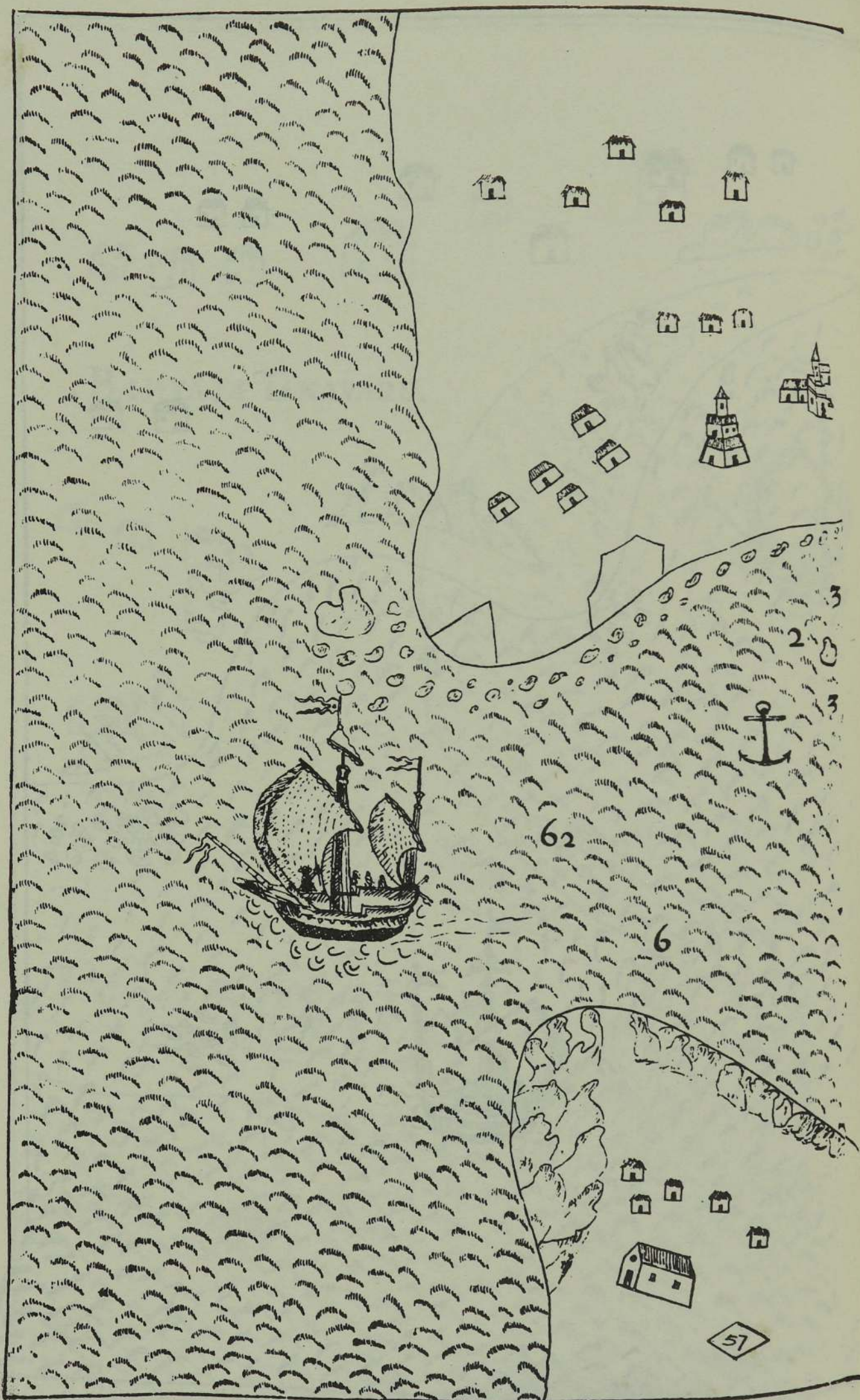
The fort has additionally under its jurisdiction two hundred and seventy-two villages, which are owned by Portuguese who live there for all of which a sum of two thousand eight hundred *xerafins* are paid, which sum is spent on the instructions of the Captain-General and superintendent of revenue of Ceylon when the land are in peace and the revenues are collected.¹⁷⁹

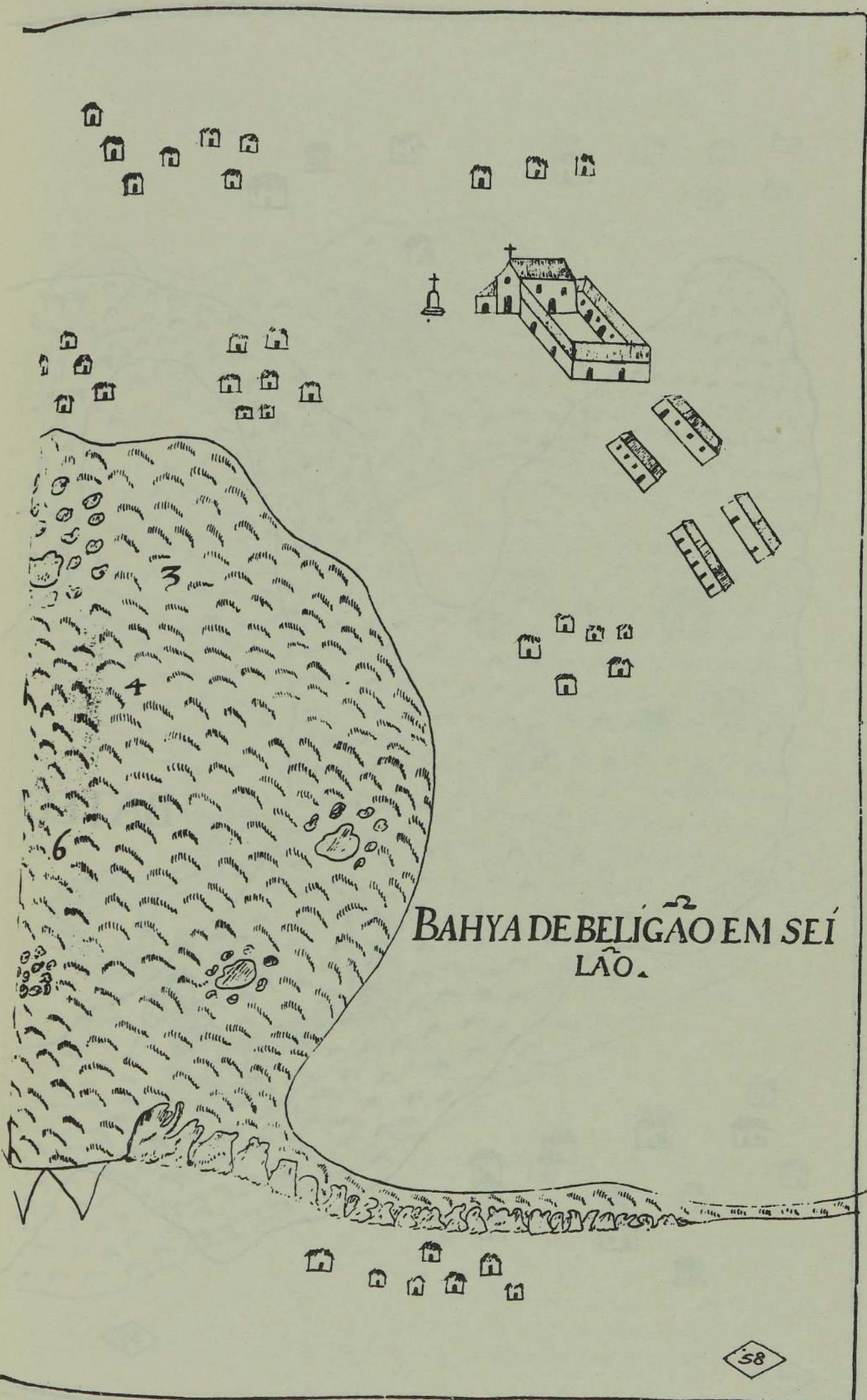
The fort of Galle is of great consequence and importance for the security of the lands of this side of the island as well as for purposes of navigation and of the port, since it is convenient for all these purposes.

BAHYA DE TANAVARE.

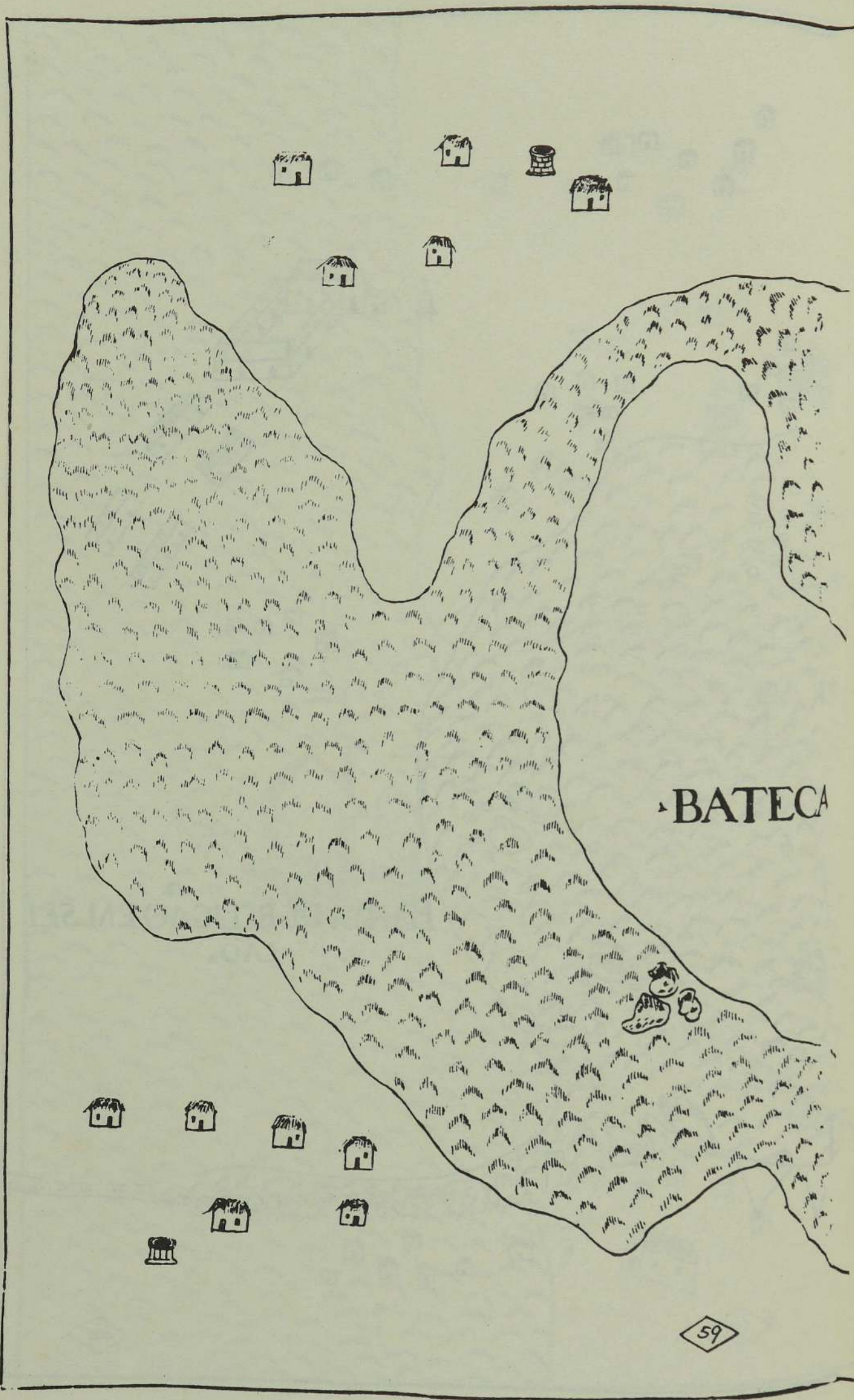




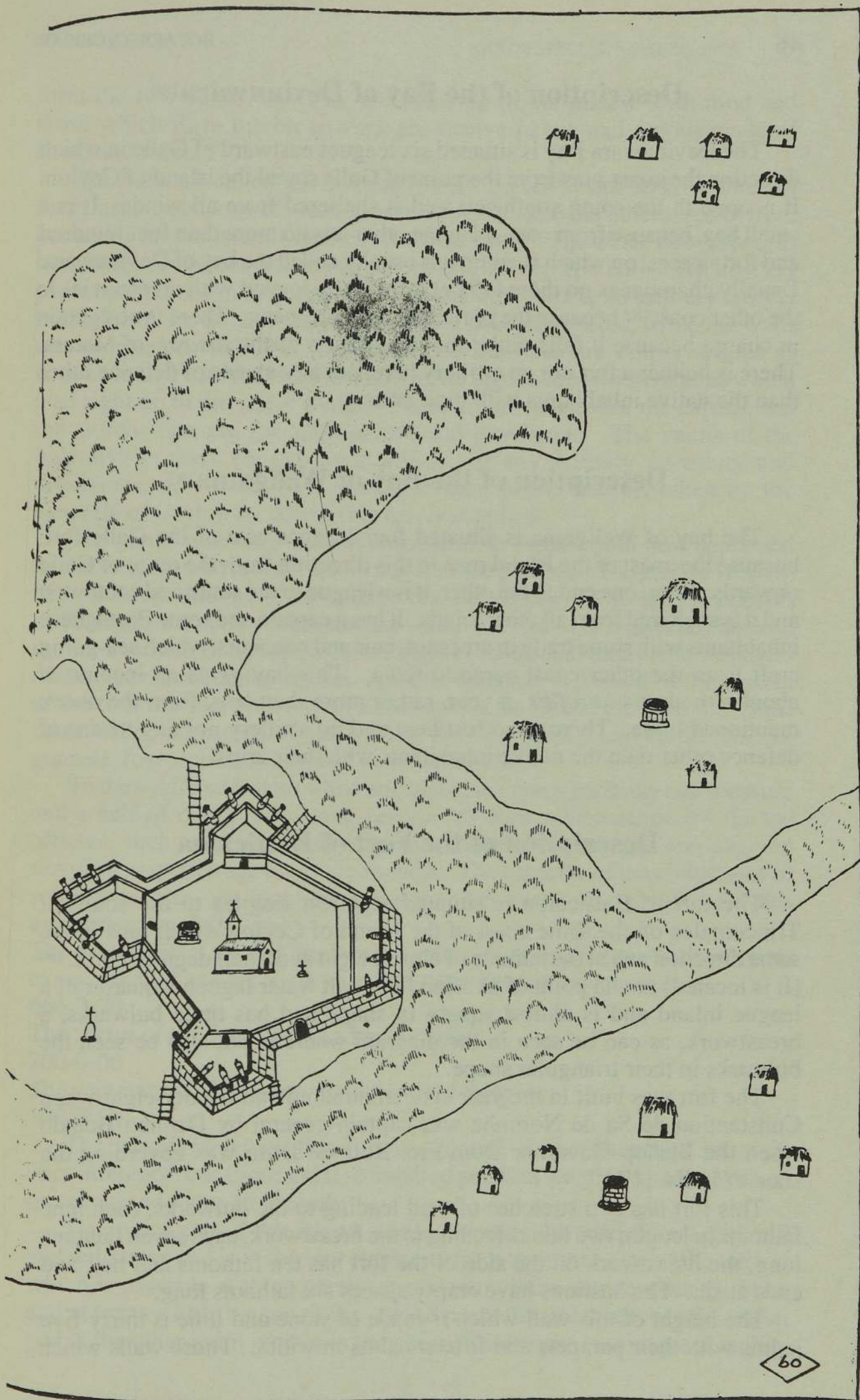




BAHYA DE BELIGÃO EM SEI LÃO.



BATECA



Description of the Bay of Devinuwara¹⁸⁰

The Devinuwara Bay is situated six leagues eastward of Galle in which direction the coast runs from the point of Galle round the island of Ceylon. It is open to the south southwest and is sheltered from all winds. It is a small bay, because from one end to the other it is no more than four hundred and forty paces, on which account it is usually called the bay of Devinuwara. Usually champanas go there [171v] from Galle loaded with arecanut¹⁸¹ to the other coast¹⁸² because the portorage is much nearer. There is no captain in charge because it falls under the jurisdiction of the *disava* of Matara. There is neither a fort nor an artillery here, nor any means of defence other than the native inhabitants with their arms.

Description of the Bay of Weligama¹⁸³

The bay of Weligama is situated four leagues east of the Galle fort, because the coast of the island runs in this direction from the point of Galle onwards. From one end to the other, it is a league to the south and southwest and it is sheltered from all other winds. It has a captain and some Portuguese inhabitants with some trade in arecanut, coir and coconuts, which sea-going craft from the other coast come to fetch. This bay gives an income of about a thousand *xerafins* a year, rather more than less, from the above mentioned trade. There is no fort here and no artillery nor any means of defence other than the native inhabitants with their arms.

Description of the Fort of Batticaloa

The fort of Batticaloa is situated eighteen leagues to the south of Trincomalee on the same coast of the island of Ceylon which runs in the same direction and at the latitude of almost eight and a half degrees north.¹⁸⁴ [It is located] on the point of an island in a salt water lagoon a quarter of a league inland and is almost square in shape and has three bulwarks, a breastwork, as can be seen in the diagram wherein can also be seen the bulwarks in their triangular shape.

The fort was built in the year sixteen hundred and twenty-eight when Constantino de Sa de Noronha was captain-general by Damiao Botado when the Bishop Governor Dom Frei Ruiz de Brito was governing the state of India. [174r]

This fort has two stretches of wall leading to the bulwarks, each nine fathoms in length; two others leading to the breastwork, each seven fathoms long; the breastwork on the side of the fort has ten fathoms and half and ends at six. The bastions have empty spaces six fathoms long.

The height of this wall which is made of stone and lime is thirty-five palms with their parapets and fifteen palms in width. Those walls which

form the two bulwarks which are filled up in the middle with mud and those which form the breastwork are twelve palms and are all made of stone and mortar.

The bulwark called Santa Cruz has six pieces of artillery,¹⁸⁵ three of them large-sized, one of bronze and two of iron, and the other three of iron, but small in size and all of them fire iron-balls. The other two bulwarks have three six-pounder artillery pieces each firing iron balls. All artillery pieces are placed in their carriages. In the breastwork, no artillery has yet been placed, for the *terreplein* has not yet been completed, while the walls are completed with their parapets. At the base are empty spaces as storehouses. From the two bulwarks to the lagoon are two stockades which lead right up to the water's edge. There are no houses for the captain and the storehouses are for ammunition and provisions. The vaults of the bulwarks contain enough ammunition for any military necessity and provisions, now more now less, according to the interest taken by the generals of Ceylon by whom this fort is supplied.

The garrison serving this fort consists of its captain until now appointed by the viceroy, who is also captain major of the garrison. The garrison consist of three companies with thirty soldiers in each company. Two of these consists of Portuguese and they are stationed within the fort in two thatched houses; the third consists of *topazes* who are blacks and are stationed in the stockades of the bastions along the lagoon. Another company is formed by the captain of the fort, together with the officials such as the factor, the vicar and some other additional people. Usually there are fifty sailors, two carpenters, six gunners, four stone masons, and two blacksmiths.

To the soldiers,¹⁸⁶ both white and black, are given each day one measure and a half of rice, [174 v] one *xerafin* as their maintenance.¹⁸⁷ To the officers, such as ensigns and sergeants, double that amount and also ten *xerafins* as quarterage every six months. The captains of the companies of soldiers receive one hundred *xerafins* each every six months. All this amounts to the following:

The captain¹⁸⁸ of the fort has two hundred *milres* as salary, which amounts to six hundred and sixty-six *xerafins*, three *tangas*, twenty *res*
666-3-20

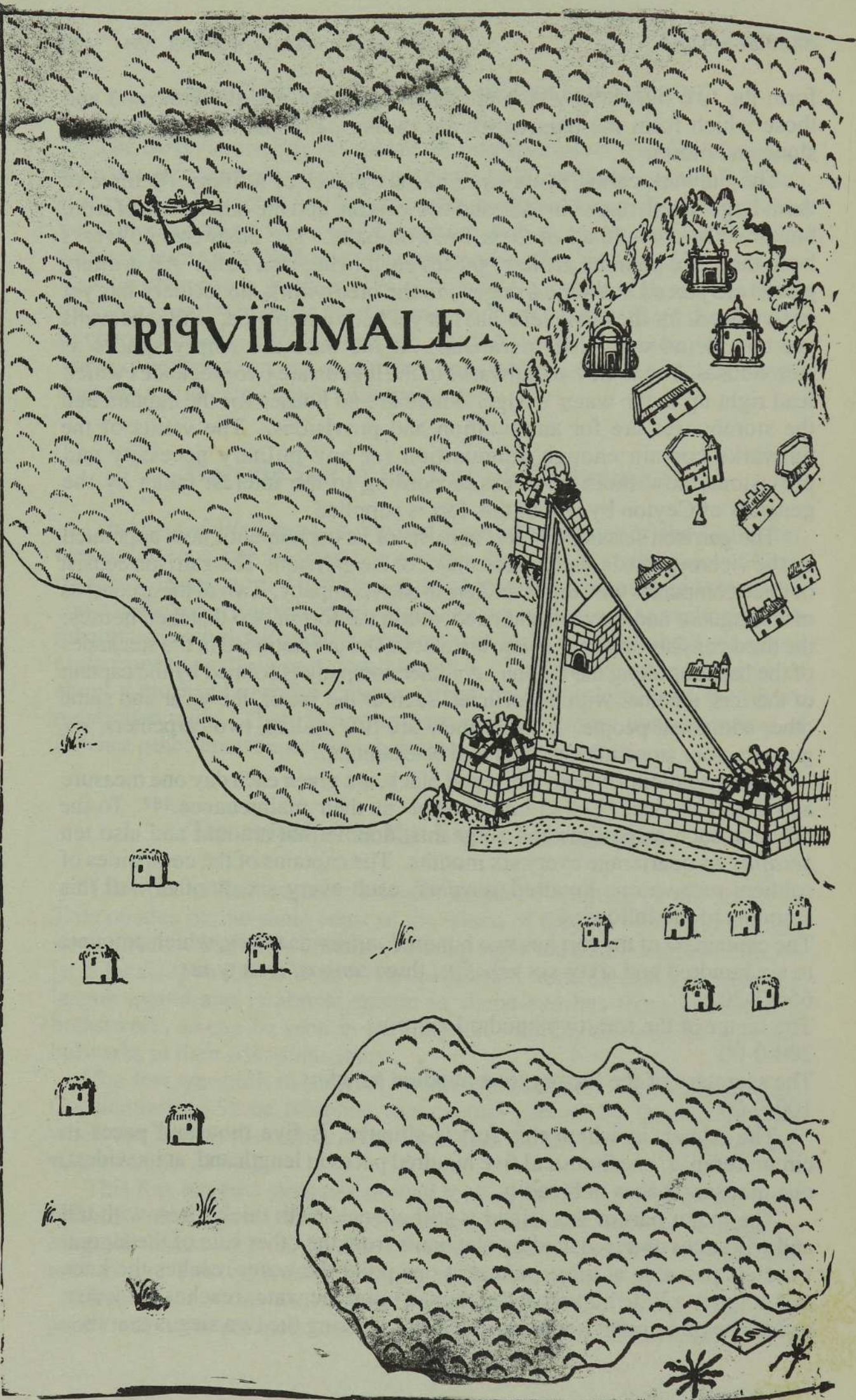
The factor of the fort, two hundred *xerafins*
200-0-00

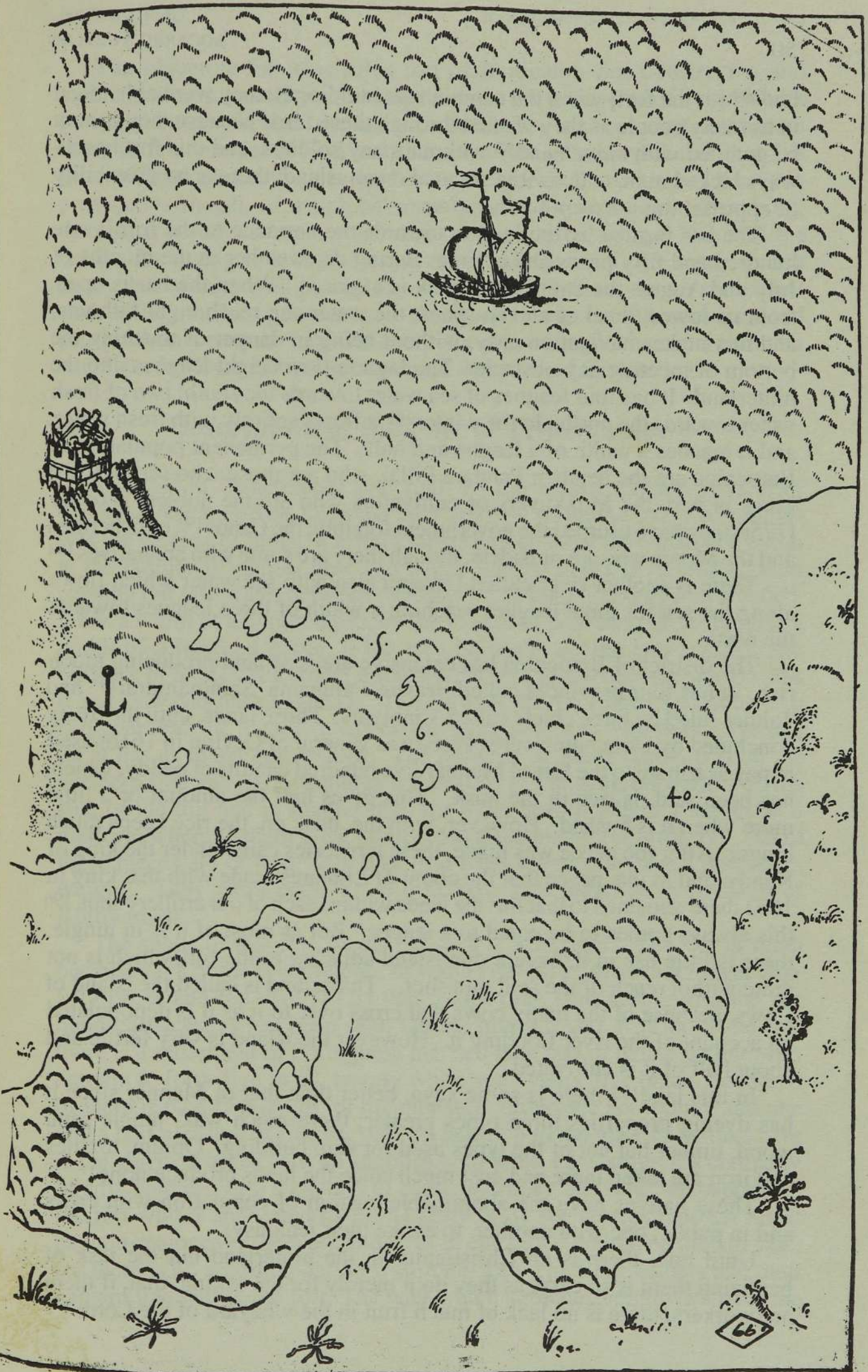
The secretary of the factory, one hundred *xerafins*
100-0-00

The island, in which this fort is situated, is five thousand paces in circumference, one thousand five hundred paces in length and, at its widest, one thousand paces in breadth.

The major part of this island is still covered with thick forest with tall and wild trees and is visited by elephants from the other side of the lagoon which is passable at three points; at one point the water reaches the knee and at times a little higher; at the second point the water reaches the waist; and at the other point it reaches the chest. During the two sieges that they

TRIVILIMALE





laid¹⁸⁹ [to the fort] when the captain was building it, they were able to get in as many people as they wished through these fords because they cannot be guarded with *manchuas*¹⁹⁰ without many soldiers, and this fort has always lacked men, and, as it is situated on an island, there is no possibility of approaching it except by *manchuas*.

The bar formed by the lagoon towards the entrance to the fort is one hundred and fifty paces and at times during dry weather in the months of July and August the entire sand bank is exposed. When the bar is open, from its lowest level of eleven spans, the water can reach eight fathoms, and this makes navigation easy, without being in danger of touching the bottom or meeting any obstacle. The lagoon flows eight leagues into the hinterland. It has four leagues of sea water towards the south; two of fresh water towards the north. In the winter¹⁹¹ it flows entirely with fresh water, and it reaches a width of a league and half. The permanent population of Batticaloa are the heathen Pandara Pillai, who are those who serve¹⁹² the kings in war, the Mukkuvers or cultivators who are the noblest here for [175r] they have usurped the government forcibly; the Canos¹⁹³ or fishermen and the Moors who are outsiders, though there are some who are natives¹⁹⁴

There is another river called Deraura also with sea water which flows along the sea for three leagues reaching a width of three leagues towards the north.

The district of Batticaloa has extensive areas of land producing much rice. It has four provinces called Eravur, Palugama, Sammanturai¹⁹⁵ and Taluira ruled by three chiefs called Vanniyars. Those lands, until the treaty concluded by Dom Nunalvares Pereira as general of Ceylon in 1616, used to pay as tribute to the fort of Mannar five hundred candils of paddy, which, has been said, is rice in the husk. This gives half the amount or a little more when it is husked. However, with the husk on, the rice keeps much longer. After the peace was made, these territories came under the king of Kandy, and in the peace that the count of Linhares made with that king in 1633 there remained to that fort the lands within reach of our artillery shot,¹⁹⁶ this always comes to be equal to a league. But as most of it is in jungle, there is little use in it, except one island adjacent to the fort which is not quite within reach of the said gun shot. This island is called the island of Cows, because of the many cows that cross over to it as it is depopulated on account of the river flooding it. However the island is very fertile and about half of it is cultivated.

In this land¹⁹⁷ there is some xaya, better than that of Mannar since it has dyeing properties three times greater; there much wax, jungle sapu wood, timber but not of the types used for ship building. Opium, textiles and iron are taken there and cost much since the lands produce none.

These natives have the abominable custom of copulation with cows and in public, one with another, to evoke their jealousy.

Until now there is no Christianity in the hinterland but the task of baptizing them is so easy, as they do it merely for the asking, that, if there are workers, there is no lack of much fruit in the vineyard of the Lord.

The objective for which this fort of Batticaloa was constructed and maintained was, in addition to being the same for which that of Trincomalee [is maintained], the fact the lands at Batticaloa are more extensive than those at Trincomalee [175v] and also more fertile and populated; that this river of Batticaloa is the principal line through which the king of Kandy is provided with salt, of which he is more in need than of any other thing; through it he obtains opium and many other similar things. This was the reason for seeing to it that this fort was assaulted until the recent peace treaty, but always with much loss on his part. If there were a settlement with sufficient Portuguese attached to this fort, one could begin to extend [our] authority over the lands [and] comfortably maintain them and maintain excellent facilities for navigation to all the areas of the South.¹⁹⁸

Description of the Fort of Trincomalee¹⁹⁹

The fort of Trincomalee was built by the former captain-general of Ceylon Constantino de Sa in the year 1622²⁰⁰ when the count admiral²⁰¹ was the viceroy of India. It is built on the east coast of the island of Ceylon at the latitude of almost nine and a half degrees north, on a strip of land running out into water between two bays. The land is craggy and wooded. It has a width of a hundred paces. The stretch of wall built there has also a width of a hundred paces. It has two bulwarks on the two corners: the bulwark of Santa Cruz which is on the southern side where the sea touches it and its waves dash against it. The bulwark has six pieces of artillery. It is bigger than the other two and can be equipped even with thirteen pieces for it has as many embrasures. The bulwark of Santo Antonio is on the northern side and has five pieces [of artillery]. The third bulwark is on the side of the hill and is smaller than the other two to which it serves as a platform where to plant great guns; it has three pieces [of artillery]. All of these pieces are of iron; they take iron balls seven to fourteen pounds in weight. They were taken from a Danish ship which was wrecked at Kottiyarama.

The shape of this fort, as can be seen is triangular. The site is small because each of the two stretches of wall in its full length is not longer than fifty paces and the wall [177r] that follows the land jutting into the sea hundred paces, as has been said. On the high ground in front of the fort there is a settlement of Portuguese married men and of native people who amount to forty-five in all, twenty white and twenty-five black. Each one of them is paid five *larins* of maintenance allowance per month, and one and a half measure of rice per day. In addition to the married settlers here is the garrison of the fort, all supplies with arms, consisting of a company of fifty soldiers with a captain to command them and with the captain of the fort who is appointed by his Majesty or by the viceroy, and serves as captain-major over them all, and lives in one of the houses on the hill side, for there is no accommodation within the fort. The fifty soldiers and their captain live within the fort. The wall which stretches lengthwise over the

strip of land is three and half fathoms high and six spans broad together with the parapet. They have started digging a trench three fathoms broad but not deep enough yet since on the northern side there is rock which can be hewn only with the pickaxe; hence the work proceeds slowly. The wall which stretches along the bay on the southern side has the same height and width; but that which stretches along the bay on the northern side is only a parapet of stone and lime built above the rock which rises from the sea. This wall has not been completed although orders have been issued to cut the rock on which it stands so that this may become more vertical so that it may serve as a wall.

The expenditure incurred on this fort with its garrison is as follows

The fifty soldiers [are paid] a *xerafin* each month per person and one and a half measure of rice per day [per person] as their maintenance allowance, and the thirty married settlers are paid five *larins* per person per month and one and a half measures of rice per day. The soldiers are paid two quarterages per year at nine Goa *xerafins* per quarterage, all of which amounts to one thousand two hundred Goa *xerafins*

1200-0-00

The captain of the fort is paid each year five hundred Ceylon *xerafins* as his salary [making] four hundred and fifty of Goa

450-0-00

To the factor, ninety Goa *xerafins*

90-0-00

To the secretary of the factory, thirty-six Goa *xerafins*

36-0-00

To the Father vicar, ninety Goa *xerafins*

90-0-00

Out of His Majesty's treasury an expenditure is incurred on the fort of one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six Goa *xerafins*, which are sent from Jafanapatam, besides the rice and all ammunition and provisions that are necessary for the fort

1866-0-00

The fort of Trincomalee has much territory under its jurisdiction called Tambalagama, which is not populated. The land is so fertile that in eight or ten days they plant and gather a harvest of greens,²⁰² There is a water reservoir made of stone, three leagues in circumference. It is called Kumburupitiya,²⁰³ and although it is now in ruins, yet it still retains much water with which many lands are irrigated. Opposite the port of Kottiyarama there is a fresh water river which empties itself into the sea at this point and which comes from Kandyan lands, and through which much of the trade of the ruler [of that kingdom] is conducted. Three leagues to the south of Trincomalee and making a sharp turn from the Trincomalee bay, one enters

the celebrated Bay of Bows²⁰⁴ which takes its name from the great number of bows made in those lands. This also has so much depth and is so spacious that a large number of galleons can enter and anchor and be sheltered from all storms. And nowhere in this state²⁰⁵ is there a similar port because not even the river of Bombay offers so much space, depth or shelter.

The direction in which the coast of the fort of Trincomalee runs is straight from the north to the south except where creeks and bays occur. The current depend on the direction of the wind on this coast. Within the area starting from Cape Comorin there are no more then two [winds], that is to say, the *cachan* and the *vara*. The *cachan* is the west wind and blows from May onwards through October; the *vara* blows from the north-north-east and the north finally veers towards the east the other six months. In the inter-monsoonal period there is a variety of winds for a brief period. [178r] When these two winds blow, and chiefly the *vara*, they have such violence that at times they develop into great cyclones which cause havoc and wreck all types of ships which they encounter at sea.

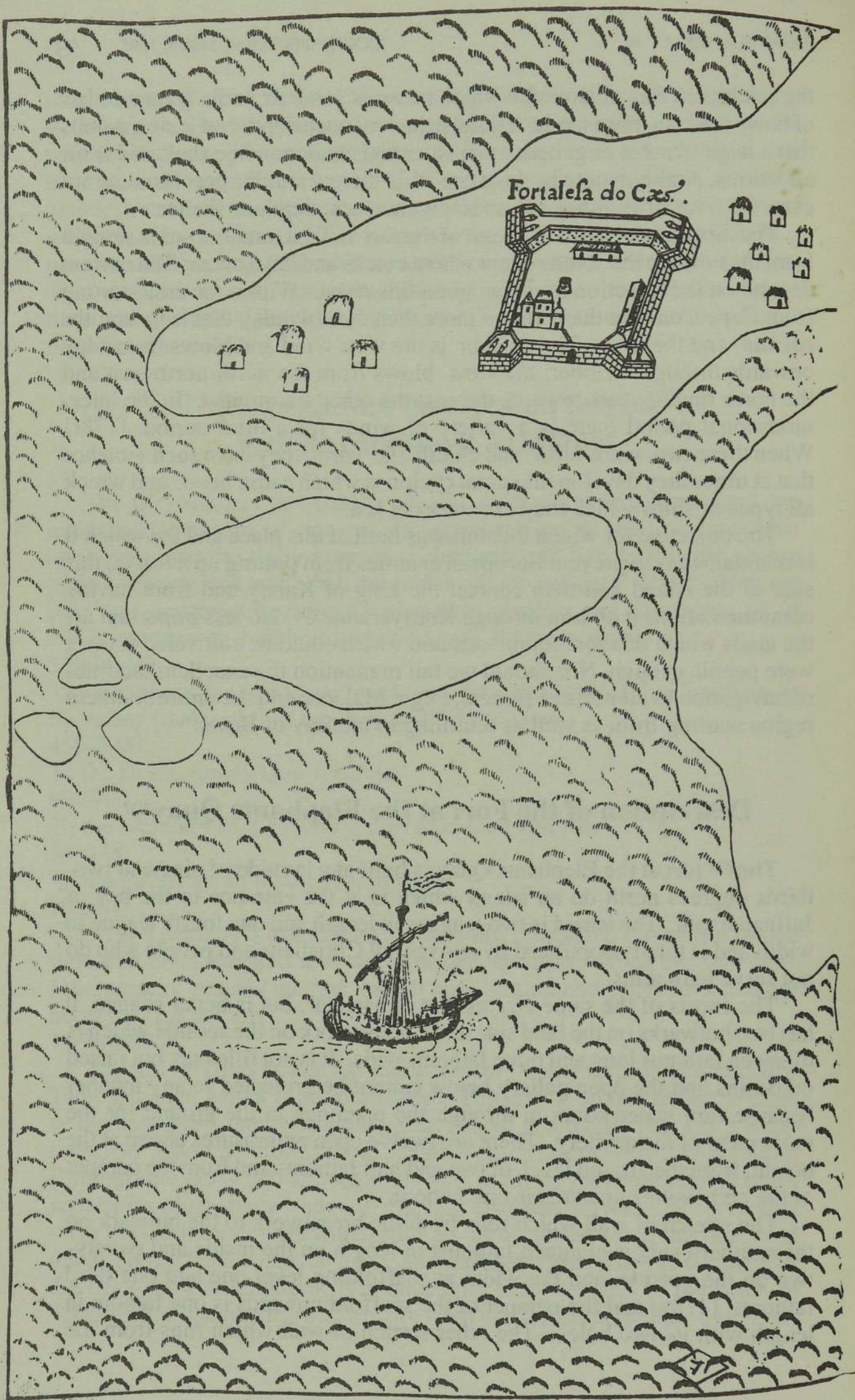
The objective for which this fort was built at this place and for which it is maintained is to prevent European enemies from putting up a fort on this side of the island and then contact the king of Kandy and from having communications with him through Kottiyarama.²⁰⁶ No less important are the lands which this fort commands and which could be cultivated if there were people enough. Nor should we fail to mention the excellent facilities of navigation to all ports of Bengal, Pegu, Malacca and the entire southern region starting from as well as returning to the Bay of Bows.

Description of the Fort at the Elephants Quay²⁰⁷

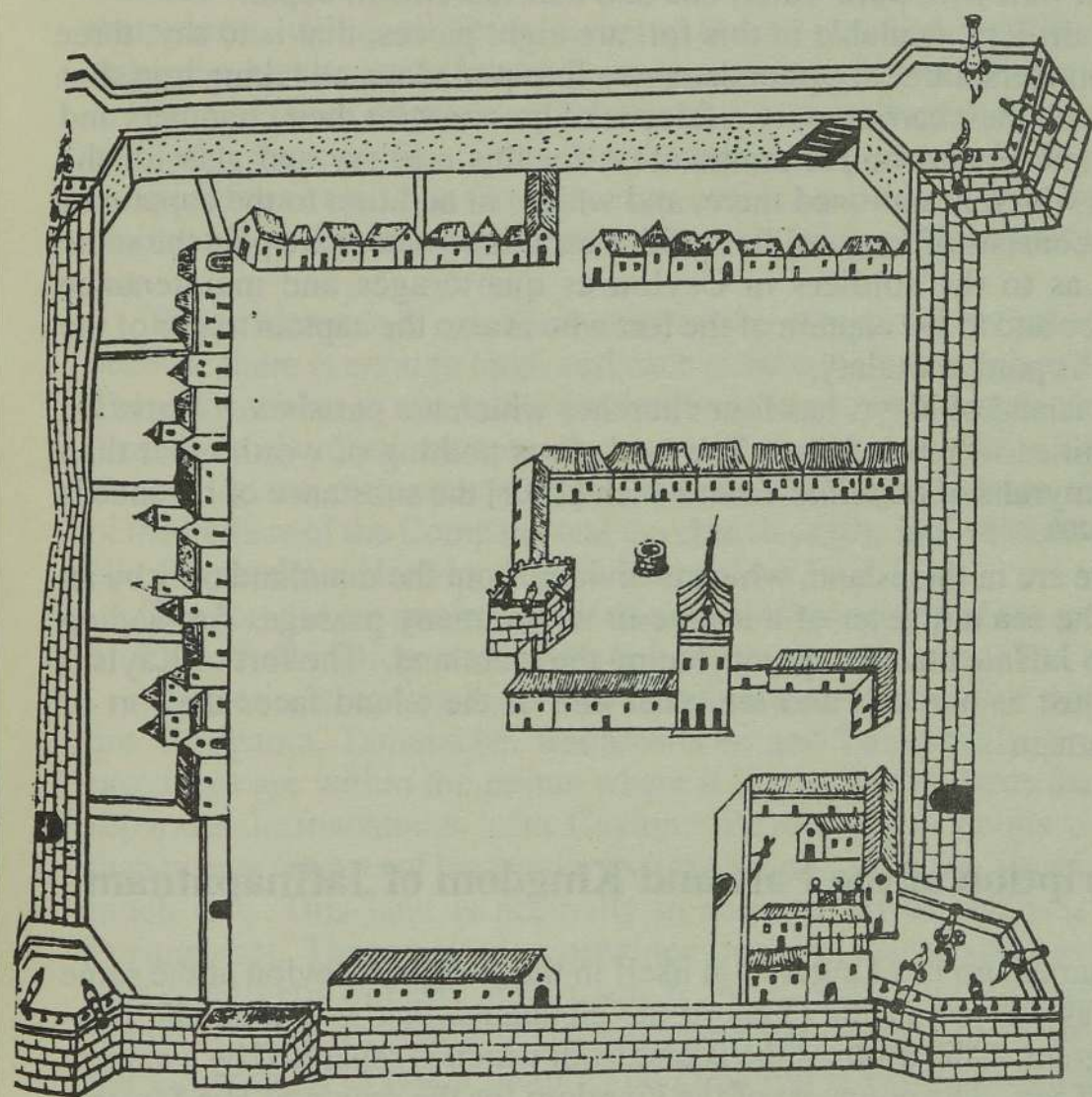
The²⁰⁸ fort at the Elephants Quay is built at a latitude of nine and two-thirds degrees north on an island which is at the entrance to the bay of Jaffnapatnam. The island is two leagues in length and one fourth league in width and is totally populated by natives, all Christians and people who do not serve with arms.

The fort is of the same size as that of Mannar, but is better shaped. It has two bulwarks on the land side and a breastwork on the seaside which is nineteen fathoms long and three fathoms wide. It is not filled up, but raised on beams and the open gallery below cannot be protected in any manner because rain water pours in through the openings in the ground for the movement of the artillery. There are twelve open embrasures above at the height, from the ground level, of two and half fathoms and from the parapet of the embrasures upwards is one fathom.

The stretch of wall which runs from the breastwork to the bulwark on the southern side is eighteen fathoms in length on the inside and twenty-two on the outside, and the width at scaffolding level one and one third fathoms, [178v] and the parapet of the scaffold upwards is one fathom in length with its two holes. The other stretch of wall which runs from the



AFANAPATAM.



breastwork to the other bulwark and which is on the other side, has exactly the same dimensions as the above. The stretch of wall between the two bulwarks is sixteen fathoms and three spans on the inside and, and at scaffold level, one and one-third fathom in width. All these stretches of wall are two and a half fathoms in height on the inside and the same on the outside. One of the bulwarks has a square basement, one of whose sides is five fathoms less one span, the four sides together being twenty fathoms minus four spans in length, and the outside height from the top to the ground is three fathoms. It has eight embrasures and the height from the parapets of the embrasures upwards is one fathom, with its loopholes. The other bulwark has exactly the same measurements.

The total enclosed area of the fort is sixty-six fathoms. In the middle there is a well with pure water, one and half fathoms in depth.

The artillery available in this fort are eight pieces, that is to say, three eight-pounders, three six-pounders, two five-pounders, all taking iron shot and all with their carriages; two falcons of bronze with their chambers and keys. There is also ample ammunition for this artillery and also for the garrison which is stationed there, and which, in addition to the captain of the fort, consists of forty soldiers with a captain to whom are paid the same amount as to the soldiers in Ceylon as quarterages and maintenance allowance and to the captain of the fort who is also the captain major of the garrison is paid his salary.

This island of Kayts has four churches which are parishes of Christian communities which are there. The land gives nothing of worth other than wild palmyrahs of *trafolins* from which [180r] the substance of revenue is derived.²⁰⁹

There are in this island, which is divided from the mainland only by an arm of the sea a quarter of a league in width, many passages for wading across to Jaffnapatnam at points facing the mainland. The fort of Kayts is located just at one end and the other end of the island faces the fort of Jaffnapatnam.

Description of the Fort and Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam

Jaffnapatnam is a kingdom in itself in the island of Ceylon at the same latitude as the fort of the Quay of the elephants, that is at nine and two-third degrees to the north of the island from which is separated by a narrow stretch of sea. The conquest of the kingdom for the crown of His Majesty was completed not long ago by Constantino de Sa de Noronha, captain-general of the island of Ceylon in the year six hundred and eighteen²¹⁰ when the count de Redondo was viceroy.²¹¹ Sankili,²¹² the king,²¹³ who had been governing that kingdom, was captured, removed to Goa and beheaded in the pillory there. From then onwards, there was begun the settlement of the Portuguese and the building of the fort, called Our Lady

of Miracles, which is now complete and which is a perfect square in shape and situated on the shore. Each stretch of wall of the fort is one hundred fathoms in length and four in height including the parapets, has a width of fifteen spans and is made of stone and mortar. The four bulwarks, each with eight sides on the four corners, rise one fathom above the walls and are filled up. Each casement has eight fathoms of empty space.

Twenty married settlers live within the fort in spacious houses of stone and mortar. They also perform garrison duty in addition to the soldiers who reside there. The soldiers are divided into three companies which, together with those stationed at the fort of Kayts, number two hundred and fifty, including seventy married men of the country. The Portuguese and their sons together add up to one hundred and twenty; [there are also] two hundred black Christians, all capable of wielding arms. These²¹⁴ with their slaves, will at all times, come up to four hundred and fifty men with arms, the greater part of them possessing fire-lock guns. [180v]

Each of those soldiers is paid the same amount as those in Ceylon, and similarly, the captain. Thus, six thousand nine hundred and thirty-two *xerafins* four *tangas* in Goa currency at five *tangas* a *xerafin* are paid for maintenance allowance and quarterages not taking into consideration the rice.

The settlement of *casados* outside the fort cover an extensive area, because there is enough land, and each person took as much as he wished. There are neither stockades²¹⁵ nor fortified places other than the fort. Within it are five churches, namely, the convent and church of St. Francis with three religious, the convent of St. Dominic with one religious, the convent of the Fathers of the Company and the church of [the Holy House of] Mercy, all of them draw His Majesty's allowances.

The fort has a captain who is also the captain-major of the garrison and of the entire kingdom and who has a salary of a thousand Goa *xerafins*.

The entire kingdom is divided into four provinces called *pattus* which are: Beligama, Tamarache, Badamarache and Punapatally.²¹⁶ All these provinces are within the points where it is possible to cross the river that separates Jaffnapatnam from Ceylon. Beyond these points it has more than twenty leagues of land under its jurisdiction, called the Vanni, producing much rice. This land is normally in state of revolt and war [with the Portuguese]. These *pattus* or provinces are made up of villages which pay quit rent to His Majesty and in which the natives live, the majority²¹⁷ of whom are people capable of bearing arms, but we took them away and did not allow them to retain them. The kingdom is twelve leagues in length and as many in breadth. It is separated from Ceylon by a river which passes by the settlement and goes on to skirt the fort of Kayts. This river has many points where people can wade across.

Nearly all are Christians. They are called Balalas, Carias²¹⁸ and Chados. There are forty-two churches throughout the kingdom of which twenty-five are run by the Friars of St. Francis and fifteen by the Paulists.²¹⁹ all parish churches, as there is great number of Christians. Granting that these

Christians are no better than many in European countries, yet here the secular arm obliges them to show much respect to the Fathers and to serve them and obey them to the degree that some Portuguese owners, to whom His [181r] Majesty has allowed and granted those villages complain that the Fathers have deprived them of all authority and jurisdiction over the inhabitants of those villages.

The total revenue collected from this kingdom on behalf of His Majesty is fourteen thousand seven hundred and fifty *pardaos*, each *pardao* being equal to ten *fanams* and each *fanam* to forty five *res*.

There is at this fort of Jaffnapatnam a customs house from which the collection for His Majesty amounts from six hundred, to seven hundred of these *pardaos*, each *pardao* being the equivalent of ten *fanams*, because the commerce is small in volume, and this land produces no merchandise other than an abundance of coconuts, jaggery,²²⁰ coir and *carsingas*,²²¹ and oil of sesame and margosa²²² and some elephants and *alias*²²³ for which ships from Masulipatam come, bringing cloth in exchange. The ships from Bengal bring here conch shells obtained from Tuticorin and smuggle some pepper. The land has no water other than rain water. Thus any cultivation and moisture that is there is purely through watering, on account of which shortages of rice do occur. What is available plentifully are wild palmyrahs which give no fruit other than what is called the *trafolin* nut,²²⁴ which is eaten when ripe and is also pressed and cut into pieces which they call *punato*²²⁵ and which is eaten, is as sweet as the stuff they use in India made out of butter, sugar and flour and which is called *alva*.²²⁶ Afterwards the stones of these nuts are planted and each produces a yam, called *calengo*,²²⁷ which is the food of poor people. Though the people are poor, we compel them to pay us what they cannot pay. Hence many of the people, desperate, run away and from this arise many of the causes of the rebellions in this island of Ceylon.

Comparing the revenues²²⁸ of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam which amount to what has been mentioned earlier, each year there remains a balance of income over expenditure.

The revenues of the customs houses are applied to the hospital where [181v] the sick are attended to, and which is managed by the Fathers of the Company [of Jesus] who just manage to run it with that income. The factor serves also as the customs house judge and the factory clerk as the clerk of the customs house. There are only two guards, of whom one is a porter, to whom are paid the maintenance allowance which are paid to the soldiers, that is, three *larins* per month, and the one and a half measure of rice per day. There are two other officers at the customs house, one being the inspector of weights and the other the *chapador*.²²⁹ these do not receive any salary from the king's treasury, but are entitled to their perquisites.

The factor, in addition, has *kanakapulle* and a measurer of the *pattayama* which is where rice is stored, and to him are also paid three *larins* per month and a measure and a half of rice per day, and a clerk to whom is paid the same and at times even quarterage as a soldier.

The captain major has two interpreters, one for Malabar²³⁰ and the other for Sinhala. To them are paid the same rates as for the others and usually the captain major orders that they be paid quarterages as well.

The factor has a salary of one hundred and twenty *milres* equal in *xerafins* to

400-0-00

The factory secretary. thirty *milres*, in *xerafins*

100-0-00

The vicar of the parish church, on hundred *xerafins* equal to Goa *xerafins* to

90-0-00

The beneficiary, fifty *xerafins* equal in Goa *xerafins* to

45-0-00

The forty vicars in the entire kingdom of Jaffnapatnam are each paid one hundred *xerafins* in Ceylon currency. This number includes those in the islands of Kayts, Forcados, Cardiva, Alepety and the island of Cows, which are situated adjacent to Jaffnapatnam and are all populated. Only the island of Cows has a fort, a little thing, built by the owner who maintains him (i.e. the vicar) at his own expense.

Additionally the lands of Vany pay to His Majesty's treasury, as quit rent, ten elephants and three *alias*, and when they are unable to hunt for elephants [182r] they pay in *fanams*, one hundred *xerafins* for an elephant and fifty for an *alia*. The island of Cows pays five *bezoars*²³¹ as quit rent.

The captains major of the kingdom of Jaffnapatnam are in the habit of levying many fines on the natives who live within those four *pattus*, and as the people are in a wretched condition, they have no option but to pay up; in this way the land is ruined and will become depopulated, for these people have no wherewithal with which to pay. Since this custom was taken from their heathen kings to whom they were subject, they themselves being heathens, there was no justification but to pay the fines. The reasons for these fines were not matters of serious import. Some of these fines are credited to the revenue with the factor, and amount to nearly two thousand *patacas* per year.

Leaving aside the revenue of the customs house and an additional four hundred and ten *pardaos* in *fanams* taken from those who had concealed that they had taken on rent the villages of the Portuguese, the revenue collected from the kingdom and mentioned above amounted to fifteen thousand four hundred and sixty *pardaos* in *fanams*, ten *fanams* making a *pardao*. Of this amount, six thousand nine hundred and thirty-two *pardaos* and four *tangas* are spent on the garrison; one thousand eight hundred and seventy-six²³² on Trincomalee and for the salary of the captain-major, the factor, the religious and the other allowances and four hundred *xerafins* paid to the captain of Kayts, two thousand one hundred and sixty-four *xerafins*; and three thousand six hundred, to the forty vicars of the kingdom and the islands. All this adds up to fourteen thousand five hundred and seventy three *xerafins* two *tangas* in Goa *xerafins*, at the rate of three

hundred *res* a *xerafin*. As the *pardaos* in the kingdom are each equal to four hundred and fifty *res*, the balance remaining is spent on the rice and provisions above mentioned, on gunpowder, and ammunition for the fort of Jaffnapatnam as well as for the forts of Kayts and Trincomalee, because all are provided from this factory. [182v]

The ships arriving from abroad stop opposite the fort of Kayts²³³ and unload their merchandise and ship them in smaller vessels to Jaffnapatnam. These are the large ships, as large as *champanas* and *charatones* which require less depth and sail from behind the islands from the Mannar side and reach the foot of the factory, and there unload all that they carry. In former times, incoming ships were very many since they came from Bengal in large numbers and also from Masulipatam. They brought cloth, iron, lead, and many other items with which they supplied this land. But since now they are not given elephants which was the principal item they came to buy, the ships that come are few.²³⁴ It has already been mentioned what they take away from this land. The monsoon and the winds are the same as those of the fort of Mannar. The direction of the coast of the fort of Jaffnapatnam to the north-east is up to Point Pedro, and on the south-west is up the island of Mannar.

The religious and their work

Friars of St. Francis

[216r]

Mannar: In Mannar there is a monastery with the four friars, and opposite that, in the lands of Mantota in Ceylon there are six rectories, each one with a friar who attends to the spiritual matters of those Sinhalese who are many in number.

Jaffnapatnam: In Jaffnapatnam there is a monastery with six friars and in the same kingdom there are twenty parish churches each one with a friar as rector with a large number of native Christians of the kingdom.

Ceylon: In Ceylon there is a monastery with six friars and in the same island there are fifty friars in the rectories, attending to the needs of a great number of Sinhalese Christians, already converted to our Holy Catholic Faith as well as others we are newly converting whose number cannot be exactly determined. In Galle there is a monastery with four friars.

The house of the friars *recoletos*²³⁵ of St. Francis has ten friars.

Friars of St. Augustine

[217r]

In Ceylon there is one monastery; in this and in the Christian communities in the island where they have churches of which they are vicars, there are eighteen friars, the majority of whom are engaged in converting the Sinhalese with a great increase in the number of Christians.

Friars of St. Dominic

[218r]

In Jaffnapatnam there is a friary with two friars.

In the city of Colombo there is a friary; in this and in the Christian communities in the interior there are fifteen or sixteen friars engaged in cultivation the souls of the Sinhalese natives and in newly converting others, gathering a great harvest.

In Galle there is a house with one friar.

Religious of the Society of Jesus

[219r]

In this state of the East Indies, the Society of Jesus has three provinces: the first is that of Goa. . . The second among these three provinces is that of Malabar. It has one hundred and ninety or two hundred religious in eight colleges and in Christian communities, distributed among the colleges of Cochin, Cranganore, Ceylon, Jaffnapatnam, Quilon, the coast of Travancore, the Fishery Coast and the Molucca Islands.

GLOSSARY

- Agras* : the Sinhala word is “*akara*” meaning “mine” (14)*
Alias : female elephant without tusks (58)
Almoxarife : an Arabic word meaning: the receiver of the King’s dues and customs (1)
Alva : a sweetmeat (58)
Arachchi : the captain of a company of soldiers (11)
Atukorale : a magistrate in charge of a *korale* (14)
Badda : a levy collected for the king (25)
Bala : Vellalas: farmers (5)
Balalas : Vellalas (57)
Banneka : for *banaka* or “interpreter” (20)
Berço : a small piece of artillery with chambers (1)
Cabeça : extreme point (11)
Cachan : wind blowing from south west (6)
Calao (plur. *caloes*) : an earthenware vessel (Sinhala: *kalaya*) (15)
Calengo : Kelengu : yam (58)
Camelete : a kind of cannon (11)
Camelo : a kind of cannon (11)
Canarias : stands for *kinnaraya*, people who make mats (14)
Canarin : name used by the Portuguese for the native of the islands of Goa, owing to a tradition pointing to the highlands of Kanara as the original birth place of those people (29)
Canos : the *Canos* are given as fishermen (50)
Carea : fishermen, sailors and soldiers (5, 10)
Carsingas : palm oil (58)
Casado : Portuguese married settler (5)
Chalea : people employed in peeling cinnamon (14)
Champana : a small vessel (6)
Chados: *Chandos* : a group of people (57)
Chapador : a person who collected the revenue for the stamp duty on cloth (58)
Charatone : a ship (60)
Coronheiro : a person who turns out the stocks of guns (26)
Couraça : a part of the fortification of a town. A work cast up to defend a besieged city from sallies (10)
Dekum : tax paid in money; also gifts presented to the king on ceremonial occasions (31)
Disava : this word is used in the sense of a province and also of the governor of a province (14)

* Nos. are reference(s) to the page(s), where the word first occurs, or where it is also explained [Editor]

- Galveto* : a corruption of *kadavata*, a frontier post (20); (see note 97)
Goripo : a person who made lance shafts (14)
Hulanbadda : a division of the Mahabadda or Cinnomon department (25)
Kachchi : cloth of a particular variety. The word is used also to indicate a roll of cloth of a specified length (18)
Kanakapulle : an officer who kept accounts (22)
Kangani : a Tamil word indicating a foreman supervising a gang of labourers (26)
Kelengu : a yam (58)
Kinnaraya : see *Canarias*
Korale : a province subdivided into *pattus* (16)
Lascarin : native soldiers (11)
Mahabadda : the Cinnamon department (14)
Manchua : a rowing boat (50)
Macuas : i.e. the *Mukkuwa*, a community of people at Batticaloa (50)
Marala : one-third of the estate of a dead person paid as dues to the government (31)
Mudaliyar : a military officer of high rank (11)
Naveta : a small sailing vessels with three decks (6)
Padda boat : a flat bottomed boat (19)
Pagueis : a sailing vessel (6)
Panivira or *panivida* : message and messenger (21)
Pannayas : a group of people who had to supply fodder for the royal elephants (31)
Paraveniya : also private property of an individual (17); see note 76
Pataxo : a vessel with two masts (6)
Pattayama : the grain-store (20)
Pattu : a district (14)
Perlin : *perali* : a Sinhala word meaning 'rebellions' used in the document as *perlin* and *perlins* (15)
Punato : dried pulp of the palmyrah (58)
Saracas : a variety of Indian cloth (5)
Tancar or *tanear* : apparently a Tamil word meaning "to unload" (6)
Urraqua : arrack (5)
Valefarão : probably the same as *varipanam*, 'tax, tribute' (30)
Vara : wind blowing from the north east (6)
Vidane : A chief of the lands of the native people (19)
Vodaria : *vidane* (19) ; see note 91.
Xaya : a root used to dye clothes (50)
Xerafo : i.e. shroff, see note 117.

See: Glossary of Terms used in official correspondence of the government of Sri Lanka, compiled from Records at the National Archives by S. A. W. Mottau, *The Sri Lanka Archives*, Vol. 3, 1985. [Editor]

NOTES

1. This date is erroneous as is the case with many other dates given in the section relating to Sri Lanka in this work. The island of Mannar was taken by the Portuguese viceroy, Don Constantino de Braganza about the year 1560 and the fort was built soon after. Albergaria built the fort at Colombo in 1518, not the fort at Mannar.
2. The Portuguese word used here is *muro* meaning wall. But an embankment of thick earth faced with stone on the outside and inside, were the essential feature of fortifications of the period. *Rampart* rather than wall seems the more appropriate term. I have preferred that term here.
3. The text reads *Os dous baluartes cubertos mais altos hum que o muro*, i.e. each of the two covered bastions being taller than the wall. But this does not make sense as a bastion is necessarily taller than the wall. The readings of the BL (f. 339) and BNP (f. 327) are: *Os dous baluartes cubertos mais altos hum que o outro* which translates 'one of the two covered bastions being taller than the other'
4. The meaning here seems to be that though the stretches of wall between the bastions are of little importance, the structure itself is solid and can withstand an attack.
5. The pearl fishery was not held between 1604 and 1634. See C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*. Colombo, 1972, p. 185.
6. Falcons are ancient pieces of ordnance.
7. *Berços* are small pieces of artillery with chambers, throwing shots weighing three pounds. *Half berços* were smaller pieces of artillery.
8. An Arabic word meaning the receiver of the king's dues and customs.
9. In BL, 70,000 *milres*. In BNP 233 *xerafins* 1 *tanga* and 40 *res*. The Évora and SLNA codices have the same reading.
10. In BL and BNP codices, 40,000 *res*. and 133-1-40. In the Évora codex, the statement that the judge serves in Jaffnapatam also, is omitted

11. In the SLNA codex the amount is left blank. The amount given here is that from the BL and BNP codices.
12. The treasurer of the church was the person in charge of the upkeep of the church and had to see to all the expenses connected with it.
13. The amount is not given. A *candy* was equivalent to about 500 lbs.
14. The mark V or U is employed in Portuguese documents of the period to mark off the thousands much the same way as commas mark off the hundred thousands and thousands in a figure like 2,50,000. So 150v *xer.* seems to stand for 150,000 *xerafins*.
15. Arrack rent, arrack being a variety of spirit distilled from the coconut or palmyrah palm.
16. Holy House of Mercy, a well known Portuguese charitable organization of the time.
17. A measure of weight equal to about 400 to 500 lbs in Sri Lanka
18. A variety of Indian cloth.
19. In BNP codex the number is given as 60
20. In the BNP codex there is a touch of poetry here as instead of spacious (*largos*) describes the gardens as cool (*frescos*).
21. The BL codex does not have the paragraphs beginning "The ferry..." and ending at this point. In the same codex, the next paragraphs are positioned differently before the revenue and expenditure particulars of Mannar.
22. *Carea* : see Glossary, hereinabove; *Bala*, probably Vellala.
23. By "figs" Portuguese works of the period mean, "banana plants"
24. *Pataxos* were vessels with two masts.
25. Small sailing vessels with three decks.
26. *Champanas* were small sea-going craft, originally perhaps Malaysian. The word has been nativised in the Sinhala language as *hamban* and forms part of place names such as Hambantota (i.e. *champana* port).

27. *Tancar* or *Tanear* (both forms appear to have been used, cf. Évora and SLNA codices) was a term used locally and it is said to be from Tamil *tannukiradu* i.e. unlade (see F. de Queyro, *Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*. (trans. into English by S. G. Perera), Colombo, 1930, pp. 1, 7 and notes. Its meaning is explained in the passage.
28. This sentence is omitted in some codices e.g. BNP.
29. The text here runs *o fundo de baixo he area onde faz algus canaes*. I believe this is what it means.
30. The Portuguese text here is extremely difficult.
31. The author means *Estado da India*, the Portuguese term for their possessions in the East.
32. For a description of the role that Mannar played in the last two decades of the sixteenth century and for its revenues and expenditure during the same period see *Portuguese Regimentos on Sri Lanka at the Goa Archives*. ed. Tikiri Abeyasinghe, Colombo 1974, pp. 3-8.
33. The opening sentence in BL and BNP codices differ from that in the SLNA and Évora copies, though all embody the same information. The Paris codex has the clearest sequence and I have followed it in the opening sentence. The Paris codex says that the Kelani river flows into the sea one league from Colombo, but I have retained the SLNA codex reading which gives only half a league, which, I think is nearer to the true distance.
34. "In Mutwal, upon the bar which the Chingalas call Modere, the beautiful and well built church of St John the Baptist". (Queyro, *op.cit.* p. 714). The reference to San Joao must be to this church as it was at Modera where the Kelani river falls into the sea. The church of St John is still standing in the same place.
35. In the time of Captain General Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo (1594-1612), Lourenço Teixeira de Macedo was granted the port of Negombo on condition that he will build and maintain a fort at Negombo.
36. Even in 1639 the fort of Negombo was incomplete. See Abeyasinghe, *Regimentos*, *op cit.* p. 80
37. *Pataxos* and *pagueis* are types of sailing craft. (see footnote 24 above)

38. The SLNA codex has only *sahir* i.e. to go out; the BNP codex has *entrar e sahir* i.e. to enter and to go out.
39. In SLNA codex, the word used for rebellion is *perlins*, i.e. *perali*, a Sinhalese word.
40. The fort of Colombo was built by Lopo Soares de Albergaria in 1518; rebuilt with stronger defences in 1520; dismantled by order of the King of Portugal in 1524; and then built again in 1554. It is this last fort, with some modifications, that is described by Bocarro.
41. *Couraça* is defined in older Portuguese dictionaries as a work in ancient fortifications thrown up in a besieged city to defend the besieged from sallies. The English equivalent usually given is breast-work, but the latter is a temporary structure while the *couraça* in Portuguese forts seems to have been a permanent feature at least in the bigger forts.
42. In the BNP codex this sentence reads "all the *baluartes* tower a fathom above the walls, and the wall is only two fathoms in height which is to say, 20 spans". f. 335
43. The *lascarins* are native soldiers; the *aratchis* and *mudaliyars* are military officers.
44. The enumeration following this does not add up to 30.
45. In both the Évora and the BNP codices the number given here is 4.
46. The *camelete* and the *camelo* were two kinds of cannon.
47. In the BNP codex, 18.
48. *Marca mayor* can mean something of uncommon size. It can also refer to a mark inscribed on the gun barrel indicating the founder's "brand name" or ownership. As I have seen references to "imperial mark" in guns, I believe that *marca mayor* refers to such a mark and not to an idiomatic use to size.
49. In the BNP codex, 36.
50. In the BNP codex the dimensions given are 75, 50 and 195 leagues respectively. The figures of the BL and Évora codices are the same as those of the SLNA manuscript.

51. The territories of the King of Kandy did produce cinnamon and this information is erroneous.
52. It is clear that the reference is to the territories under the Portuguese.
53. The word *disava* is used in the sense of both provincial governor and province.
54. Fr. S. G. Perera says that the entire stretch of land from Galle Face to Mount Lavinia was called Mapane at the time but quotes no evidence.
55. Queyroz gives only seven. See *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon..op. cit.* p. 34
56. A *comarca* was a district of a province of Portugal.
57. In the SLNA codex the phrase reads '*que a guerra os foi diminuendo*' (the war having diminished them), while in the Paris codex the phrase is '*que agora os foi diminuendo*' (which is now diminished).
58. The Mahabadda was a department concerned with cinnamon gathering. Chaleas were employed in the Mahabadda.
59. This word is unknown to the Portuguese or Sinhalese languages, as far as I know. The Portuguese dues-register for the Kotte Lands describe *gorippos* as '*aquestes que fazem as tias das lansas*' which is the same definition given here.
60. The word is *kinnaraya* (Sinhala).
61. These names are spelt in the document respectively as Caliture, Selicao, Gale, and Beligao. Selicao is a mistake for Alicao which is the term the Portuguese used for Alutgama.
62. Known as Nagalagam Street (in Grand Pass) today.
63. The Évora codice has *Vua*.
64. In the BL and BNP codices the figure given is 1300. The Évora codex gives 300, which is obviously a mistake.
65. The spelling given in the documents are Manicavare and variants.
66. In the document, the spelling is Pomparapim.
67. The BNP codex gives 16 leagues.

68. In the SLNA codex the spelling is Regapore while in the BNP codex it is Raieporem.
69. The attribution of the monuments to the Romans is found only in SLNA and in the Évora codices. In the BL and BNP documents the reference to the Romans is dropped.
70. *Calao* (plural, *caloes* is defined in Vieira's dictionary as an Indian earthenware vessel. The earthenware water-pot in Sinhalese is also called *kalaya* or *kalagediya*.
71. The rebellion which followed the death of the Captain-General Constantino de Sa de Noronha in 1630.
72. The BL and BNP and the Évora codices do not have this paragraph and it is not clear whether the reference is to some buildings in Malwana or in Colombo.
73. According to the Kandyan-Portuguese treaties of 1617 and 1633-4, the Kandyan ruler promised an annual tribute of two elephants in 1617 and of one elephant in 1633 for six years and thereafter two a year. See C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*. Colombo, 1972, pp. 33, 139.
74. This was also the view of D. Jeronimo de Azevedo who was captain general during the years 1594 to 1612. See T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Regimentos op.cit.* pp. 43, 48
75. In the SLNA codex the reading is 'in the kingdom of Kandy'. I have adopted the reading given here, which is what is found in the other codices.
76. The text has '*com grandes paravenias que he o mesmo que comodidades*'. The word *comodidades* meaning convenience, luxury, etc. seems to have been used in Sri Lanka by the Portuguese for royal lands held by private parties for some service to the king. The Dutch and the early British in Sri Lanka continued the Portuguese usage, calling such lands, *accommodesan*.
77. The SLNA codex has '*como assima possibilidades*' which must be an obvious error of the copyist for '*as impossibilidades*' which the other three codices get right.
78. The SLNA and Évora codices have *comer certo*; while the BL codex has *comercio* (trade) and the BNP has *concerto*.

79. This sentence is omitted in the BL codex. The promised description does not occur in any of the codices.
80. This is not correct as the Portuguese did not get the revenue of the Kandyan lands.
81. What the writer means is that proceeds from the export of cinnamon were not credited to the revenues of the Portuguese government in Sri Lanka.
82. Commutative justice consists in respecting the rights of other people and in giving to them what is due to them. Distributive justice binds those in authority obliging them to distribute the burdens and the benefits among the citizens according to their merits and needs, without any favouritism or discrimination.
83. The SLNA codex is the only one in which the next three paragraphs appear. The other three codices carry the list of expenditure from this point onwards.
84. *Kachchi* is cloth of a particular variety. It also stands for dues paid in cloth and roll of cloth of a specified length.
85. During the viceroyalty of the Count of Linhares (1629-1635), the Portuguese had negotiated a contract with the Nayak of Madura to exchange elephants from Sri Lanka for the saltpetre produced in his kingdom. The reference is to this order of Linhares and its implementation. See Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Regimentos. op cit.* p. 11.
86. The text has, *de Bengala quando estava em pee*. Could it be an error for *em paz*, in peace?
87. The spelling in the document is Manicaruará.
88. In the BL and BNP copies the information is arranged more intelligently, "the camp at Menikkadawara consists of 13 companies with 28 soldiers in each company and each company has its captains, ensigns and sergeants, and in addition 15 soldiers are attached to the captain major, all of them making a total of 413 persons, excluding the 13 captains". Note how the total varies.
89. The spelling of the document is Sofragao. Probably Ratnapura is meant. Ratnapura seems to be a modern name, because no 17th century Portuguese document uses that name.
90. The spelling in the document is Maluana.

91. The word is spelt as *vodaria* in the SLNA and Évora codices. The BNP and BL have the correct spelling.
92. In the Sinhalese literature of the period *padda* from which comes the Portuguese word *pada* used in this document. Pada-boats are flat bottomed.
93. Caliture in the document.
94. Quarterage means a quarter's salary. There should by definition, have been four such payments a year, but soldiers in Sri Lanka were paid only twice a year.
95. From the phrase it is evident that the captain-major of the field is meant.
96. *Pattayama* was the grain-store
97. The document uses the word *galvetos* which is a corruption of the Sinhala word *kadavata*. The Portuguese could never distinguish the Sinhala cerebral "d" and represented it with the consonant "r"; thus Nagoda became Nagora, Angoda became Angora. Similarly *kadavata* became *karavaata* and with the softening of the "k" it became *garavata* which some writers reproduce as *garaveto*. Garavato on the lips of the Dutch became the English gravet.
98. The word used by the document is *panavira* from Sinhala *panivida* or *payinda*, i.e. message. Here again the cerebral "d" has become "r".
99. The words used by the document are *Tambor*, *pifars*. In the Sinhalese documents of the period we find *Tamboru*, *puranpettu*.
100. *Arachchi* is a captain of a company of local soldiers in the BL document the amount is given as 1329 *xer. 2 tgs.* and in the BNP as 1229 *xer. 2 tgs.*
101. The *Banneka* also was an interpreter. The word is misspelt as *bariaca* in the SLNA document; but the other documents have the correct spelling as *banaka*.
102. The BNP codice has "the same torches" which is more appropriate.
103. The BNP codex has "four measures".
104. The BL and BNP documents give 58-3-22 1/2.

105. Members of Black African tribes, whom the Portuguese brought over as troops to Sri Lanka. It is possible that the Portuguese speaking groups of people who live near Puttalam at present are the descendants of these Africans.
106. Captain-general in Colombo, 1631-1634.
107. The *kanakapulles* were officers who kept accounts. Measurers were those charged with measuring grain. Robert Knox gives their Sinhala title *mananna*.
108. A clerical error for 108 *xer*. All the other copies as well as the tabulated figures on the right hand margin give the correct sum of 108 *xer*.
109. The word in the text is *manchua*, that is a rowing boat in the Indian waters. It can sometimes be fitted with sail.
110. The BNP and the BL codices have *todo o anno* i.e. all the year round.
111. The word in the text is *vesterias*; literally, an allowance for uniforms.
112. Obviously to be distributed at the rate of one *kachchi* to each sailor and double the rate for the two masters.
113. It is possible that some of the coolies were palanquin bearers who had to carry the factor etc... "The coolies who carry... the factor..." would make sense only if this were so.
114. This was an honour conferred by the king of Portugal. An annual allowance also went to the recipient. The captain concerned was Lourenço Teixeira de Macedo, who had spent a long period of service in the island.
115. The Deduru Oya.
116. Goa.
117. "*E ao xerafo que vee o dinheiro*" : The word *xerafo* is from the Arabic and means a money-changer or a banker. For a fuller explanation see Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson Jobson : A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindred terms, etymological, historical, geographical and discursive*. London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968. s.v. shroff. There was a shroff in Colombo; see item no. 73.

118. The sum is incorrect. At 3 *larins* per month, each lascarin will get 36 *larins* and the three lascarins 108 *larins*. In terms of *xerafins* this is equal to 32 *xer.* 2 *tgs.*
119. The amount given in the SLNA text here is 120 *xer.* 4 *tgs.* an obvious clerical error. The other manuscripts have the correct figure.
120. The arecanut was exchanged for cloth at the rate of one *kachchi* of cloth for an *amuna* of arecanut, an *amuna* consisting of 24 to 26000 nuts.
121. In the BL and BNP codices the figure is 1500 bundles (*fardos*) made up of 600 of the *badda*, 350 added on by Gonsalves, 400 from Gampaha and 150 from Galle.
122. In the 16th century the kings of Kotte had begun to pay the Portuguese a tribute of 300 *bahars* of cinnamon. In 1597 when Dharmapala died, this tribute stood at 400 *bahars*. Later the amount due to the government was increased by 200 *bahars* making it 600. This is the *badda* of ancient times referred to here. *Badda* here means dues paid to the king.
123. Captain General 1631-1634.
124. Mahabadda and Hulambadda were groups into which the cinnamon peelers were organized for the purpose of performing their services to the government.
125. This paragraph is a good example of the kind of shorthand like prose in which this manuscript is written.
126. This should be one hundred and eighty seven *xerafins* as it is in the Évora codex.
127. Goripos are, according to the Portuguese tombo, “those who make lance-shafts”. Paul Pieris (in his *Sinhale and the Patriots, 1815-1818*, Colombo, 1950, p. 482) defines them as those who lacquered spear staves.
128. This word is not found in dictionaries. *Coronha* is, however, the butt or stock of a gun. *Coroneiros* were probably those who turned out the stocks or butts of guns. Kuruneru occurs as a personal name in Sri Lanka.
129. Betal or Batel in the documents. The name Pasbetal Road recalls the Portuguese form of the name. The name Passbetal Road was recently changed into Sri Wickrama Mawatha.

130. The Father of the Christians was a priest chosen to look after the interests of the local Christians, protecting them from exploitation by the Portuguese officials, landlords or local chiefs.
131. On the other side of the river. Even today there is a Kalutara South and a Kalutara North.
132. What this allowance was for is not explained. As item 70 indicates, a similar amount was granted to the Dominican Convent too, the payment must have been a standard one, for a specific religious service.
133. Spelt respectively as Caimel, Chilao, Madampe and Calpete in the documents.
134. The spelling found in the document is Welgampete, Bobity, Urgampola, Matamane, Munecerao, and Calpety. Only Matamana is not identifiable.
135. The village of Munessarama and the 42 villages appurtenanced to it, was granted to the Jesuits in 1605, three years after they had arrived in the island. The grant was withdrawn in 1618, but the Portuguese governor Fernão de Albuquerque allowed the Jesuits to re-occupy it on periodic renewal by the king. Thereafter, till the 1630s, they continued to possess Munessarama. The viceroy Count of Linhares gave orders that the village be withdrawn and they be compensated with other land. This statement means that the Jesuits had not released the land. They succeeded in holding on to it until the Dutch conquest.
136. The SLNA codex gives 360-1-00 an obvious error for 360-0-00
137. *Badda* here means a levy collected for the king from areca palm owners.
138. Bulatgama was an area, later under Kandyan rulers, divided into Uda and Pata Bulatgama, i.e. Upper and Lower Bulatgama.
139. Used for firing guns of the period.
140. Canarins are the people of the Kanara region in India.
141. The BNP codex adds here the phrase "which is what a year has".
142. Probably it is the Tamil word *varipanam*, used also in Sinhala, and meaning "tax, tribute".

143. Probably the Sinhalese word *akara* meaning “mine”.
144. All the details following this word are given only in the SLNA and Évora codices only.
145. Captain General in 1618-1621 and 1623-1630s
146. At this point, in the Évora codex, the following phrase occurs: “an order of His Majesty who has declared that neither general nor the superintendent of revenue collect so much as a single arecanut in those lands”.
147. Captain General, 1631-1634.
148. The viceroy, Conde de Linhares.
149. The details given in this paragraph from this point onwards are found only in the SLNA and Évora codices.
150. i.e. the cinnamon peelers of the Mahabadda.
151. The Pannayas were a group of people who had to supply fodder to the royal elephants.
152. Oxen owners had to serve the government in the transport of arecanut, paddy, etc. They were a separate *badda*, (or department) just as cinnamon peelers were.
153. The suggestion that the income from 12 villages be set apart to supply the needs of the army camp seems to have originated about 1620. Immediately, it ran into a barrage of opposition from interested parties which included the captain major, the Jesuits, and the influential *casados*. Among the villages proposed for inclusion were Dorawaka, Mandamarawita, Walapane (all in Beligal *korale*), Talampitiya, Kuttapitiya, Opanake, Munnessarama, Madampe, Kattange, Kanande, Visinava, Gampaha, Gilimale, Bambarabotuwa, Kandagamuwa and Anavilandana. Which of these were eventually resumed and set apart is not known, though a document of 1634 mentions Dorawaka and Madampe as two of the twelve. (Lisbon, *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, India Caixa* 10, Doc. No 200 of 20 December 1634; Lisbon, *Arquivo Nacional do Torre do Tombo, Documentos Remettidos da India*, Vol. 24, Doc. 119)
154. *Dekum*, tax paid in money; also presents taken on the occasion of subjects going to visit the king ceremonially.

155. The *marala* one-third of a dead person's estate paid as dues to the government.
156. In the document the words are spelt as Calpetia, Reigao and Bagao.
157. In the document the words are spelt respectively as Biligal and Ina.
158. In the document the name is spelt as Sofragao.
159. Probably people of Kanara in India, who had settled down in the island under government sponsorship.
160. The name is spelt in the document as Berbery, the usual name among the Portuguese and the Dutch for Beruwela.
161. This name is spelt in the document as Macone.
162. The spelling in the document is Caimel. It is situated where the Maha Oya falls into the sea.
163. Measurements of the period had not acquired the degree of precision they have today. An *amuna* of arecanut could be a great *amuna* or a small *amuna*. Likewise it seems that there were great *kachchis* and small *kachchis*. It seems not inappropriate to mention here that when I visited Portugal for the first time in 1962, when I asked for a dozen bananas, always got 13. Now, alas, it has changed!
164. "*Dous de peixe*" in the codex meaning "two from fish", probably meaning two *larins*. Compare the amount given in the sentence with that given on margin. See also the next item.
165. These items are given only in the SLNA and Évora codices.
166. In the BL and BNP codices, after balancing the accounts, copyists of these codices add however "which amount [i.e. the short fall] is remitted from Goa to meet the payment of salaries and allowances".
167. In the BNP codex the phrase "at a stone's throw" (*tiro de pedra*) is found instead of "*tiro de peça*" (a gun shot) as in the SLNA codex.
168. On the destruction of Constantino de Sa's army at Randeniwela near Wellawaya in August 1630s see C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1618-1638*, op cit. pp. 106-110.
169. The BL and BNP codices add "and mortar".

170. This paragraph is omitted in the BL and BNP codices.
171. At six *larins* per month a soldier gets 72 *larins* per year. For 25 soldiers the total allowance should be (72x25) divided by 3 1/3 is equal to 540 *xerafins*. Perhaps the double allowance paid to some officers make it 590 *xerafins*.
172. i.e. the sand bar.
173. A variant spelling is Gale.
174. Viceroy of Goa, 1591-1597
175. This is an obvious error, for Mathias de Albuquerque was not the viceroy in fifteen hundred and eighty-nine. That the Galle fort was built during the viceroyalty is corroborated. See T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Rule in Ceylon 1594-1612. op. cit.* p. 28.
176. Casement is a term in military fortifications and means a vaulted chamber in the thickness of the wall of a fortress with embrasures or vault of mason's work in the flank of a bastion next to the curtain, to fire on the enemy.
177. In the SLNA manuscript the word used is *terra* (ground); in the BNP codex the word is *torre* (tower).
178. The information that follows is given in the BL and BNP codices
179. This paragraph as well as the next are omitted in the BL and the BNP codices.
180. In the document the spelling is Tanavare from which come the Dondra of the British times. This description is omitted in the Évora codex.
181. In the document the word is spelt as *area* which means "sand": an obvious error for "areca".
182. The Indian coast
183. This description is not found in the BL and BNP and Évora manuscripts. In the BNP manuscript a plan of the bay is given. Beligao is the usual spelling for Weligama in Portuguese documents. So it is here.
184. The BNP codex gives eighteen and half degrees: an obvious error.

185. The SLNA codex reads at this point: "six pieces of artillery, three of them large-sized and of bronze, two of iron and the other three small in size and of iron"; an obvious copyist's error when in the phrase "one of bronze one has been omitted.
186. These paragraphs are omitted in the BL document.
187. The BNP document gives this as one *xerafin* as curry allowance for a month. This appears to be the correct meaning.
188. In the BNP codex these items of expenditure are given later, and not at this point.
189. The references must be to sieges that the Kandyans laid.
190. A sort of barge or boat
191. In Portuguese documents which deal with tropical lands, winter means the rainy season.
192. In the document the spelling is Pandara Pule, Manchuas. Instead of the word "*serviço*" (service), the SLNA codex has "*serco*" (siege).
193. The Canos are given as fishermen.
194. The BL, BNP and Évora codices add the word "*mercadores*" meaning "traders" here. The translation then would be: "Moors who are merchants from outside, but some of whom are also natives".
195. In the document the spelling is Araura, Pantegao, Xambandare.
196. In the SLNA and Évora documents "*ficarão pera a dita fortaleza as terras que alcancace hua peça de alcance tirada da della*" is the reading. The BNP codex has the words "*pessa de artilharia de alcance ...*". This seem to be correct reading and I have adopted it.
197. The next four paragraphs (until the beginning of the description of the Trincomalee fort) are omitted in the BL and BNP codices.
198. As used here, the word "South" stands for the East Indies. In the first decades of the 17th century, for example, *empresa do sul* in Portuguese documents meant the struggle against the Dutch in the East Indies.
199. The name of the fort is spelt variously in the documents of the period as Trinquinimalle, Trinquinimale, Triquilimale, etc.

200. In the BNP codex the year is given as 1632. The fort was actually built in 1623-24. See C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon 1617-1638*. Colombo, 1972, pp. 67-69
201. Dom Francisco da Gama, the count of Vidigueira.
202. In the SLNA and Évora codices the word is given as *os bredos*, a word not defined in any dictionary. Bredos, however, is a plant of the amaranthus family. In the BL codex the word used is *as ortalisas* meaning vegetables. I have adopted it here.
203. In the codices the word is spelt as *Cumbropitim* (SLNA, Évora) *Cambropitim* (BL) and *Cumbropetim* (BNP).
204. *Bahia de arcos* or Bay of Bows or Arches
205. The reference is to the *Estado da India*, the Portuguese name for the forts, the territories and factories they had from Mombasa to Macao.
206. From 1602 the Dutch communicated with the kingdom of Kandy through the ports of the east coast because the west coast was under the occupation of the Portuguese. In 1620 a company of Danish soldiers entrenched themselves at Trincomalee.
207. In Portuguese, the name was *Cais does elephantes* whence comes the modern name of Kayts.
208. The entire section on the fort of Kayts is omitted in the BL codex.
209. The SLNA codex has *donde he assistencia da renda*. The Évora codex has *donde he a sustancia da renda* which is contextually more appropriate. I have adopted this reading here.
210. As in the case of most specific dates in this document, this date is wrong. It was May-June 1619 that the Portuguese conquered Jaffnapatnam.
211. The SLNA codex gives here "*o Rey*" (the king), not "*o visorey*" (the viceroy), an obvious clerical mistake.
212. In the document the name is spelt as Changaly. 8962 S.C
213. Sankili was not the king, but only the regent who had usurped power.
214. This sentence is omitted in the BNP, BL as well as in the Évora codices.

215. The word in the document is *serca*
216. The correct spelling of these names is Valikamam, Tenmarachchi, Badamarachchi, Pachchilapalli. The four manuscripts give many different spellings.
217. This sentence is missing in the SLNA codex, but occurs in the other three manuscripts.
218. Balalas stands for Vellalas, Carias for Karaiyars or Careas.
219. The Religious of the Company of Jesus were sometimes called Paulists because their main institution in Goa was the College of St Paul.
220. Unrefined sugar made from the sweet toddy of palms like the coconut, the kitul and the palmyrah.
221. In an editorial note in the English translation of Zwaardecroon's Memoir, *carsingo* is defined as palm oil. But modern Tamil scholars know of no such word.
222. The BL document omits the word "*margosa*". The Paris document refers to "*aseite de sarzelen que he margosa*", meaning "oil of sesame which is margosa". The Portuguese word for sesame is *gergelin* and not *sarzelin*, so the Paris document contains two errors.
223. *Alias* are cow elephants having no tusks.
224. Trafolin is Indo-Portuguese for the nut of the palmyrah.
225. *Punato* is the dried pulp of the Palmyrah.
226. *Alva* from Arabic *halwa*, a sweetmeat generally made out of milk, sugar, almond paste, and ghee flavoured with cardamon (see *Hobson-Jobson. op. cit.* s.v. Hulwa)
227. Kelemgu, a Tamil word meaning "yam".
228. The BL and the BNP codices at this point proceed to give a detailed breakdown of the expenditure of Jaffnapatnam.
229. "*Chopa a renda*" was the stamp duty paid on cloth sold in Jaffnapatnam according to P. E. Pieris, *The Kingdom of Jaffnapatnam, 1645*. Colombo, 1944. The *chapador* was there-

fore probably the person who had received the right, on payment of a lump sum, of collecting this due.

230. The European documents of the period (and even later) use the word Malabar for the Tamil language.
231. Bezoars were stone-like things found in the stomach or intestines of certain animals. It was believed that they had antidotal properties.
232. The amount spent on the fort of Trincomalee here is given as 1876 while in the description of the fort of Trincomalee is given as 1866.
233. The SLNA codex omits the words "Caes" (Kayts) and "desembarcão" (unload). The words occur in all the other documents.
234. The reason why elephants were not sold to these merchants was that by an agreement entered into with the Nayak of Madura at the time of the viceroy the count of Linhares (1629-1635), the Portuguese promised to sell the elephants from Sri Lanka to the Nayak in exchange for saltpetre, which at that time was a scarce commodity. See Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese Regimentos on Sri Lanka, op. cit.* pp. 11 and 79.
235. The friars *recoletos* of St. Francis were a group of Franciscans who led a life of greater solitude and deeper prayer. They had one convent in Colombo called the convent of the Mother of God.

an 'I Antonio Ventura, ^{revenue accountant} ~~revenue accountant~~ ^{prepared} ~~made and~~ ~~written~~
 this account a god '25 September [16] 34 Ant^o Ventura.

Description of the Fort of Kalutara

The fort of Kalutara is seven leagues to the south of the
 Colombo and is situated at the distance of a gun-shot³ from
 the sea-shore on top of a hill, which a fresh-
 water river which comes from the centre of the island
 encloses on the two sides of this hill on the side of the
 very steep and not so on the other side, so that it is never
 possible to land people who come to its relief by river. The fort has
 no supply of water. The fort is square in shape, with four small bastions
 on the four sides, adequate for the station, each stretch of rampart
 being thirty paces in length, four fathoms in height and
 six spans in thickness. This was what was there before
 the rising of [1] 630⁴, when the enemies occupied everything
 by land. At present the captain has done it a fresh
 with towers of palm-wood what was formerly built in stone.
 The bastions serve as dwelling houses. At the
 gate, on the outside, there is a well which dries during the
 dry season. There is also a population of 30 married settlers, whites
 as well as blacks. The artillery available there is no more
 than some falcons, that is to say, one falcon, three
 bercoas, all made of metal, with sufficient ammunition
 for emergencies until supplies from Colombo arrive.
 A captain, appointed by His Majesty, ^{over by the way} has a salary of 200
 of Indian rees in this fort and he has a salary of 200
 xerafims and a garrison of 25 soldiers, among whom are
 included a bailiff. The soldiers are usually drawn from
 settled residents there. Each soldier is paid a
 maintenance allowance of six larins each month, which in
 a year amounts to 590 xerafims. They are additionally given

6 This paragraph is omitted in the BL and BNP codices.
 7. At blaring the month, a soldier gets 72 larins per year. For 25 soldiers, the total allowance
 should be $(72 \times 25) \div 3\frac{1}{2} = 540$ xerafims. Perhaps the double allowance paid to some officers made
 the above following is not found.

11. Not in BL and BNP codices. After balancing the account, copyists of these
 codices add however, which amount (i.e. the shortfall) is needed
 from Gov. to meet the payment of salaries and allowances.
 12. Spelling in the different codices: Calitara, Calitara, Calitara.
 13. In the BNP codex, the phrase at a stone's throw (*tiro de pedra*) is found, in stead
 of 'this de reca' (a gun-shot) as in the SL and other.
 14. On the destruction of Constantino de Sa's army at Rendenevel
 near the hillway in August 1630.
 15. The BL and BNP codices add "and shorter".

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BL
codex
Not in BNP
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Ben Antonio Ventura contador da Real da Casa da Real da
Conta e capitais: dia 25 de setembro de 1664. Ben Antonio Ventura.

Discriptão da fortaleza de Salitre

Collection B-
Calcutta BNP

Evon codex
f. 132 begun

A fortaleza de Salitre esta situada no lugar de Salitre do
banda do sul da ilha em um rio de pedra da falda do mar em oco
de um monte, a foz do rio de agua doce dos domos de cima do
centro da ilha, cerca as duas partes do monte, que se abandona
da fortaleza se muy irregular, ena tanto pela outra, de sorte
que não ha entre a fortaleza, e o rio se pode meter gente
para q se tomas o socorro, q por elle se vier, e de agua, q
a fortaleza não tem. Esta feita em quadro com quatro
bastantes na quarta canto pequenos, bastantes para a pa-
ragem ficando tendo cada canto de muro trinta e seis
comprido e quatro braças de altura, e seis palmos de espessura
e no meio de cada canto ha a sentinella na era de seiscientos,
em cima onde os inimigos pueram por terra tudo, e deprezente
q não ha ariz pa ella a fortaleza fora de estacas de palmeira
e de flama feita com pedras. As bastantes feitas de um do
casas, e algumas q tambem estao dentro na fortaleza, e tambem
sua igreja de São João. a porta da banda de fora, se fica no
posto q seja pelo uroz, e juntam. sua portada de tinta caida
entre branco, e preto a arrellaria, q tem na e mais q
seis falcões [conum a falcão] em falcões, e tres berros, e tres
metas com munições bastantes q qualque acidente de guerra
ateha poder ir socorro de Salitre.

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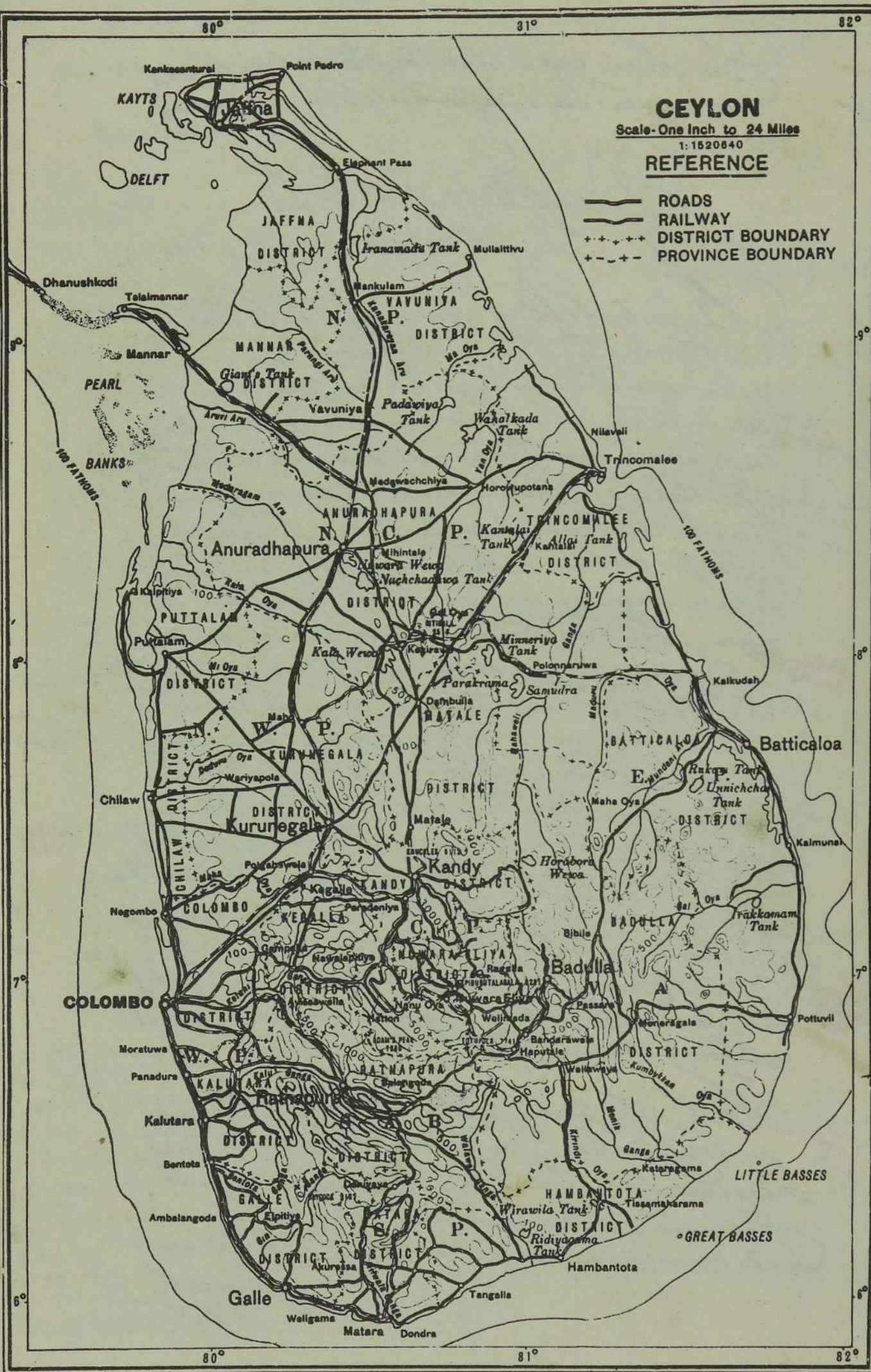
BNP omits
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words

BL omits
Evon
Evon

Alto de nella fortaleza capitão posto por sua Mag. ou
pello V. doley D. da India q tem de ordenado duzentos e com
vinte e cinco de cidade de Prindia, em guerra em meyrado
ordinaria de la de mesmos capados, qaly viuum aquum
de seda de mantimentos a cada soldado cada meyrado q se
quinhentos

46

Evon
132a



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